The Šabdan Baatır Codex

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The Šabdan Baatır Codex

Epic and the Writing of Northern Kirghiz History

Edition, Translation and Interpretations, with a Facsimile of the Unique Manuscript by

Daniel Prior

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Cover illustration: A Kirghiz roan horse (*buurul at*) with braided rawhide bridle in the Tian Shan mountains. Kodachrome by Daniel Prior, 1994.

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PREFACE

My involvement with the Codex published here in full for the first time began in 2001, when I examined it in the manuscript archives of the Kirghiz National Academy of Sciences in Bishkek. By then the post-Soviet reexamination of Kirghiz history and folklore was in full swing; I was mystified why a pre-revolutionary manuscript of epic-like poems devoted to the actual exploits of famous Kirghiz leaders lay catalogued yet unnoticed on the shelves. I was fortunate to be able to share my interest in the Codex in stimulating conversations with its keeper at the time, the scholar Keŋeš Qırbašev, one of the most knowledgeable authorities on the old Arabic-script Kirghiz folklore corpus, who personally assisted me in making a complete photographic copy. In the following year there appeared a brief notice on the Codex in my Indiana University doctoral dissertation on the Kirghiz epic tradition, and, to my surprise, a Cyrillic transcription by Qırbašev of a part of the Codex, the poem on Šabdan's raid on the Qalmaqs, published in the "Kirghiz Folk Literature" series under the erroneous title "The Ghazal of Šabdan."[1] It is lamentably inconsistent with the high reputation of the late Keŋeš Qırbašev that the hasty, abridged transcription of the poem that was published over his name is so full of provisional readings, silent cuts and alterations, and errors as to make it unsafe for use by scholars. Since 2002 I am aware of only one other mention of the Codex in print, an article published by me in 2006 that offers a first interpretation of the work as a whole in the context of late Tsarist-era northern Kirghiz culture.[2] Since then, as my understanding of the contents of the Codex has deepened, my ideas on its meaning have progressed far beyond those expressed in that article.

This book is an attempt, first, to make good on the lack of a scholarly edition that limited the scope of my two previous contributions, a lack that is all the more strongly felt in comparison with the unique value of this literary monument; and second, to communicate through interpretive exercises on various aspects of the Codex something of the richness of meaning that I have found in it. The poems of the Šabdan Baatır Codex have something of value to say to those interested in the tribes and other

[1] Čağatayev, "Šabdan qazalı."
[2] Prior, "Heroes, Chieftains."

social structures of the northern Kirghiz; their chiefs, their genealogies; their oral traditions, their history-writing practices; their political history in the nineteenth century, their reception of modernity; and their particularity as Kirghiz and as Muslims. Students of traditional heroic and epic genres will find in the poems a well-contextualized fund of materials for comparative research at the point of contact between oral and written knowledge. It is my wish in offering this combined edition, translation, and interpretation, that where it addresses and attempts to assist all of these communities it will alienate none of them, to say nothing of innocent readers who may pick up the poems out of pure interest. Many of the latter will have waded into the translation already without reading this, and I wish them well.

Finally, in the face of the Codex's astonishing frankness as to what it is about, I wish to record here a certain feeling of melancholy that remains after many months' work to present to the world what is in large part a record—even a celebration—of acts of premeditated, sustained, deadly mass violence. I know that the Codex's keepers do not celebrate these things, and this may have led to their past reticence. The British Homerist J.B. Hainsworth has written, "The oral techniques of heroic poetry select what is appropriate to famous deeds and forget the rest; […] they impose the heroic ethos on shabby deeds of treachery and vengeance."[3] One can hardly comment with greater sangfroid on this transformation of atrocity into culture than a Kirghiz epic bard—who, in 1856, had surely seen it all—when he said:

> jaqınġa domoq qalar,
> alısqa jomoq qalar[4]

something like:

> Up close you have a scandal. From a distance, you have an epic.

[3] Hainsworth, *Idea of Epic*, pp. 12–13.
[4] Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, lines 1625–1626.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I think about this labor reaching its end, among the first things that come to mind are the faces of the people who are no longer alive to receive from me the thanks that they deserve. Each from his own angle, Vladimir Galitskii, Sadybakas Umurzakov, and, most of all, Arthur Hatto perceived facets of a scholar in me before there was anything to see but a rough block. Their kind attentions during my formation and the pleasure they eventually took in calling me a colleague and friend are the dearest kind of memories that can arise from a working life. "Tho' much is taken, much abides."

I am grateful to Vladimir Ploskikh, Vice President of the Kirghiz National Academy of Sciences, for support, welcomes, and encouragement over fifteen years, and to the Academy's Aitmatov Institute of Language and Culture, and its director, Academician Abdıldajan Aqmataliyev, for honoring me with official permission to publish the Šabdan Baatır Codex here. The late Keŋeš Qırbašev also deserves my thanks for his generous guidance and assistance in the Academy's Kirghiz folklore archives. "Melis," Vladimir Mikhailovich, and Keŋeš *ake* exemplify the long-standing courtesy and trust that have characterized my relations with the people of Kyrgyzstan.

I want to thank Gundula Salk, Virginia Martin, Svetlana Jacquesson, Tetsu Akiyama, Bob Thurston, Karen Dawisha, Mary Frederickson, and all my colleagues in the Miami University Department of History and the Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, for their comments, discussions, and support. Karl Reichl, Devin DeWeese, György Kara, John Krueger, Jim Millward, John D. Smith, Setsuko Yoshida, Jipar Duishembeva, Jun Sugawara, Wolfgang Holzwarth, and Fred Robinson answered queries and gave help whenever asked, sometimes repeatedly. Chris Atwood, continuing a series of conversations over several years, made a special trip to Ohio to give his insightful and constructive comments on a section of this book that I presented as a paper to my History Department colleagues in 2011. Two scholars of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Kirghiz who shared their knowledge with me during my research trip to Bishkek in 2008 deserve special thanks: Zainidin Qurmanov and Jaŋıl Abdıldabek qızı. Boris Rezvantsev obliged and amazed me with his on-the-ground expertise on the Buddhist monastery site of Sümbe, helping me to see it better from afar, and welcomed me as a guest in his home near Moscow. To all these

colleagues and friends I extend my most sincere thanks, reserving for myself full responsibility for any misapplication of the knowledge they have put at my disposal.

Ingeborg Baldauf and Paolo Sartori extended generous invitations, to lecture and to participate in a workshop on Central Asian social history, which provided the pretext and financial support for a very productive and stimulating tour of institutions in Germany at the mid-point of my research leave year in late 2009. In 2006 the editors of *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* (volume 6, issue 2) published an article with my early ruminations on what became the General Commentary in this book. I am grateful to them for the publication venue, and to the organizers of the conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism in London, and the annual Central Eurasian Studies Society conference in Ann Arbor, both that same year, at which I presented versions of the paper. The Center for Slavic and East European Studies at Ohio State University has provided me with an extended appointment as an affiliated scholar, an extremely valuable asset in my research.

The skilled staff members in the interlibrary loan and special collections departments of the Ohio State University and Miami University libraries, in the Denis Sinor Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies at Indiana University, in the European, African and Middle Eastern, and Map Division reading rooms of the Library of Congress, in various departments of the New York Public Library, in the map room of the Berlin State Library, and in the rare book room of the National Library of the Kyrgyz Republic have been unstinting, efficient, and ever-cheerful in giving me assistance in matters great and small. Also in the background of this book is the kind assistance of staff in several archives in Russia, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan.

The maps were produced with great skill and dispatch by Mapping Specialists, Ltd.

The capable collaboration of Patricia Radder and the staff at Brill and TAT Zetwerk has made the production of this book a more pleasant experience for me than by rights it ought to have been.

This project has been made possible in part by an NEH Fellowship for the 2006–2007 academic year; by an IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunities grant, which was supplemented by the Miami University Committee on Faculty Research and the Philip and Elaina Hampton Fund for Faculty International Initiatives, for summer 2008; and by an ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship, which was supplemented by the Miami University College of Arts and Science with funds and leave time, in the 2009–2010 academic year. The History Department, the

Havighurst Center, and the Central Eurasian Studies Society have provided opportunities and funds that have enhanced this project in countless ways.

To my friends Nikolay Savitsky, Tania Dementeva, Stas Savitsky, Ishen Obolbekov, and Jane and Peter Lutman I express my special thanks for their kind support. Still closer in, Laurie, Henry, and Georgia deserve more than thanks for their patient acceptance of my working self. It is really by them that this project has been made possible, and it is in reflection of their constancy that the words "Dedicated to" pale.

A NOTE ON SPELLING

The spelling of a single important word, “Kirghiz,” differs from this book’s normal conventions. Additional notes on spellings are found in the Principles of the Text Edition (pp. 94–97 below).

INTRODUCTION

Šabdan Baatır (center) with members of his circle. Date Unknown. Photograph courtesy of the Central State Cinematic, Photographic, and Phonographic Archives of the Kyrgyz Republic.

(Third row, on the left: Mambetaalı. Second row from left: Čoqo, Nayzabek, Šabdan; on the right: Maqsım Qojo. First row, second from left: Dür. On Mambetaalı cf. p. 303.)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

> … carmina antiqua, quod unum apud illos memoriae et annalium genus est …
>
> … their old songs, which are the only kind of memory or chronicle they have …
>
> —Tacitus

Kept in a manuscript archive for many years, the Šabdan Baatır Codex has been in the care of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirgiz S.S.R. and its successor, the Central Asian republic of Kyrgyzstan, for most of its existence. The climate of public discourse prevailing in the country outside the doors of that scholarly establishment has never been conducive to a full airing of the contents of this unique manuscript. Until now the fifty or so folios in the Kirghiz language in Arabic script that comprise the Codex have not been properly introduced to the scholarly world, though publication of similar materials, which are less well-contextualized and less privileged in date, goes on apace. The Codex's claims to attention are manifold and timely.

Although the manuscript's dating and the attribution of an author or authors are not without problems, the work in one form or another was dedicated to Šabdan Baatır (Shabdan Baatyr), the great northern Kirghiz *manap*, or chief, of the Sarıbaġıš tribe under Russian rule, a little over a hundred years ago. The combination of its age and its association with a famous and powerful pre-revolutionary personage make the Codex an extraordinary monument of early modern Kirghiz literature. The two long verse narratives in the Kirghiz (Qırġız, Kyrgyz) language that together make up about ninety-two percent of the 2,110 poetic lines of the text involve a large cast of real historical characters, not all of them as well-known as the key figures of Šabdan and his father Jantay. The poems shed light on two incidents of armed conflict prior to the submission of the northern Kirghiz chiefs to Russia—an unprovoked horse-stealing raid by Muslim Kirghiz on Buddhist Qalmaqs in late 1864 in which Šabdan took a leading role, and a defensive battle fought with equivocal success by northern Kirghiz encampments against a Qazaq army under Sultan Kenesarı in the spring of 1846—in precise detail regarding geographical, ethnic, and military circumstances. The raid on the Qalmaqs in particular is witnessed only very obscurely in independent sources. The poems can thus be used (with caution) as sources on

certain people, places, ethnic groups, and events that figure in current scholarship on the history of the northern Kirghiz in the nineteenth century. This is only a small part of their value.

The historical poems give the reader familiar with Central Asian[1] folklore an unmistakable impression of belonging to a great tradition, recalling in their meter and diction, and some aspects of their style, the celebrated oral epic poems of the Kirghiz Manas-cycle that were first recorded in writing in the mid-nineteenth century. Only in an absurdly broad sense can the poems in the Codex be called heroic or epic poems in their own right, yet certain features of their composition and transmission, so far as these can be reconstructed, point to an original creative context that once included oral and literary purveyors of Kirghiz heroic epics. The poems' analogues outside Kirghiz may be found in the roughly contemporary tradition of the Qazaqs, where poems celebrating daring raids and commemorating the Qazaq–Kirghiz conflict of 1846–1847 are fairly common. Comparativists may also take note of the striking similarities in historical background and overall ethical tone between the poem of the defense against the Qazaqs and the Old English post-heroic poem, *The Battle of Brunanburh*. Both poems are vengeful boasts about actual battles (the latter took place in northern England in 937) in which "our" warriors gained victory over aggressors and saved the—here the word is introduced advisedly—nation. As for driving off herds of animals in raids, numerous treatments of this subject are found in oral and oral-derived traditions from all periods world-wide, amounting to a subgenre of heroic narratives presided over by *The Cattle Raid of Cooley* in Old Irish.[2]

What makes the historical poems in the Šabdan Baatır Codex particularly valuable comparative examples among their poetic peers, if not artistic standouts, is that they strengthen the already exemplary dossier of the Kirghiz epic tradition. Not only did the Kirghiz at one time have an observed tradition of oral heroic bards who produced, amid political and military tumult in the mid-nineteenth century, the *Manas* epic poems collected by Chokan Valikhanov and Wilhelm Radloff, but the poetic milieu in which these bards worked is also witnessed by a few surviving contemporary texts

---

[1] The historical and cultural region of Central Asia extends from the Caspian Sea and the Ural river basin to the Altay mountains and the Turfan oasis E–W, and from the northern limits of the steppes to the Kopet Dagh and Hindu Kush ranges N–S. On this definition see Bregel, *Historical Atlas*, p. vii.

[2] Hatto, "Foreword."

in related genres, particularly funeral laments of named warriors. This much could be said with no knowledge of the Šabdan Baatır Codex. What this work adds to the picture is two lengthy poems, also devoted to the exploits of living or recently living warriors (the Kirghiz term for the best of them is *baatır*, a hero), with generic characteristics falling somewhere between straight historical narration and forms of heroic panegyric, or even the heroic lay. These poems allow us to look back across the span of years between the pacification and absorption of the northern Kirghiz by Russia in the mid-nineteenth century and the composition of the Codex in the early twentieth, and discern more sharply the dynamic life of an oral tradition in which bards composed and sang heroic epics as well as occasional poems about the exploits of known, active warriors, who were the patrons of such poetry. Priscus sketched this situation among the Huns, but left no texts;[3] epics are found beside related heroic genres in Old English, Qazaq, and other traditions, but mostly bereft of situational context about their production.[4] The Kirghiz tradition may be unique in having left a diverse legacy of texts from a directly observed tradition of oral heroic poetry, including epics and other genres, along with deep sources on their context.

The Šabdan Baatır Codex is not a primary record of that oral tradition in the strict sense. Recognition of this fact at the outset brings us closer to engaging with what is perhaps the work's most important and challenging claim to attention, its assertively historical quality. What can be said about its origin and attribution without detailed commentary is that almost the entire version we have was composed around 1910 by a Kirghiz poet named Musa Čaġatayev (Chagataev), who dedicated the work to Šabdan; the manuscript we possess now was written out in Arabic script by Belek Soltonoyev, the first Kirghiz historian of the modern era. Far from belonging to the line of recordings of bardic epic performances initiated by outsiders like Valikhanov and Radloff and removed from the Kirghiz milieu after they were written down, the Codex boasts a northern Kirghiz author, patron, and scribe and appears never to have left the stewardship of northern Kirghiz literati in the valley of the river Ču, where Šabdan had his headquarters and where the Russian colonial city of Pišpek later became Frunze, the capital of the Soviet republic and home of the Academy of

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[3] Blockley, *Fragmentary Classicizing Historians*, vol. 2, pp. 286–287; Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 576–577; Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 59. See also Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, chapter 5 "The poetry and minstrelsy of early times," pp. 77–100.

[4] On "the generic syncretism of shorter poetic forms clustered around the epic" see Reichl, *Singing the Past*, especially pp. 70–71.

Sciences. Before the growth of literacy and scholarship under Soviet auspices, there was notable overlap in the aims and results of Kirghiz writers working in the fields of poetry, folklore collecting, and history, as they are now defined. Of this group a mere handful of members are known today. Because Čaġatayev's biography and the sources he worked from (whether oral or in writing) are not known, it would be difficult to assess the nature and degree of his authorial interventions, if not for the fact that he supplied poetic asides in his own voice. These asides, which Čaġatayev used to knit the two main narrative poems together and which the present edition treats under the headings Inface and Postface (referring to their position) articulate a distinctive perspective on the Kirghiz past that Čaġatayev sought to associate with Šabdan's reputation. Someone—probably not Čaġatayev—augmented the seamless suite of two historical poems, Inface, and Postface: the final poem of the Codex, 80 lines long, uses the device of a supposed ancient prognostication to celebrate the descendants of prominent Sarıbaġıš lineages (one of which includes Šabdan) along with other notables and saints. In a word, it is a genealogical poem. The overall disposition toward the past expressed in Čaġatayev's Inface and Postface, as well as in the genealogical poem, is a pro-Kirghiz bias that can be likened in some ways to national discourses, which by the early twentieth century had begun to appear among modernizing elites of other Central Asian peoples such as the Qazaqs. In the hands of the Codex's author or authors, the organic link between assertive history-writing and traditional culture was held notably intact. The work represents an otherwise poorly-attested gradation of the Central Asian traditions that have been collectively called "steppe oral historiography."

Oral Traditions and the Writing of History in Inner Asia

Historians have a tendency to speak of a primary source when they are in fact talking about a narrative work the anterior sources of which are simply not extant, all the more so when the earlier sources were composed and transmitted orally. Beginning with Herodotus's *History*, the field of Oriental studies has been in no way remote from this tendency. For example, few modern users of Rašīd ad-Dīn's Islamic history of the world, *Jāmiʿ at-tavārīx*, which he wrote at the Mongol Ilkhanid court in Iran, respond methodologically to the fact that the author, in introducing the sources he used in compiling his narrative of the origin of the Mongol Empire, drew distinctions between different written chronicles and oral tales, some of which did not

reach him, and notes the contributions of "the sagas of old men grown wise with experience," "the Turkic tellers of history," and tellers of legends.[5]

The development of theories of orality and performance in the twentieth century made it possible to study the oral transmission of verbal art, within a framework, however, that was designed to illuminate poetic techniques.[6] Postwar advances in ethnographic and oral history methodologies augmented the analytical toolkit, albeit while privileging primary, observed oral interactions (interviews and the like) over the written traces of past oral traditions. A useful refinement, the concept of the oral-derived written text, was introduced by John M. Foley.[7] Oral history in the West thus bears the stamp of the dichotomous conception of orality versus literacy championed by the Parry–Lord school. It has also generally been linked with underrepresented social classes and those without secure access to writing, which underscores the reality that for most historians oral sources come into relevance in situations where written sources are lacking. The study of oral sources has progressed beyond concentration on matters of chronology and of testing the "validity" of recently-collected oral sources[8] and has resulted in methodologically innovative work on the oral background of older written historical sources, and on the social construction of oral history.[9] Recent oral history theories concern memory and the self and their construction in the interactive, intersubjective, and performative realms.[10] The problems posed by the works of elite, literate authors writing in partly oral milieux, such as Rašīd ad-Dīn and Musa Čaġatayev, still await their proper theories and methods in the auxiliary study of historical sources.

Yet Inner Asian history[11] is replete with key sources the oral character or oral background of which is under-analyzed, if not under-appreciated.

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[5] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik letopisei*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 8–9, 12.

[6] Among the vast literature see Parry, *Making of Homeric Verse*; Lord, *Singer of Tales*; Bauman, *Verbal Art As Performance*; Bauman, *Story, Performance, and Event*; Bauman and Briggs, "Poetics and Performance"; Foley, *Traditional Oral Epic*; Foley, *Singer of Tales in Performance*.

[7] Foley, *Traditional Oral Epic*, pp. 5–8.

[8] Vansina, *Oral History*; Vansina, *Oral Tradition*; Henige, *Chronology of Oral Tradition*.

[9] Tonkin, *Narrating Our Pasts*; Cooper, "Oral Sources."

[10] Abrams, *Oral History Theory*.

[11] Inner Asia is the region comprising Central Asia in the west (for the definition see note 1, above), and, in the east, Tibet, Mongolia, and adjacent parts of South Siberia. This historical–cultural region has been the home of Iranian, Turkic, and Mongolian peoples; has as a dominant historical motif the interactions of mobile pastoral peoples in its steppe zone with sedentary peoples to the south; and is marked by the expansion into the region of Islam from the south and west and Buddhism from the south and east.

Some of the debates on these sources implicate traditions of epic poetry. Two of the three great literatures that arose in Inner Asia are represented in these debates beginning with their earliest monuments: the Orkhon runic inscriptions in Old Turkic[12] and the *Secret History of the Mongols* in Middle Mongolian[13] (the third language, Persian, has the *Shahnama* by Firdawsī, a literary epic with a more remote background in oral tradition, parts of which have been used as historical source material[14]). Where Rašīd ad-Dīn availed himself of oral and oral-derived historical chronicles and legends of the Mongols while writing the *Jāmiʿ at-tavārīx* at the Ilkhanid court, his predecessor ʿAlā ad-Dīn Juvaynī, a participant in key events of the Mongol campaigns of conquest in and around Iran, could draw on his own and other eyewitness' reportage of such events.[15] Many works on the Mongol and post-Mongol history of the Dašt-i Qıpčaq and Moghulistan (roughly the future home of the Qazaqs and the northern Kirghiz, who are the subject of this book) rely to some extent on oral sources such as eyewitness reports, "tribal" chronicles, and historical poems. The Khorezmian historiographic tradition is particularly rich in oral-derived sources, beginning with the first Khorezmian historical work in Chaghatay, the history of the Činggisid *ulus* or appanage of Joči by Ötemiš Ḥājjī entitled *Tāʾrīx-i Dost Sulṭān*.[16] The tradition continued with the histories by Abūʾl-Ġāzī Bahādur Khan on the Türkmens and on the Turks and Mongols,[17] and *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, the history of the Qonġrat dynasty by the nineteenth-century Khivan historians Munis and Āgahī.[18] Works in Persian that are at least partly based on oral materials include the *Tāʾrīx-i Abūʾl-Xayr Xānī* by Masʿūd b. ʿUthmān Kūhistānī;[19] and the works of two amirs from the leading Turkic families of Moghulistan, *Tāʾrīx-i Rašīdī* by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydār Duġlāt[20] and the *History* of Šāh Maḥmūd Čurās;[21] and, closer in space and time to the nineteenth-century

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[12] Tekin, *Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, pp. 231–295; Stebleva, *Poėziia tiurkov*, p. 61; Kliashtornyi, *Drevnetiurkskie runicheskie pamiatniki*; Kljaštornyj, "Epische Sujets," pp. 15–23.

[13] de Rachewiltz, *Secret History of the Mongols*; Veit, "Mündliche Elemente".

[14] Firdawsī. *Shāhnāma*. It is the pre-Iskandar/Alexander "legendary" part of the *Shahnama* that has an arguably oral basis: Davis, "Problem of Ferdowsi's sources"; Davidson, "Text of Ferdowsi's Shâhnâma." See also Meisami, "Past in Service to the Present."

[15] Juvaini, *History of the World-Conqueror*.

[16] Utemish-khadzhi, *Chingiz-name*; DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*.

[17] Abūʾl-Ġāzī, *Rodoslovnaia turkmen*; Abūʾl-Ġāzī, *Šajara-i türk*.

[18] Munis and Agahi, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*. The oral background of this work has been studied by Bregel, "Tribal Tradition" (see in particular pp. 380–381).

[19] Ibragimov, *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv*, pp. 135–171, 512–516.

[20] Dughlát, *History of the Moghuls*.

[21] Churas, *Khronika* (pp. 102–104 on oral reports as sources).

northern Kirghiz, the historical-hagiographical mélange *Majmūʿ at-tavārīx* by Sayf ad-Dīn Axsīkandī and his son Nūr Muḥammad,[22] and the history of the Qoqand Khanate, the *Tāʾrīx-i Šāhruxī* by Mullā Niyāz Muḥammad Xuqandī.[23]

The first scholar to advance a distinct theory of the oral character of certain Inner Asian historical sources was the historian and orientalist Veniamin Iudin. In articles published posthumously together with his edition and translation of a manuscript of the *Tāʾrīx-i Dost Sulṭān* known as *Čingīz-nāma*, Iudin characterized a living system of knowledge, comparable in general terms to oral phenomena worldwide, which the Inner Asian nomads sometimes referred to as "old words" and which he termed "steppe oral historiography" (*stepnaia ustnaia istoriografiia*):

> Steppe oral historiography is the historical knowledge of the nomads of the Dašt-i Qıpčaq, [...] which began, in the post-Mongol period, to be distinguished out of the general knowledge of the nomads into a special field. For this reason it cannot be defined either by the term "oral tradition" or by the word "legends." Steppe oral historiography cannot be reduced to mythology or folklore, for example to heroic epic, because folklore itself has been nourished by steppe oral historiography.[24]

These works constitute a special group of written narrative sources "which can also be considered as products of historic–artistic creativity"; the *Čingīz-nāma*, for example, contains excerpts of poems that would have been sung in the first instance.[25]

Tacitus long ago noted that history took the form of ancient songs among the Germani, and he cited them in his work.[26] In Inner Asia many a dynasty or tribal formation had its own "Tacitus," writing sometimes in the learned language of court or metropolis, but just as often in the vernacular, usually turning the songs into prose in the process of making history out of them. The decidedly ethnohistorical[27] thrust of Iudin's theory is indebted to this

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[22] Tagirdzhanov, *"Sobranie istorii"; Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, vol. 1, pp. 200–216.

[23] Niyāz Muḥammad, *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*; Beisembiev, *Taʾrikh-i Shakhrukhi* (see in particular p. 32).

[24] Iudin, "Perekhod vlasti," pp. 64–65; see also ibid., p. 66; Iudin, "Neizvestnaia versiia gibeli Urus-khana," pp. 77, 79–81.

[25] Ibid., p. 79.

[26] *Germania* 2.

[27] Ethno(-)history should properly mean (by analogy with ethnobotany, ethnomedicine, and ethnomusicology) the historical knowledge created and transmitted by a given ethnic group, or the study of that knowledge. Unfortunately for American scholars who wish to preserve the term's semantic economy, its meaning has been taken over by historians

long historiographical tradition: "We propose that the study of the sources of this historiography will allow us to reconstruct the historical knowledge of the nomads of the Dašt-i Qıpčaq [...]," and his programmatic remarks on this new field ended with a sketch of relevant methodology, which would include "collection, systematization, classification, analysis, and development of principles of exploitation" of oral and oral-derived materials for historical research,[28] a plan of action that would probably have been familiar to, say, Abū'l-Ġāzī except perhaps in its scale and matters of detail. Iudin died in 1983 leaving much of his writing on steppe oral historiography unpublished until later. The beginning of a system of applying the theory to the analysis of a text can be seen in Iudin's brief survey article on the untitled work conventionally labeled *Jāmiʿ at-tavārīx* (1602) by Qadir ʿAlī Bek Jalāyirī.[29] The concept of steppe oral historiography has enjoyed a modest currency in the last two decades in Kazakhstan, Iudin's home, thanks to the work of his colleagues, as well as to the fortuitous popular impulse, after Kazakhstan gained its independence, toward reexamination of native sources for nationalist purposes.[30]

Iudin correctly understood that some texts can be analyzed to elucidate their oral antecedents, and that it may be possible, building on those analyses, to reconstruct the workings of a system of historical knowledge that partly relies on oral transmission. But Iudin's insight, significant as it was, offers little in the way of concrete alternatives to paper-based historical methods to meet the special requirements of oral-derived materials. It is also dependent on a dialectic between oral and graphic technologies of knowledge transmission, a distinction that says more about the lasting wonder of literate folk at the cognitive capacities of non-writing folk than about the obvious overlap and mixture of oral and literate techniques necessary to create a written monument of steppe oral historiography. Devin DeWeese, in his historical study of conversion to Islam in the Jočid ulus, which draws

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engaged in the study of the origin, development, and relations of different peoples—a field better termed ethnic history, and best termed simply history. The difference between the two subjects is in the balance between the emic and the etic dimensions of the knowledge within their focus.

[28] Iudin, "Perekhod vlasti," pp. 65–66.

[29] Iudin and Baranova, "Dzhami at-tavarikh" (published in 2001); cf. Žalayır, *Šežïreler žinağı*. See also DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, pp. 382–392.

[30] Irmukhanov, "O nauchnoi preemstvennosti," pp. 46–47; Nurmanova, "Tradition historique orale"; Seydĭmbek, *Qazaqtıŋ auızša tarïxı*. See Esenova, "Soviet Nationality" for examination of the resurgence of interest in genealogy in post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

in part on oral-derived sources examined by Iudin, traces masses of related narrative and genealogical materials through oral and written modes of transmission. DeWeese's ethnohistorical analytical techniques reveal the intimate and often salient relationships between oral-derived and literary sources through which steppe peoples' conceptions of the past can be reconstructed. His study also exemplifies the kind of "thick" comparative source base that frequently accumulates around questions of oral and oral-derived historiography.[31] Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to do comparative analyses of steppe oral historiography, and the problems that exist may be compounded by the incompatibility of modern western and traditional Inner Asian concepts of genre. As Charles Bawden put it when discussing the Mongolian *Altan Tobči*:

> Mongol historiography of the type represented by the seventeenth-century *Altan Tobči* does not discriminate between the historical and the legendary, categories which are foreign to its concepts. Impossible tales are told of personages whose historical existence is undoubted; historical events are related in such a way as to display, not historical accuracy in the western sense, but picturesque detail characteristic of traditional folk-tales. It results, then, that several types of inconsistency arise in the narration of these historic-legendary events. The story may appear in the same chronicle in more than one place, in a slightly different dress. It may occur in one form in one chronicle, and in a different form in another. Finally, the written version of a legend may be paralleled by an oral version in which details are deformed, though the general pattern in unmistakeable.[32]

These types of challenges are endemic to research on steppe oral historiography or Inner Asian ethnohistory of virtually any era. They are not entirely adverse to the historian's interests, however. The very same plenitude of voices and versions that may hamper efficient reconstruction of past events can also lend depth and a sense of local or emic significance to the contours of what we do and do not know. The mysteries begin to assume some kind of order. As İsenbike Togan has shown, "mythology [can be] a means to understand tribal history."[33]

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[31] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, especially chapter 5, "Baba Tükles in history and genealogy" (pp. 321–408). On oral and written knowedge transfer in settled and urban communities of early modern Central Asia as distinct from those of the steppe and mountain pastoralists, see Ron Sela, *Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane*, especially the section "Popularity, Orality, and Genre" (pp. 43–53), on the unknown sources of a complex corpus of legendary histories in manuscript known as *Tīmūr-nāma*.

[32] Bawden, *Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobči*, p. 11.

[33] Togan, "The Qongrat in History," pp. 66–69.

A historian will naturally ask how steppe oral historiography relates to mainstream written history—first of all how exactly an oral account was transmitted by a chain of anonymous tellers and incorporated into a written historical work by the pen of, say, Rašīd ad-Dīn, or Abūʾl-Ġāzī, or Musa Čaġatayev. To answer this question, the historian may turn to a researcher on verbal art traditions for perspective on the matter. The latter will pose a quite different starting question, one that is embedded in an analytical framework which, if it is almost as flimsy as the historian's at the point of "transition" between the oral and written life of the narrative in question, nevertheless rests on awareness of the complex techniques of knowledge retention and transfer available to oral language users. From the standpoint of oral tradition it is a question initially of genre: how does the assumed oral antecedent matter of a written work of history relate to kinds of verbal art already documented? Such genres may occur in the same society, or—as often happens by the vagaries of preservation—they may be found only in neighboring or related societies, or in unrelated contexts that are nonetheless relevant from a comparative standpoint. The comparative techniques that are integral to the study of verbal art traditions are thus indispensable for the task of distinguishing the shared from the proper tools of those notional counterparts, the historical narrator and the traditional bard.

Though Iudin was over-zealous in his unsupported assertion that steppe oral historiography gave rise to oral poetic forms such as heroic epic,[34] it is a valid pursuit to search for connections between epic and history. Karl Reichl, a researcher in the fields of medieval European literature and Central Asian Turkic oral poetry, took the generic approach to this question in his study, *Singing the Past: Turkic and Medieval Heroic Poetry*. Analyzing in depth a wide and rather unusual selection of monuments mainly from Germanic and Turkic languages, including poems he collected in the field in Central Asia, Reichl used comparative methods[35] to develop two complementary arguments: that older Germanic heroic poetry[36] reflects an oral

[34] Iudin, "Neizvestnaia versiia gibeli Urus-khana," p. 79.

[35] Reichl's, and my, comparative methods are based not on the genetic theories of common origins, diffusion, and influence in classical folkloristics, but on a typological approach akin to certain concepts in linguistics (Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 8) and to the works of the London Seminar on Epic and its chairman, Arthur T. Hatto (cf. Hatto, *Traditions*).

[36] Reichl's definition of *heroic* seems consciously to avoid the kinds of formal and temporal restrictions debated in various fields and is thus sufficiently open to allow comparisons across a broad range of written and oral materials, some of which would bear an asterisk or a deflating "post-" in the parlance of specialists.

creative milieu similar to what has been observed in Central Asia in modern times, and that this milieu is a network of oral genres that together condition the society's view of the past. In other words, one could say history was meant to be sung—and the "lesser" genres that cluster around epic traditions, such as praise poems, topical historical songs, and heroic lays, are part of a continuum of verbal practices that both form and represent a people's ideas on the past.[37]

It is of particular interest for the present study that Reichl analyzes the three verse cycles preserved in the eleventh-century *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī. The verses narrate military campaigns in Inner Asia that apparently took place in fact, but in a tone that emphasizes praise of the victors rather than historical detail.[38] Between these cycles and the two main narrative poems of the Šabdan Baatır Codex there are certain similarities in style and diction that attest to commonalities in their historical contexts. There is even an occasional kernel of formulaic meaning that seems to have been preserved over the centuries (though the wording, as below where horses' tails are bound up in readiness for battle, differs in the two related languages). We may compare the first passage below, from a poem preserved in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* and composed probably in the early eleventh century—in which Muslim Turkic, presumably Qarakhanid, troops carry out a raid on the Uighurs beyond the Ili river and despoil their Buddhist temples—with the following lines from the first poem in the Šabdan Baatır Codex, a work of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century that likewise features a horse-raid, a partial tactical retreat followed by a stand and rout of the enemy, and the despoliation of the Qalmaqs' Buddhist temple by the Muslim Kirghiz raiders. At least the latter raid, and probably both of them, actually happened:

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[37] Reichl, *Singing the Past*; "network of oral genres": ibid., p. 3; "synchronic relationship" between epic, historical song, and other genres: ibid., p. 176.

[38] al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects* (the edition by Dankoff and Kelly). The cycles are partially preserved only in dismembered form as usage citations dispersed throughout the work, a dictionary of the Middle Turkic dialects; see also Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles," including his reassembly and re-edition of the cycles. Reichl (*Singing the Past*, pp. 67–70; *Turkic Oral Epic Poetry*, pp. 40–43) used an older edition of the texts by Brockelmann, which differs radically from Dankoff's. The latter author (op. cit.) cites available corroborating evidence of the three battles. The modern label "cycle" avoids speculative conclusions on the original formal unity or order within each of the three sets of verses identified. Reichl takes special note of the fact that the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* preserves the "earliest Turkic poetry that is uncontestably both oral and narrative" (Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 67).

qudruq qatiγ tügdümiz
täŋrig üküš ögdümiz
kämšip atiγ tägdimiz
aldap yana qačtimiz

We tied the horses' tails securely; we praised God Most High greatly (meaning the cry of *allāhu akbar* among the heathen ranks); we attacked them driving the horses, and then feigned flight (that they would come after us and we might turn on them and rout them).[39]

At üstünö mingen soŋ
at quyruġun šüyödü;
Alda dep atqa minedi;
kele jatqan Qalmaqqa
qaršı čaap jönödü.

Once they had mounted their horses, they bound up their tails—"Allah!" they said as they mounted up and galloped off to confront the arriving Qalmaqs.[40]

The fact that these two passages are similar does not mean that there is a genetic link of transmission from the earlier text to the later one; rather, they speak to the typological constants of Turkic martial narrative in Inner Asia, which may be partly conditioned by history. The "veracity" of the narrated details is unknowable, but the broad, comparatively-sifted features of discourse of this type will be used in the following analyses to show that Inner Asian oral poets and historians shared material and may sometimes be the same people. Particularly with regard to topical and praising poems of which the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* fragments are examples, Reichl concludes, "It is quite possible that this type of poetry functioned as the historio'graphy' of an oral society; its value as a genuine reflection of history was only doubted at an age when chroniclers drew a line between history and poetry."[41]

Working independently and with different disciplinary viewpoints and sets of materials, Iudin and Reichl arrived at theories on the oral transmission of historical knowledge in Inner Asia that, while they are mutually compatible, nevertheless stand far enough apart from each other to allow

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[39] Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles," p. 160. The parenthetical remarks are al-Kāšġarī's own.

[40] I.883–887 (the present edition cites passages in the Šabdan Baatır Codex by the Roman numeral of the constituent poem followed by the line numbers). The geography of these two raids is also similar. Cf. also III.65–69.

[41] Ibid., p. 177. The term *oral society* is a "Lordism"; the analyses in this book argue for a less dichotomous interpretation of the verbal milieu that gave rise to the Šabdan Baatır Codex, one in which oral and literate modes of knowledge transmission overlapped.

for useful depth-perception of their common subjects. One could say that the subject of this book is at the periphery of these two models, at the point of contact between the oral and written realms, in the act of putting words on paper.

Objectives and Plan of the Edition, Translation, and Interpretations

The Šabdan Baatır Codex is the name used in this work to designate a unique manuscript comprising narrative and other poems in the Kirghiz language in Arabic script, at least partly datable to 1909–1910, that celebrates the exploits of a number of warriors and ancestors centered around Šabdan Baatır of the Tınay Sarıbağıš, the most powerful aristocrat or manap of the northern Kirghiz during the late Tsarist era. This edition divides the text into five poems numbered I through V, though there are only three main textual divisions visible in the Codex. The first and third poems, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*[42] and *Kenenṣarının qıṣṣası* 'The Story of Kenesarı', are praising narratives of military actions in a style similar to epic poetry. The second and fourth poems, brief asides in gnomic–topical *terme* verse by the author Musa Čağatayev, frame the two main narrative poems while praising the Kirghiz and begging for material support; these poems are referred to in this edition as the Inface and the Postface. The 2,030 lines of Musa's four main poems are supplemented by a final 80-line poem, *Sančı Oluyanıŋ qazalı* 'The Poem of Saint Sančı' (in a different hand, orthographic convention, poetic meter and genre) that celebrates Šabdan's greatness while commemorating saints and famous Kirghiz of past generations.

The times are fortunately long past when a powerful academic establishment could hold the scholarly world at arm's length with the absurd claim that the Kirghiz language had no writing system or literature until after the Great October Socialist Revolution, as if they were sent down by the rays of the Soviet sun. The demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 did not, however, initiate a smooth process of correction of these and other errors regarding the Kirghiz past; the substantial work that has been done in the subsequent two decades, some of it of high quality, has inevitably carved new pathways to engross researchers. The "triumph of nationalism" thought to be implicit in the breakup of the Soviet Union has ironically created an intellectual climate, one not restricted to Kyrgyzstan, that has hindered study of certain

[42] There is no Kirghiz title of this poem.

questions of the past, among them the pre-revolutionary development of the Kirghiz literary language and its relation to Kirghiz ethnic particularity. Textological approaches to these questions require a number of theoretical and methodological operations—such as decoupling language from ethnicity and language from script, and critical suspension of *a priori* distinctions between literary Kirghiz and other Central Asian literary languages—which scholars have tended to downplay just as they did during Soviet times. As a result, the shelf of scholarly publications of pre-Soviet Kirghiz literature on an international standard is a very short one. It is my intention to communicate through the structure of this edition the sorts of routine jobs that must be done in order to work this still nearly vacant field.

The main sections of this work are the Introduction, the Text and Translation, and the Commentary. There were certain cases where a subject of discussion could with reason have served either for the purpose of introducing the manuscript or of commenting on it. In such cases the Introductions accommodate those subjects that provide basic knowledge resembling what would have informed the reception of the work by a member of the Codex's original audience and readership; in the Commentaries the reader will find further discussions in the light of current scholarship or along the lines of more specialized interests.

The General Introduction is followed by a description of the Codex and separate introductions that focus on the historical and creative context of each of the constituent poems.

The core of the present work is the combined edition and translation of the entire text in facing-page format. The Kirghiz text appears on the left-hand pages. The process of textualization involved transliterating the phonetically untidy but fairly neatly written Arabic characters of the manuscript into a Latin orthography, applying punctuation, and accounting for notations, emendations, corrections, and other markings visible in the Codex. Philological details of these operations are explained on pp. 94–101. The need for an apparatus to explain the differences that exist between certain manuscript forms and the forms in the text is obviated by the presence of the complete Facsimile on pp. 418–470. The translation into English prose that appears on the right-hand pages is best explained in these words by Arthur T. Hatto:

> The translations opposite the text have no pretensions either as literary creations or as 'exact' renderings of the remote Kirghiz such as would please a grammarian. They are made i) in order to show those familiar with Kirghiz or at least a not too distant Turkic language, how the writer understands the text; ii) to serve as a first commentary on the original, to be completed by

> reference to the Commentary proper; iii) to enable those who have to rely on a translation, safely to assimilate the narrative content for their own scholarly purposes or pleasure.[43]

The Commentary begins with line-keyed Notes on the Text. The first function of the notes is to show the steps I have taken to reconstruct the Kirghiz poetic text in cases that eluded resolution in the general plan of textualization. The second function is to expand on aspects of meaning not fully captured in the text or translation. This often involves explanations of the personal, ethnic, and place names and culturally specific terms that occur in profusion, with which the poet could communicate with his intended readers much more easily than with us. An allusion contained in a line or even in a single word may open a subtle vista upon a whole sequence of events or set of relationships that casts useful light on the overt text. Seemingly as often, illumination could not be achieved without further research that eluded my present capacities; to the degree that these problems have significance beyond the present edition, my notes are intended as pathmarks. If the notes and other commentaries appear to dwell on, for example, the realia surrounding place-names and itineraries in these poems, it is because we know that the Kirghiz did as well;[44] it could hardly be otherwise for mobile pastoralists in a constantly challenging mountain environment. Similarly, the prosopographical details of the more than one hundred persons named in the poems receive as much illumination as they can bear. This is an attempt to do justice to the immense genealogical knowledge possessed by the northern Kirghiz elite, and of course their insiders' command of current and recent events, all for the purpose of understanding the poems on their own terms. It would be preferable to be able to refer readers interested in this information to works such as encyclopedias, standard histories, prosopographies, and edited genealogies, but the field has unfortunately not achieved that level of accommodation yet.[45] Throughout the Notes there has been very little attempt to smooth over the complexities and doubts that wrinkle the text. I have not shirked the editor's duty to decide among alternatives, but I have also not denied an explanation of the state of knowledge as I see it to those who may be interested in full access to the substance of the cruxes as they stand. That this often falls short of others' knowledge is,

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[43] Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, p. xii.

[44] Hatto, "Marschrouten"; Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary."

[45] Recent works by Salk and Jacquesson (Salk, *Sanjïra des Togolok Moldo*; Jacquesson, *Pastoréalismes*) share my conviction that prosopography and genealogy are essential tools to proper understanding of nineteenth-cetury Kirghiz history and culture.

of course, a given. The still barely-developed field of pre-Standard Kirghiz philology can little afford editorial shortcuts in the publication of source material. I would be satisfied if future researchers were able to demonstrate that my care with certain problems was insufficient, or, in other cases, excessive, and that better resolutions can be found.

The Commentary concludes with a set of interpretive essays. The last of these, the General Commentary, gathers together multiple strands of argument introduced throughout the Introduction and Commentaries and combines them in an overall thesis geared toward current scholarly debates on ethno-national forms of culture.

The Commentary is followed by Appendices, Maps, a Genealogical Chart, the Bibliography, the Index, and the Facsimile of the Codex. The ancillary sources translated in the Appendices were selected by a combination of criteria: specific and extensive relation to aspects of the text of the Codex; brevity, and thus suitability for subordinate publication here; and difficulty of access, because a source is in Kirghiz or because it is relatively unknown or unavailable in western libraries.

Although the interpretive essays in the Commentary with the exception of the concluding one treat the constituent poems of the manuscript discretely, they are unified by a set of general interpretive objectives. All of these objectives stem from the position of this unique literary manuscript in the cultural milieu of the famous and powerful late-Tsarist era Kirghiz manap Šabdan Baatır. The essays view that milieu in three main ways. As for the notional poles of history and epic, the poems in the Codex are an example from Kirghiz post-oral or oral-derived literature that helps to show how Iudin's "steppe oral historiography" and Reichl's "network of oral genres" actually worked in a specific time and place. The point here is not to assess the veracity of the narrative poems (incidentally the investigations in this book reveal them to be useful as primary sources) but to understand how all the poems in the Codex came to be composed and assembled in their present form. The essays ask what the poems can tell us about early twentieth-century northern Kirghiz elite readers' ideas of the past and about their systems of knowledge in the preceding century or so. Similar interpretive exercises could and should be carried out on other Kirghiz sources. For example, there are published narrative poems, and more lying unpublished in archives, that deal with the hostilities between the Kirghiz and Qazaqs in the 1840s, which is the subject of the third poem in the Codex.[46]

[46] Abdıraxmanov, "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası"; Axmetov, *Kenesarı–Naurızbay*.

One might also select from among a number of poems on the war between the Buġu and Sarıbaġıš tribes in the 1850s, a published representative of which even includes a topical preface that weaves historical and epic references together in the manner of the Inface and Postface of the Šabdan Baatır Codex.[47] The numerous records of *sanjıra* or genealogy are rich examples of the traditional knowledge being sought here. Several advantages for close study, however, place the Šabdan Baatır Codex in a league of its own, in particular its assemblage of substantial narrative poems with other poetic genres in a unified whole not formed by folklore collectors, its reliable pre-1917 date of composition, and its patronage ties to the most important Kirghiz manap of the time. Further research should focus on comparing this relatively well-contextualized work with other sources in Kirghiz that have been edited and published in a suitable manner.

On the plane of the oral versus the written, the theoretical divide that scholars have contentedly accommodated between these two modes belies the intimate nearness of oral and written thought that is evident in a text of the kind we are examining here, where a literate poet had extensive knowledge of his people's oral traditions. Whether a poem is considered to be oral "in terms of (1) its composition, (2) its mode of transmission, [or] (3) (related to (2)) its performance," as Ruth Finnegan shows, "[t]here is no deep gulf between the two: they shade into each other both in the present and over many centuries of historical development, and there are innumerable cases of poetry which has both 'oral' and 'written' elements."[48] When Karl Reichl states that the poetic fragments preserved in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* are the "earliest Turkic poetry that is uncontestably both oral and narrative,"[49] he speaks of the orality of the poetry as in a mode of oral composition-in-performance now widely accepted within the framework of the Parry–Lord school of oral formulaic theory,[50] even though the poems were not necessarily unmediated transcripts of performances. In a sense the orality of steppe oral historiography is not the most interesting thing about it; the great puzzles that await analysis surround the production of written texts, an activity that should be viewed not as a compromised periphery far from the generative core of a pristine oral tradition, but as the crucible of the sources we now have. In sections below, further analysis is devoted to the ways in which the Šabdan Baatır Codex reveals the close convergence of the spheres of orality

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47 Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbaġıš urušu."
48 Finnegan, *Oral Poetry*, pp. 16–24; the two quoted passages are on pp. 17 and 24.
49 Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 67.
50 Parry, *Making of Homeric Verse*; Lord, *Singer of Tales*.

and writing. Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that the recording of a text in writing was necessarily the achievement of an unproblematic fixity in the minds of the northern Kirghiz of Šabdan Baatır's day. As James C. Scott has noted, "For stateless peoples wedged between powerful lowland states and for whom adaptability, mimicry, reinvention, and accommodation are therefore important survival skills, an oral, vernacular culture holds substantial attractions."[51]

The third dimension of this edition's interpretive approach is where individual and group agendas converge in a field that can best be called patronage. This dimension of analysis is disadvantaged by paucity of evidence from the text. What few facts we possess about the persons and collectives reflected in the Codex hint at interesting ways in which oral-derived narrative sources can be used to illuminate the active agency of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Central Asian cultural elites in constructing modern group images for themselves. As it happens, the elite milieu discernible in the patronage of the Šabdan Baatır Codex hardly conforms with the dual framework of modernist and traditionalist Islamic cultural modes that are well-discussed in current historiography of the Tsarist period in Turkistan and the steppes.[52] The Codex rather represents a development of thought that seemingly existed outside the usually recognized modernist and traditionalist (if those labels are even valid) intellectual bastions.

The Codex is well-positioned to help with this work because it has a clear link with a patron and its contents are reliably dated to before the beginning of the Soviet era, when patronage relations and the asserted collective agendas that breathed through them were greatly distorted and finally overwhelmed by a new style of collectivity under communism. But it must be remembered that Tsarist colonial rule in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought equally significant changes. One of these was that the northern Kirghiz *manap*s or semi-despotic chiefs flourished in a position of unofficial domination of the Kirghiz population under Russian colonial rule.[53] Opprobrium toward the manap estate was not a Soviet invention;

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[51] Scott, *Art of Not Being Governed*, p. 229.

[52] Among the extensive literature see Khalid, *Politics of Cultural Reform*; Khalid, *Islam after Communism*; DeWeese, review of Khalid, *Islam after Communism*; Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte*; Frank, *Islamic Historiography*; Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions*; Frank and Usmanov, *Islamic Biographical Dictionary*; Sabol, *Russian Colonization*; Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar*.

[53] My findings on the terminology of the manap institution, which argue for a late development under the influence of Tsarist Russia, are explained in Prior, "High Rank and Power";

progressive writers of the Tsarist era voiced plenty of criticism of what they viewed as a doomed system of corrupt exploitation.[54] But the preeminent manap of the era was Šabdan Baatır, a man highly respected by Russians and Kirghiz alike. Šabdan was almost solely responsible for whatever human likeness and detail the publicistic press saw fit to impart to the image of the manap, which was seen otherwise as an archaic type, as if an Agamemnon of the Tian Shan. Thus any historical source that provides authentic Kirghiz perspective on the cultural significance of Šabdan's reputation, let alone a source that constitutes an assertive meditation on that reputation, should be studied with care. The thinking on display in the Šabdan Baatır Codex flies in the face of convenient, archaizing types.

Since the Kirghiz were a pastoral people, it is worth stressing at this point that "tribal," that third mode to which have been relegated the intellectual productions of Central Asian peoples not deemed conformable to traditionalist or modernist Islamic discourses, has little analytical bearing here. The real and fictive genealogical relationships denoted by the term "tribe" have been central to long debates on the significance of kinship in social and political formation in Inner Asia, the rehearsal of which here would be baroque.[55] Because the present study focuses on an ideological feedback-loop by which social categories are both represented and constructed in discourse, the categories involved are very much in play, and for our purposes the term "tribe" will mean no more nor less than the category to which refer the usual Kirghiz group-names like Sarıbağış, Solto, Buġu, and the like. It must be emphasized that, as such, "tribe" is an etic construct that maps to western scholarly terms like Russian *plemia*, but I claim no stable emic analogues for it in Inner Asia, where the languages dealt differently, but

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cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," p. 32; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 51–57; Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, pp. 511–512; Dzhumagulov, "O termine 'manap'."

[54] Articles highly critical of the manap estate and the corruption of manaps were published in the Tashkent colonial newspaper *Turkestanskiia viedomosti*, e.g., "Manap i bukara" (22 Feb. 1903, no. 12); "Kirgizskoe samoupravlenie" (3 Oct. 1906, no. 149).

[55] The debates on political formation in pastoral societies in Inner Asia have received impetus from the revisionist views of the social anthropologist David Sneath (Sneath, *The Headless State*), and to an equal or perhaps greater extent from the mixed reactions to Sneath's ideas, with a notable preponderance of criticism by historians; see Sneath's summary article and colloquy with the reviewers Sergei Abashin, Tatyana Skrynnikova, Nikolay Kradin, Munkh-Erdene Lhamsuren, Adrienne Edgar, and others in a special section of *Ab Imperio*, 2009, no. 4; also the review of *The Headless State* by Peter Golden and the exchange of rejoinders by Sneath and Golden in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 68 (2009), no. 1 and vol. 69 (2010), no. 2; and the review of *The Headless State* by Devin DeWeese in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 16 (2010), no. 1–2.

not necessarily imprecisely, with such social categories before the terminological impositions of the Soviet era.[56] With all these caveats, the quotation marks around the term "tribe" are henceforward largely dispensed with.[57]

While the poet who composed at least 90 percent of the Šabdan Baatır Codex, Musa Čağatayev, clearly added "spin" to curry favor with his patron Šabdan, and sometimes that spin amounted to adulation of members of Šabdan's tribe, the Codex as a whole celebrates Šabdan's preeminence as a supra-tribal, we may even say with justification national, Kirghiz leader. Nevertheless, the tribal or, if one prefers, genealogical agendas of the northern Kirghiz elite are important in this study, and units with genealogical inflections like Sarıbağıš, Solto, Buġu, and their subdivisions permeate the book's analyses. What is left behind henceforward is the notion that the oral-derived texts we have now are reflections of a "tribal past," as it were "tribal epics," all the more that such a past amounts to a "heroic age."[58] The ideological machinations of poets, patrons, and audiences in epic traditions are well enough known that such correspondences will not work.[59] Every generation of bards had exacting intellectual work to do in order to stay relevant, a fact to which a concept like "tribal" tradition hardly does justice. In contrast, the patronage context of sanjıra or genealogical discourse among the northern Kirghiz, with its overt "tribal" connections, is much less understood. Thus, by showing certain gradations in the space bounded by the conventional categories "traditional," "modernist," and "tribal," the Šabdan Baatır Codex can lend depth to emerging efforts to reexamine the framework of Central Asian cultural and social history.

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[56] See in particular the debate between Peter Golden and David Sneath in the *Journal of Asian Studies* cited in the previous note.

[57] This work forgoes the term "clan" and refers to groups comprehended by tribes simply as "divisions" or "subdivisions." The term "chief" (but not chieftain) is admitted hereunder to do yeoman work for which "leader" is too faint and "grandee," "magnate," "lord," "noble," "prince," and so on are at present too specific, assertive, imaginative, or precious. Justifiable critiques of the susceptibility to social stereotyping of terms like "tribe" and "chief" must surely be weighed with the danger of vapidity or dissonant cross-cultural metaphor in the alternatives. I do favor the view of the northern Kirghiz manaps and their forerunners, the *biy*s, as an aristocracy; see Prior, "High Rank and Power."

[58] This equation is made by Reichl in *Singing the Past*, p. 177. Although H.M. Chadwick's theory of heroic society is outdated and rife with well-rehearsed fallacies, he perceived that an "early stage" in which kinship defined social relations was not likely to produce militarized kingship or the social mobility needed for the formation of the sworn retinues of kings—i.e., the subject matter of heroic poetry (Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, pp. 347–351). This insight, held in due caution with regard to its interpretive assumptions, still shows the incongruency of "tribal" and "heroic" forms of culture.

[59] See Prior, "Patron, Party, Patrimony."

The Kirghiz Past

The basins of the Ču and Ili rivers and lake Issyk Kul with their surrounding mountain chains—the three drainage areas in which the events of the main narrative poems in the Šabdan Baatır Codex took place—constitute roughly the historical region of Jeti-suu or Semirech'e, with its abundance of prime pastureland that the northern Kirghiz came to share uneasily with Qazaqs of the Middle and Senior Hordes and with western Mongol Qalmaqs or Oirats. Most of the individuals who are featured as main characters in the narrative poems in the Codex belonged to the Tınay subdivision of the Kirghiz Sarıbağıš tribe. Tınay was the lineage not only of Šabdan Baatır, to whom the poems in this Codex were dedicated, but also of over a dozen named heroes in all five poems. If we count retainers, a spouse, and others under the protection of blood descendants, the works in the Codex name over 20 known members of the extended house of Tınay. During Tsarist times the Tınay numbered 5,000 tents in four *volost*s or subdistricts.[60] The Sarıbağıš tribe as a whole was at the center of key political and military events among the northern Kirghiz in the mid-nineteenth century, including the defense of the Tian Shan territory against the incursions of Sultan Kenesarı and his Qazaq army; the complicated, tumultuous severance of vassalage ties with the Qoqand Khanate; and the equally difficult process of acceptance of Russian suzerainty; all the while with the "China card" sometimes played to advantage with respect to both Qoqand and Russia. The Sarıbağıš under Ormon Khan of the Esenġul subdivision were also involved in the bloodiest internecine war of the period, against the Buġu under Borombay. These involvements had their causes and conditions, some of them quite remote in time, but all bearing upon our inquiry into the world of the Šabdan Baatır Codex. A review of the history of the Kirghiz and their Inner Asian neighbors will be a useful starting point for this inquiry. As the specificity of sources allows, the following summary narrows to focus on the interests of the peoples appearing in the Šabdan Baatır Codex from the late seventeenth century down through the lifetime of Šabdan Baatır—the Qazaqs, the Qalmaqs (Oirats), and the Kirghiz, particularly the Tınay Sarıbağıš line. Some data in this narrative are known only from sanjıra and other oral-derived sources, having come down to us through an unknown number of generations in oral transmission before they were written down in the nineteenth

[60] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) p. 35/(1990) p. 31.

and twentieth centuries.[61] At the present time there is no up-to-date monographic history of the Kirghiz, let alone one that takes due account of the range of oral-derived ethnohistorical sources.

The origin and formation of the modern Kirghiz people[62] are very poorly witnessed in the sources; as a consequence the central theme linking historians' widely varying theories has of necessity been the question of how the ancient ethnonym *Qırġız* arrived in Central Asia—and applied to whom—from its former abode to the north and east. The Kirghiz are originally attested in Chinese sources of the Han dynasty (with their name in various Chinese forms) as a group in the upper Yenisei basin. They are presumed to have been primarily of Paleosiberian or Samoyedic ethnolinguistic stock, though Turkicization seems to have affected them fairly early on. These Kirghiz or a part of them emerged in the ninth century at the head of a state that destroyed the Uighur Qaghanate to the south, the last continuator of Türk imperial power in its Mongolian homeland. But the Kirghiz vacated this area and ruled over a large territory in south Siberia, apparently eschewing the ancient nomads' cynosure of trade with China in favor of commercial opportunities in the steppes farther west. Soon after this apogee they all but fade from view, having shed nomadic groups who carried the name westward either as an ethnic or a merely political designation. The Kirghiz then reappear in the glare of the Mongol Conquests being defeated, dispossessed and dispersed from the Yenisei and Altai region, though some continued to hang on there.[63]

Since at least the mid-eighteenth century people bearing the name *Qırġız* have resided throughout their present abode. This area comprises the Tian

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[61] The retention in recent Kirghiz unwritten memory of otherwise well-attested historical data as far back as the fifteenth century was noted by Abramzon (*Kirgizy*, pp. 34–35).

[62] On the Kirghiz in general see Aristov, *Usuni i kyrgyzy*; Bartol'd, "History of the Semirechyé"; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy"; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*; Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1; Debets, "Origin of the Kirgiz People"; Golden, *History of the Turkic Peoples*; Kuznetsov, *Tsinskaia imperiia*, pp. 45–51, 74–83; Saguchi, "Eastern Trade"; Saguchi, "White Mountain Khwājas"; Bregel, *Historical Atlas; Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii/Materialy po istorii kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*; Dughlát, *History of the Moghuls*; Churas, *Khronika*; Bernshtam, "Istochniki po istorii kirgizov"; Bernshtam, "Origin of the Kirgiz"; Beisembiev, *"Ta'rikh-i Shakhrukhi"*; Salakhetdinova, "Sochinenie Mukhammed-Sadyka Kashgari"; Salakhetdinova, "Soobshcheniia o kirgizakh"; Valikhanov, "O sostoianii Altyshara"; Valikhanov, "Ocherki Dzhungarii" (which contains an interesting conspectus of older scholarly views down to the mid-nineteenth century on the formation of the Kirghiz); Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh"; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*.

[63] Golden, *History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 176–183; Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, p. 389, citing the *Yüan shih*.

Shan mountains and its lowland fringes in present-day Kyrgyzstan, southern Kazakhstan, and East Turkistan (northwest China); the mountain ranges and lowland fringes ringing the Ferghana valley at the western end of the Tian Shan in Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan; and Qarategin and the Pamir and Alai mountain ranges south of Ferghana in Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and China. "The" Kirghiz of Central Asia—in the earliest period they deserve as yet only provisional recognition as an ethnic group—are mentioned in the Chinese "Description of the Western Region" (*Hsi-yü chi*), written in the 1760s, as having fled from disturbances elsewhere and sought refuge in the Tian Shan some 330 years previous.[64] If this late source is to be believed as to the date,[65] this is the earliest historical notice of (some) Kirghiz in a part of their present homeland.[66] But that region was already populated by Turkic tribes subordinate (barely, it was said) to the Činggisid ulus of Čaġatay that ruled parts of Central Asia as a successor state to the Mongol Empire. There is no doubt that whoever brought the name *Qırġız* here met and mixed with the well-layered ethnic groups already present: Turks who had arrived in the wake of the Mongols' rise to supremacy, as well as ethnic Mongols gradually undergoing Turkicization; Turks remaining from similar imperial rearrangements during the Türk imperial period; and even older Turkicized Iranian groups that continued the oldest ethnic strands in the area traceable outside purely archaeological cultures.

What cannot be known is how many people were involved in the movements, or whether the name Kirghiz had for the people who left the Yenisei an ethnic or a political meaning, in the latter case as if for fragments of the population (but not the titular ruling minority) of the former Kirghiz Qaġanate. The Aralo-Caspian Qıpčaq Turkic language spoken by the modern Kirghiz in distinction from those on the Yenisei is apparently a memento of Qıpčaq ethnic admixture, probably occurring west of and later than the Kirghiz' original situation. The main theories on the location of the

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[64] *Materialy po istorii kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*, vol. 2, p. 202. It is unclear from this and another standard Russian translation of the passage in question (Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, p. 431) whether the *Hsi-yü chi* uses the term *Qırġız* (in Chinese garb) or the usual name for the Kirghiz among peoples to the east, *Burut* (on which see below).

[65] Neither can the toponym *Tian Shan* be taken for granted as meaning what it means today; cf. Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 27.

[66] Early Islamic sources on the existence of the Kirghiz in the Tian Shan are discussed by Bartol'd in his "Kirgizy," pp. 512–514 (1503/04: in the *Tā'rīx-i Rašīdī*), and by the editor of Bartol'd's work, Romodin (mid-fifteenth century: in the *Baḥr al-Asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī; see Akhmedov, "K izucheniiu politicheskoi istorii," p. 31; the passage is not translated in Ibragimov, *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv*).

"crucible" of modern Kirghiz ethnogenesis range from south Siberia between the Altai and Khingan mountains, to the upper Yenisei–Irtysh region, to the eastern Tian Shan in Jungharia, to approximately the present range of the modern Kirghiz, with proposed dates of the "hottest" period of ethnogenesis ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century; there is little besides niceties of educated speculation to distinguish these models.[67] The process of differentiation of the Central Asian Kirghiz is all the more difficult to establish because the Kirghiz continued to exist in the Yenisei region for a long time, but had no contact with the Tian Shan group, before they were driven out of their ancient homeland in 1703 by the Junghars and dispersed without a trace.[68]

In the early sixteenth century the Özbeks led by Muḥammad Šıbānī Khan left their disintegrated polity, the ulus of Joči in the Dašt-i Qıpčaq, and invaded the oasis region of Mawarannahr between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, ejecting the Timurid dynasty from the remains of the western Čaġatay ulus and forming the basis of a strong state. By that time the successors of the princes of the same Jočid lineage who had defected and established nomadizing grounds in the Ču and Ili basins[69] were taking form politically and extending the rule of their Qazaq Khanate over the Qıpčaq and other Turkic tribes of the steppes.[70] Moghulistan, the eastern Čaġatay ulus in the Tian Shan and East Turkistan, remained under weak Čaġatayid rule in the sixteenth century, pressed from the west by the Özbeks and from the northwest by the Qazaqs (although it was occasionally in league with

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[67] Golden, *History of the Turkic Peoples*, pp. 404–406.

[68] The Junghars were referred to as "Kalmyks" in the Russian report: Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," pp. 523–524. On ethnonymic and legendary connections between the two groups of Kirghiz see Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 52.

[69] Coincidentally, the land presented to accommodate the breakaway Özbek-Qazaq sultans Janibek and Girey by the Moghul Esen Buġa Khan in the mid-fifteenth century coincides with the exact area where Sultan Kenesarı made his last attempt to establish a Qazaq stronghold four centuries later (see *The Story of Kenesarı*, below). The *Tā'rīx-i Rašīdī* specifies the allotment as "the area of the Ju [Čᵘ] and Qūzī-bāšī" (Ibragimov, *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv*, pp. 195, 523 n. 33). Qozu-bašı (Qazaq *Qozı-basy*) is a gentle elevation and pasture at the foot of the northern flank of the Čᵘ-Ili range, the western arm of the Zailiiskii Ala-tau, at 43°17′N 75°55′E in southern Kazakhstan (General'nyi Shtab, 1:200,000, sheet K-43–10). In the English rendering of the *Tā'rīx-i Rašīdī* by Ross (Dughlát, *History of the Moghuls*, p. 82) the phrase "Kuzi Báshi, which is near Chu," obscures the fact that in the original Persian text pastures on both the south and the north sides of the Čᵘ-Ili range are indicated, which would have worked as a comfortable year-round system of nomadizing grounds for a sizeable pastoral entity.

[70] Bregel, *Historical Atlas*, pp. 44–52.

both of these[71]); from the northeast by the Oirats (Oyirad), a confederation of the four western Mongol tribes of Čoros, Torġut, Dörbet, and Xošut, who made periodic attempts to expand into Central Asia; and from the north by a new power that occupied the mountain territory between the Qazaqs and the Čaġatayid house of Moġuliya—the Kirghiz, who begin to appear fairly substantially and continuously in the sources from this time. The rise of the Qazaqs and Kirghiz in steppe and mountain and of the Oirats who ventured to dominate both of them hastened the end of Činggisid rule in Moghulistan.[72] The Kirghiz were said to be rebellious against the Moghul rulers, resistant to Islamization, and largely hostile toward the more economically favored and politically developed powers that surrounded them, though they sometimes figured as supporters and subjects of Qazaq khans.[73]

This period of political closeness between the Qazaqs and Kirghiz coincides with the opening of a cultural conduit that over time brought substantial strata of legendary and epic material from the steppes into Kirghiz oral traditions. Edigü (Idige, Edige), the amir of the Manġıt tribe, had seized power in the Golden Horde, the ulus of Joči, toward the end of the fourteenth century, after Toqtamıš Khan's disastrous defeats in battle with the Central Asian Turkic amir Timur (Tamerlane) had ended Činggisid rule over the ulus. Stories of Edigü's exploits in forming the Manġıt ulus or Noġay Horde (the reason for the appearance of the second name in later tradition is poorly understood) were spread by oral tradition and became the basis of epics and other popular narratives featuring a number of heroes, some of them likewise with historical prototypes. Epics and tales about the heroes of the legendarized Noġay lineage spread widely among a number of Central Asian peoples, incuding the Tatars, Baškirs, Noġays, Qaraqalpaqs, Qazaqs, and eventually Kirghiz.[74]

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[71] Churas, *Khronika*, pp. 125, 129, 266–269.

[72] Golden, *History of the Turkic Peoples*, p. 339.

[73] Dughlát, *History of the Moghuls*, pp. 125, 148, 379, 388; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 516.

[74] Trepavlov, "Formation of the Manghit Yurt"; full references on Edigü's historical role in DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, pp. 336–352, 411–420, 518; Zhirmunskii, "Ėpicheskie skazaniia o nogaiskikh batyriakh"; Zhirmunskii, "Vvedenie v izuchenie ėposa 'Manas'," pp. 143–148; Reichl, *Edige*, pp. 22–72. On aspects of steppe Noġay ethnic history of relevance to the Kirghiz and their epic tradition, see Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 327; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 60–62, 65–66; Valikhanov, "Zametki po istorii iuzhnosibirskikh plemen," p. 301; Valikhanov, "Ocherki Dzhungarii," pp. 349–350; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 65–66, 354.

The political cultures of the pastoral peoples of Inner Asia were related to their social structures. The basic distinction was between nominally Činggisid *töre* or princes who were eligible to assume the royal dignity of khan (*xan*), and the tribes over which they ruled when strong enough and with which they vied when conditions favored the latter. Three branches of the *töre* lineage of sultans (in Qazaq *aq süyek* 'white bone') that ruled the Qazaqs eventually emerged at the head of the three political unions of tribes called *žüz* (usually translated as 'horde') that also became the framework of Qazaq society. These hordes, referred to as Senior (*ŭlı*), Middle (*orta*), and Junior (*kiši*), occupied respectively Semirech'e, the central Dašt-i Qıpčaq (which after their ascendancy was called the Qazaq steppes) as far as Jungharia, and the western steppes as far as the Volga–Ural basin.[75] The Oirats had no *töre* overlords, but leaders of their constituent tribes were able to form strong polities, eventually with khanly titles conferred by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa. In particular the Zünġar division of the Čoros tribe produced a line of chiefs who united the Oirat in Mongolia in the early seventeenth century to form what became the Junghar Empire,[76] the expansion of which in Central Asia put pressure on the Qazaqs and Kirghiz.

The Kirghiz also lacked, or were aloof from, the *töre* dispensation.[77] The chiefs of the Kirghiz, who bore various titles in different eras,[78] had as their power base the tribes whose genealogically-conceived relationships date back probably to the seventeenth century if not earlier. The bulk of the tribes comprise the Otuz uul 'Thirty Sons' in the Tian Shan and around the Ferghana valley; this main bloc is divided into the right wing (*oŋ qanat*) and left wing (*sol qanat*), whose tribes are said to be descended respectively from Aq uul (Aġul, Abıl) and Quu uul (Qabıl), sons of Dolon.[79]

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[75] Vostrov and Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav kazakhov*, pp. 8–108.

[76] Zlatkin, *Istoriia Dzhungarskogo Khanstva*, pp. 108–135; 149–151.

[77] The absence of Činggisid "white bone" nobility among the Kirghiz resulted in their being labeled *Karakirgiz* (*qara* 'black') by the Russians.

[78] Prior, "High Rank and Power."

[79] Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 25–26 (where regional variations in the genealogical accounts of the Otuz Uul/Ičkilik system are noted); Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennoi sostav," pp. 137–138. Jacquesson (*Pastoréalismes*, pp. 24–27) compares published sanjıra accounts of Kirghiz anterior genealogy with less of an aim toward synthesis than Abramzon and Vinnikov. Likewise Aristov ("Opyt vyiasneniia ėtnicheskogo sostava," pp. 43–68; Aristov, "Zametki ob ėtnicheskom sostave," pp. 215–217) analyzes contrasting genealogical accounts collected in the nineteenth century.

Abramzon and other authors give credence to the widely accepted sixteenth-century date of the problematical Persian quasi-historical text *Majmūʿ at-tavārīx*, and thus to the early

The right wing in turn had as its major genealogical marker the division between the descendants of Taġay (to whom the Sarıbağıs tribe belonged) and the less numerous tribes descended from Adigine. The overt military connotation of the wing terminology conceived the Kirghiz tribes as arrayed along the spine of the Tian Shan with the right wing in the north and east and the left wing in the south and west, and the ostensible "front line" facing north, toward the Qazaqs and Oirats. Despite this notion, the tribes on the two wings of the Otuz Uul seldom if ever united under a single leader in concerted military action.[80] Besides the Otuz Uul (right and left wings), several Kirghiz tribes of miscellaneous and in some cases quite old genealogical affiliations comprise the Ičkilik or 'Interior', situated south and east of the Otuz Uul.[81]

The gradual process of Islamization meant that the Kirghiz eventually adopted as their name for the Oirats the term that all Muslim Inner Asian peoples used: *Qalmaq*; and it is this term that will be preferred in most instances below.[82] On the other hand the non-Muslim peoples of Inner and East Asia—the Qalmaqs and other Mongols, the Chinese, and the Manchus—had their own name for the Central Asian Kirghiz: *Burut*.[83]

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date of the ethnonymic information contained in it, though the date is doubtful for the work as a whole and particularly for the passages pertaining to the Kirghiz, which may date to the late eighteenth century (cf. Tagirdzhanov, *"Sobranie istorii"*; Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, pp. 90–91). More fundamental analysis of the *Majmūʿat-tavārīx* is needed before it can be safely used as a source on Kirghiz history and ethnology.

[80] The idiom of wings or arms is also found in other Inner Asian ethno-political groupings, as in the case of the division of the Čoros ruling house at the head of the Junghar Empire (Zlatkin, *Istoriia Dzhungarskogo Khanstva*, p. 208).

[81] Abramzon ("Kirgizskoe naselenie," pp. 338–339) locates the origin of the various Ičkilik groups in East Turkistan, whence they moved into the Ferghana and Pamir regions.

[82] On the history of the Qalmaqs (Kalmu[c]ks, Kalmyks; also labeled ethnically Oirat, politically Junghar before 1758, and Torġut/Torgout after 1771 in the region dealt with in the Šabdan Baatır Codex) see Bartol'd, "Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia," pp. 96–101 and note 1, to the literature listed in which may be added: Courant, *Asie centrale*; Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*; Zlatkin, *Istoriia Dzhungarskogo Khanstva*; Halkovic, *Mongols of the West*; Saparaliev, *Vzaimootnosheniia kyrgyzskogo naroda*; Chernyshev, *Obshchestvennoe i gosudarstvennoe razvitie*; Perdue, *China Marches West*, pp. 292–299 and the sources in note 95 on p. 631; *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*/*Materialy po istorii kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*.

[83] These peoples never used the ethnonym *Burut* in reference to the Yenisei Kirghiz. The required full study on this ethnonym (found also among Siberian Turkic peoples) and its relation to Kirghiz ethnic formation in both its historical zones, based on all available historical sources from Inner and East Asia as well as ethnographies, has yet to be produced. See Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 527; *Materialy po istorii kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*, vol. 2; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 66; Valikhanov, "Zametki po istorii iuzhnosibirskikh plemen," p. 300; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*; Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*; Butanaev, "Proiskhozhdenie

The adoption of Tibetan Buddhism by several Oirat chiefs in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries[84] drew a religious line of unprecedented sharpness between the peoples in two halves of the Inner Asian region: the eastern, Buddhist, with ethnically and linguistically Mongolian peoples in the steppes; and the western, Islamic, with a Turkic steppe population. The centuries-old process of Islamization had provided the Turks with mosques and centers of religious learning in urban areas mainly on the periphery of the steppe and a network of shrines associated with saints and Sufi shaykhs that pervaded the nomads' lands as well.[85] Many Oirat chiefs, for their part, were zealous sponsors of the dGelugs-pa or Yellow Hat sect of Tibetan Buddhism, and established temples and monasteries in Semirech'e and throughout their territories, some of them housed in mobile tent camps.[86] These institutions brought normative dGelugs-pa doctrines within regular reach of nomads living in a sizeable territory, but also became periodic targets of both internecine Mongol disputes and raiding from Muslim Turks.

Qalmaq attacks on the Qazaqs and Kirghiz intensified in the 1620s, in part because of the formation and expansion of the Junghar Empire and in part because a large body of Torġuts and Dörbets migrated and raided their way westward across the steppes to take up residence on the lower Volga. Junghar domination reached a peak during the expansive reign of Galdan Bošuġtu Khan in the late seventeenth century. Galdan's enterprise deeply affected the Kirghiz in two ways. First, he was able to subjugate them and the Qazaqs;[87] second, more indirectly, after conquering Kashgharia in 1678 he installed at Yarkand as vassal rulers the Āfāqiya dynasty of Naqšbandī

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khakasskikh sëokov"; Imanaliev, "K voprosu o burutakh"; cf. A.T. Hatto ("Kirghiz [Mid-nineteenth century]," p. 300).

[84] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part 1, p. 616, citing Pallas.

[85] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*; Privratsky, *Muslim Turkistan*; Frank and Usmanov, *Islamic Biographical Dictionary*.

[86] Rezvantsev and Rezvantsev, *Tropami Shambaly*; Courant, *Asie centrale*, p. 17, citing Fischer and Pallas; Badmaev, *Kalmytskie istoriko-literaturnye pamiatniki*; Norbo, *Zaia-Pandita*; Erofeeva, "History of South Balkhash," pp. 154–157. Semenov (*Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*, pp. 64–65) excavated the ruins of one of these Buddhist monastic establishments on the banks of the Qaratal river in Semirech'e, near Kopal.

[87] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part 1, p. 629, referring to Chinese records translated by de Mailla; ibid., part 2, p. 649; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," pp. 519, 523. By this time another newly expanding power, the Russian Empire, had become a source of documentary records on the Qazaqs, Oirats, and Kirghiz, in the latter case both on the Yenisei and in Central Asia (the term for the latter being *Alatai* [sc. Ala-tau] *Kirgiz*: cf. Zlatkin, *Russko-mongol'skie otnosheniia*, p. 239).

Sufi shaykhs, whose struggles against the rival Isḥāqiya branch increasingly involved their relations with the Kirghiz.[88] Over many years the Kirghiz mountaineers participated in the economic and political designs of these vying *khoja*s,[89] both in East Turkistan and in Ferghana. The Kirghiz controlled the passes between those two settled areas, and not only plundered caravans going back and forth but also made occasional attempts to conquer Kashghar and Yarkand themselves.[90] The political and military potency of the Kirghiz in the region undermines the common supposition that they passively received a push toward Islamization under pressure of khoja factions in Ferghana and Kashgharia, as if to brace them in the face of a strong infidel enemy. The fact that the Kirghiz have preserved much pre-Islamic belief and practice may just as well serve the point of view that they actively chose and developed their own forms of piety as it does the common notion that they were passively and incompletely Islamized by outside religious forces acting upon them.[91]

Qalmaq victories forced the Kirghiz southward into Ferghana, Hissar, and Qarategin around 1635 and again half a century later; there is debate about how many Kirghiz remained in the Tian Shan after these reversals.[92] The Qazaqs, lacking deep mountain refuges, fared even worse: these were the infamous years when *Qazaq qayıŋ saap, Qırġız Ïsar, Kölöpkö kirdi* 'the Qazaqs milked birches and the Kirghiz went to Hissar and Kulab'.[93] The Qazaqs of the Middle and Senior Hordes suffered a massive defeat at the hands of the Qalmaqs in 1723 with catastrophic loss of life, property, and their khans' cities of Turkestan, Tashkent, and Sayram; this led to the epochal *aq-taban šŭbırındı*, 'the Barefoot Flight'.[94] The experience of defeat and dispossession by the Qalmaqs gave the Kirghiz and Qazaqs a certain sense of common struggle and common identification to which later

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[88] Valikhanov, "O sostoianii Altyshara," pp. 127–128.

[89] On the *khoja*s of Central Asia, with their various claims to prestige, notably via asserted descent from the Prophet Muḥammad or certain Sufi shaykhs, see Schwarz, "Khwājas of Eastern Turkestan," pp. 267–269; Muminov, "Die Qožas"; DeWeese, "Foreword," especially pp. 17–33.

[90] Shaw, "History of the Khōjas"; Schwarz, "Khwājas of Eastern Turkestan"; Saguchi, "Eastern Trade"; Fletcher, "Naqshbandiyya in northwest China"; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 519.

[91] Cf. Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 267–339; Light, "Participation and Analysis."

[92] Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 519; Abramzon, "Narodnye predaniia"; Saparaliev, "O rasselenii kirgizov"; *Materialy po istorii kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*, vol. 2.

[93] Abramzon, op. cit., p. 75; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 120–121.

[94] Levshin, *Opisanie*, p. 167 (= 1832 edn., vol. 2, pp. 69–70); Tynyshpaev, "Ak-taban-shubryndy."

leaders, particularly Qazaq khans and sultans, could appeal. The pain and calamity at the hands of the Qalmaqs were paid back twice. In 1758 the army of the Ch'ing emperor crushed the army of the Junghar Empire and initiated a massacre of the Oirat population, in which the Qazaqs and Kirghiz exacted their own toll of killing and plunder. Then in 1771 the Torġuts who had lived for a century and a half on the lower Volga hastily departed Russian territory and migrated en masse back east across the steppes, suffering and dying in great numbers along the way from cold, disease, and the depredations of the Turkic Muslims who reckoned them Qalmaqs just like the hated Junghars. First to attack them were the Qazaqs of the Junior Horde under Nur Ali Khan, then the Middle and Senior Hordes under Ablay; the Kirghiz around lake Balkhash gave them a final beating before they were able to escape to safety across the Chinese border. The Ch'ien-lung emperor granted the barefoot Torġut refugees relief supplies and lands in the Ili–Tekes–Yulduz region, where they remained.[95]

The destruction of Junghar power had pivotal consequences for the Kirghiz. While it is not clear how many of them had remained in the Ču valley, the Issyk Kul basin, and the central Tian Shan, the sudden disintegration of Qalmaq control led to a new spread into these areas from the south.[96] It was not a *reconquista* or repopulation of vacant land. The disappearance of the Junghar regime rather marked a shift in the makeup of the set of powerful neighbors the Kirghiz had to deal with. In the event, certain Kirghiz chiefs took significant economic and political advantage of this destabilization

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[95] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part 1, pp. 575–581; Courant, *Asie centrale*, pp. 134–139. On the Ili–Tekes–Yulduz Qalmaqs (Torġuts) in the nineteenth century (the era of the poems under examination here), see Aristov, *Usuni i kyrgyzy*, p. 526 (specifying the Qalmaqs of the Tekes border region in 1864 as belonging to the Zorġan-sumun); Golubev, "Otryvok iz puteshestviia," p. 109; Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, pp. 52–62; Kaul'bars, "Zamietki o Kul'dzhinskom kraie," pp. 130–131.

[96] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 165–169. The effect of these movements is visible, albeit crudely, in the sizes of the territories occupied by the various tribes of the northern/eastern and southern/western parts of Kyrgyzstan (see the large color maps in Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennoi sostav" and Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav"): the generally smaller areas inhabited by the southern/western tribes suggest longer residence in more and more subdivided and fragmented holdings, while the generally larger areas in the north/east suggest more recent influxes and spreading of a smaller number of groups. Cf. the numbers used in the political description of Kirghiz holdings in Ch'ing documents ca. 1760, summarized by Saguchi: "two groups, the first group living in five eastern [i.e., 'northern'] tribes (*otok*) scattered in mountain areas between Ili, Ush and Aqsū and the second group in 15 western ['southern'] *otok*s in the area ranging from the Naryn river area to the eastern part of the Ferghana Basin, centered in the Alai mountain area, and partly in the Pamirs in the southwest of Kāshghar" (Saguchi, "Eastern Trade," p. 59).

by juggling the competing interests of the Ch'ing, the Qazaqs, the Russian Empire, and the Özbek Ming chiefs in Ferghana, who at the time were consolidating their rule over what came to be the independent Khanate of Qoqand. Russia and Qoqand were the newest arrivals on the scene in the mid-eighteenth century, and by the end of the century their interests had become preponderant to the point that the political fates of the Kirghiz located within their respective orbits afterward bore distinctive markings of Qoqandian and Russian colonialism. From these molds the notional groupings of "northern" and "southern" Kirghiz emerged.[97]

After the liquidation of Junghar rule in 1758, the relations of the Turkic Muslims of Central Asia with the Ch'ing authorities in the the latter's new province of Sinkiang (Xinjiang) proceeded according to the Peking court's time-honored system of tribute and submission, but in practice the idiom encompassed a much more nuanced political and economic relationship. For the Kirghiz, Özbek, and other chiefs in the post-Qalmaq Tian Shan and Ferghana regions (their Turkic title is read as *bïy* in the Chinese documents) these relationships appear to have brought more potential benefits than actual costs.[98] Ajı (Ḥājjī, A-chi) Biy of the Adigine started on good terms with Irdana (Erdene) Biy of Qoqand.[99] In 1759 Ajı Biy wrote with alacrity to the court of the Ch'ien-lung emperor to pledge his submission and that of "our 210,000 tribesmen east of Bukhārā," evidently the entire western half of the Kirghiz.[100] Although there is no evidence that Ajı Biy or any other Kirghiz leader at the time held real power over more than his own tribe and a few allied groups, his justification to speak for so many Kirghiz was clearly that he considered himself to be the political equal of his western neighbor Irdana Biy. When Irdana, also an ostensible vassal of the Ch'ing, invaded Ajı Biy's city of Osh in 1762 in reprisal for Kirghiz raids on caravans, the Ch'ing interceded on Ajı Biy's behalf. These protests were repeated after another

[97] The key historical distinction between northern and southern Kirghiz seems to be political. Those in the south, in the mountains and valleys surrounding Ferghana, were directly ruled by Qoqandian governors (*ḥākim*); those in the north, in the Talas (for most of the time), Ču, and Narın river drainages and the basin of lake Issyk Kul, were ruled by their own chiefs, who became vassals of the Khan of Qoqand and later manaps under Russian rule.

[98] Di Cosmo, "Kirghiz Nomads"; Saguchi, "Eastern Trade," pp. 59–63; Newby, *Empire and the Khanate*, pp. 5–10, 28; Onuma, "Political Relations," pp. 107–108.

[99] Newby, *Empire and the Khanate*, pp. 30–31.

[100] Saguchi, "Eastern Trade," p. 59, where corroboration is given from the *Hsi-yü t'u-chih* that the population of the western Buruts was 200,000 (the *Hsi-yü t'u-chih* "Illustrated Treatise on the Imperial Western territories" was finished in 1762). See also Newby, *Empire and the Khanate*, p. 25.

incursion by Irdana the following year.[101] The Ch'ing did little, however, as the Qoqandian rulers (who began to use the title Khan at some point in the late eighteenth century) collected taxes, opened emporia in Kashghar, and formed an energetically expansive state that gradually overwhelmed Kirghiz power.[102]

While the Kirghiz living between Ferghana and Kashghar experienced political tensions east and west in the post-Qalmaq power vacuum, other tribes were pulled north and south. Soon after 1758 the northernmost Kirghiz entered into contention with Ablay, the predominant sultan of the Qazaq Middle Horde, over possession of the Čǔ valley and nearby pastures in the lower Ili valley. Ablay (who had submitted to both the Ch'ing and Romanov thrones, but adopted the title Khan for himself in 1771[103]) for his part was taking advantage of post-Qalmaq opportunities to expand his control southward over these lands at the expense of the Senior Horde.[104] In 1760 the Ch'ien-lung emperor declined to side with Ablay in his complaint against the eastern Kirghiz who were competing with him for pastures, rating them both on an equal footing as *albatu* (subjects) of the Ch'ing.[105] In 1774, in response to Kirghiz raiding on the Qazaqs,[106] Ablay led a punitive expedition against the Kirghiz. During this or another incursion soon afterward, Sultan Baraq of the Nayman (Middle Horde)[107] ransacked the holy

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[101] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part 2, p. 817; Saguchi, "Eastern Trade," pp. 62–63.

[102] V. Ploskikh, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe khanstvo*; Beisembiev, *Kokandskoe istoriografiia*, pp. 186–191.

[103] Ablay received his presumptive title Khan from St. Petersburg only in 1778 (Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part 2, p. 649).

[104] On Ablay Khan (d. 1781) of the Qazaq Middle Horde, see I. Andreev, *Opisanie Srednei ordy*; Levshin, *Opisanie*; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, part 2, pp. 646–650; Valikhanov, "Ablai"; Valikhanov, "Ābläy tūrālī jir/Pesnia ob Ablae"; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 162; "Abılay Xan," in Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 280–282; Qurbān ʿAlī Xālidī, *Tavārīx-i xamsa-i šarqī*, pp. 249–264; Axmetov, *Abılay Xan*; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, pp. 185–192; Asanov and Turganbayev *Alımbektin sanjırası*; Noda and Onuma, *Collection of Documents*.

[105] Onuma, "Political Relations," pp. 111–112.

[106] Kuznetsov, *Tsinskaia imperiia*, pp. 46–47 on the basis of Ch'ing veritable records. Saparaliev (*Vzaimootnosheniia kyrgyzskogo naroda*, pp. 95–96) shows on the basis of Russian archival sources that the date of 1770 given by Valikhanov for the first major defeat of the Kirghiz by Ablay is not correct, and Kuznetsov's researches in the Ch'ing veritable records confirm this. Similarly, the events of Ablay Khan's hostilities with the Kirghiz that are registered by Soltonoyev from oral sources as having taken place during 1775–1776 (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, pp. 185–193) must have occurred either during 1774 or 1779–1780; cf. Asanov and Turganbayev, *Alımbektin sanjırası*, pp. 46n., 50n., 51n.

[107] Baraq's by-name in Kirghiz sources is *Jalduu* or *Kök-jal*, lit. '(blue-)maned', with lupine connotation; he is also called Sanbaraq. Cf. II.31 and pp. 334 n. 11, 347.

places (*mazar*) at the tomb of the Kirghiz' beloved saint, Qočqor Ata.[108] In retaliation, a Kirghiz force composed of Sarıbağıš, Solto, and Sayaq under Esenġul Bolot uulu of the Sarıbağıš fell upon Baraq's camp in a surprise attack, ran him down, and killed him and many of his followers near the Ili. Oral reports collected by the Russian military numbered the massacred Qazaqs at 17,000, probably an exaggeration. Kirghiz horse-raiding on the Qazaqs increased after this victory.[109] Ablay got revenge in his last campaign, in 1779–1780.[110] First he led a large-scale raid on the Solto and Sayaq tribes in Talas and took away a great quantity of booty and captives. At this point Valikhanov relates that a massed force comprising both the right and the left wings of the Kirghiz gave battle near the Qızıl-suu and Šamšı rivers in the Ču valley.[111] The battle fought between the army of Ablay Khan and the counterattacking Kirghiz force ended in disaster for the latter. Heavy battlefield losses almost wiped out some Kirghiz tribes and subdivisions. The Solto leader Jayıl Baatır and two of his sons died on the field;[112] Sadır Khan, a powerful chief of the Qaba Sayaq lineage with some recognized authority over all the northern Kirghiz, was captured and killed. After the battle, the Esenġul Sarıbağıš migrated south to the mountains between Ferghana and Kashghar, and the Buġu crossed over to the east into the Tekes valley. Ablay levied taxes on those Kirghiz remaining within his reach;[113] the Esenġul Sarıbağıš, the Arıq Buġu, and the Azıq also handed over hostages to

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[108] Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 78. There are several shrines (*mazar*) of Qočqor Ata on Kirghiz territory, the most famous of which is located at 42°14′N 75°30′E near the village of Qum-döbö in the Qočqor valley west of lake Issyk Kul (General'nyi Shtab, 1:200,000, sheet K-43–16, where the *mazar* is specified as a *sopka* 'tomb'). Another *mazar* claimed by devotees to be Qočqor Ata's tomb is in Talas (Aitpaeva, *Mazar Worship*, pp. 80–83); cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 183–184 (where *Qočqor Ata* is simply *Qočqor*).

[109] Cf. Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 77–79; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*; Saparaliev, *Vzaimootnosheniia kyrgyzskogo naroda*, pp. 95–96; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 415, 423–427.

[110] V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, pp. 47–50 (citing Russian documents dated August 1779 and June 1780); Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 187–192 (where Soltonoyev dates the campaign earlier, in error). Asanov and Turganbayev (*Alımbektin sanjırası*, pp. 22–53) present a long sanjıra account of the campaign and analyses with particular attention to chronology.

[111] Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 78–79. Soltonoyev, on the other hand, maintains that the Solto fought this engagement alone as an attempt by the Saruu to support them was unsuccessful (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 187–188). Valikhanov's statement appears exaggerated, while Soltonoyev's seems to accord less well with the political significance of the battle's sequel.

[112] Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 78.

[113] Asanov and Turganbayev, *Alımbektin sanjırası*, p. 50; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 190–192; cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 428.

Ablay. From that embassy came an agreement by the Kirghiz to vacate the Ili region and limit themselves to nomadizing grounds further south: "the Kirghiz' pastures from the Lake to the Ču; the Qazaqs' from the mountains to the Ili."[114]

A critical moment had arrived in the political connections of two of the leading Sarıbağıš chiefs, Esenġul Bolot uulu and Atake Tınay uulu.[115] According to Kirghiz oral accounts noted by early Russian observers, Atake had played a leading role in ejecting the remnants of Qalmaq power from the Tian Shan following the liquidation of the Junghar Empire,[116] but neither these victories nor Esenġul's triumph in the rout of Baraq Sultan had led to consolidation of power in the north. Esenġul and Atake fought with each other, and Atake was driven into the upper Čilik valley northeast of lake Issyk Kul.[117] From this position Atake was well-placed to appreciate the potential value of relations with the Russian commanders of the Siberian lines in the Qazaq steppe. The first Kirghiz embassy to St. Petersburg (1784–1789) was sent by Atake.[118] Kirghiz oral and oral-derived accounts, however, contain no more information about Atake's prominence in northern Kirghiz affairs than do the Russian archives, which shows that the decision of those Kirghiz who early on embraced political ties with the Russian Empire was one of marginal significance at first. The Kirghiz accounts do tell us that Atake betrothed his son Qarabek to the granddaughter of Berdike of the Saruu, continuing a marriage-bond with the Saruu of Talas from which Qarabek himself had issued (and from the union of Qarabek and the Saruu girl Jantay was later born).[119] Both the embassy to Russia and the marriage arranged with another northern chief indicate that after the disappearance

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[114] Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 79; cf. Onuma, "Political Relations," pp. 111–112. Valikhanov says that at this time the Solto were insignificant in numbers, stressing the low point to which they had been reduced by the "Slaughter of Jayıl," as the battle came to be called.

[115] On the Sarıbağıš tribe see Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh"; Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*; Aristov, "Opyt vyiasneniia ėtnicheskogo sostava", p. 54; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 118, 153–154, 157–161, 167–168, 172–175, 218–219, 250–255, 347–356, 361–367; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 31–40 and figs. 1, 5; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 19, 43, 45.

[116] V. Ploskikh, *Pervye kirgizsko–russkie posol'skie sviazi*, pp. 32–41.

[117] Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 329.

[118] V. Ploskikh, loc. cit.

[119] Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 5–6; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 89–90, 120, 139–143, vol. 3, pp. 45–46; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 157; cf. Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) p. 50/(1990) pp. 41–42.

of the Qalmaq threat the Tınay Sarıbaġıš continued to focus on concerns to their north. But other Kirghiz groups reacted to the new political environment in different ways. As was already mentioned, after the debacle in the Čᵕu valley at the hands of Ablay, the Kirghiz under Esenġul decamped southward. In 1791 Esenġul's son Qubat sent a mission to Qoqand that, according to Soltonoyev, marked the beginning of Qoqand's expansion into northern Kirghiz territory;[120] Qoqandian sources also note the khanate's first movements northward by the end of the eighteenth century. After lengthy struggles, in 1821 ʿUmar Khan succeeded in subduing the Kirghiz in the strategic Ketmen-töbö valley to the northeast of Ferghana. His successor, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khan (Madalī, r. 1823–1842) advanced rapidly north and east into the Tian Shan, conquering the Kirghiz and constructing a network of fortifications.[121]

The capacity of the Ch'ing court to exert power over its northwest possessions, to say nothing of its influence in Qoqand, had been in serious decline since the end of the eighteenth century.[122] After Qoqand's conquest of the Tian Shan and until the mid-1850s, the external politics of the most important northern Kirghiz chiefs were dominated by their position of vassalage under the khans of Qoqand.[123] This position seems to have required them to play a volatile and dangerous—but also highly remunerative, in good times—game of abetting the khanate's pursuit of tax revenue and, if these exactions caused excessive discontent among the people, quickly getting out in the forefront of any rebellions against Qoqand that ensued. It is not correct at this time to speak of the northern Kirghiz as politically unified; to the extent that their chiefs had "internal" political relations with one another they were often hostile and influenced by the need (and opportunity) to seek the favor of the Qoqandian authorities in pursuing their rivalries.[124] The Sayaq chief Medet Datqa (*datqa* being his title bestowed by Qoqand) used Qoqandian influence to expand his territory and grow richer at the expense of the Buġu around lake Issyk Kul; however, when the well-armed Sayaq later opposed Qoqand under the influence of Kashghari khojas, Qoqand sent an army of 17,000 men and crushed them. On the same

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120 Soltonoyev, op. cit., p. 242.

121 Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, pp. 494–499; Newby, *Empire and the Khanate*, pp. 200–202.

122 Newby, *Empire and the Khanate*, pp. 70–72.

123 On Kirghiz clashes with Qoqandian forces see lines I.654–685, 1036–1102 in the Šabdan Baatır Codex; and cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 224–226.

124 Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 92–94.

campaign in 1825 the Qoqandian commander Laškar Qūšbēgī secured the submission of the Kirghiz and Senior Horde Qazaqs between the Ču and the Ili, constructed the khanate's principal fortress in the Ču valley at Pišpek, in Solto territory, and pursued the Buġu eastward beyond Issyk Kul to the Chinese border.[125] In 1856, when Russian officers made contact with the Tsar's newest subjects the Buġu chiefs on the eastern edge of Kirghiz territory, some of the latter wore on their hats the colored buttons of the Ch'ing system of military ranks.[126]

The alternatives open to those northern Kirghiz who resisted Qoqand gradually expanded with the advance of Russia's fortified lines southward through the Qazaq steppes and the expansion of the Governorate-General of Western Siberia. However, the historiography on this period has developed little since Soviet scholars formulated the ensuing events as "the voluntary incorporation of Kirgizia into Russia,"[127] and even now it is difficult to retell what happened without falling back to some extent on the distorted dialectic of the corrupt, tyrannical, doomed Qoqand Khanate and the Russian Empire predestined to rule Central Asia justly and peacefully (or at least better than it had been ruled by Central Asians). In any event, the armed bid for control of the Qazaq steppes in 1837–1847 by Ablay's grandson, Sultan Kenesarı of the Middle Horde,[128] posed a threat to both Qoqandian and Russian interests, and in the end transformed the politics of the region. Although Qoqandian soldiers were well-fortified at points throughout the zone where Kenesarı made his incursions into Kirghiz and Senior Horde Qazaq territory in 1846 and 1847 (the actions that are the subject of the second narrative poem in the Šabdan Baatır Codex), their leaders did little to assist the Kirghiz in their struggles with the common enemy; this marked the beginning of the end of the already tenuous rule of the khanate over the northern Kirghiz. The Governorate-General of Western Siberia had its outposts farther away and did not risk sending soldiers, but thoroughly

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[125] Dzhamgerchinov, op. cit., pp. 93–95; V. Ploskikh, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe khanstvo*, p. 139; Galitskii, *Istoriia goroda Pishpeka*, p. 19. On Laškar Qūšbēgī see Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*, p. 381.

[126] Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 80, 85.

[127] The phrase, *Dobrovol'noe vkhozhdenie Kirgizii v sostav Rossii*, was used as the title of the second edition of Dzhamgerchinov's 1959 monograph, *Prisoedinienie Kirgizii k Rossii* (The annexation of Kirgiziia to Russia), which was published in Frunze in 1963.

[128] Here again the historiography is stale; the enterprise was styled a "rebellion" from Tsarist Russia's point of view and is today hailed as a "national independence movement" in the eyes of modern-day Qazaqs. Between these two poles the Soviet authorities waffled, discouraging research.

exploited the opportunity nevertheless. After the Tınay Sarıbağıš and Bölökbay Solto repelled Kenesarı's armed incursion in the spring of 1846 unassisted, the Kirghiz chiefs in the Ču valley welcomed the political support offered by Captain (*khorunzhii*) Niukhalov of the Siberian command. The Kirghiz were led by Ormon Nıyazbek uulu of the Esenġul Sarıbağıš, Jantay Qarabek uulu of the Tınay Sarıbağıš, and Jaŋġarač Ešqojo uulu of the Talqan Solto.[129] The following spring, after the combined Kirghiz force surrounded and routed Kenesarı's army and then captured and executed Kenesarı and a number of other sultans, the envoy sent by Jantay to Omsk to give the Russians the news brought with him Kenesarı's skull as a present.[130]

Jantay,[131] with his main camping places in the pastures along either side of the Ču river between Toqmoq (Tokmak) and the Boom gorge, and on the Great and Little Kemin rivers in the Ala-too mountains,[132] was positioned at the center of a zone of chaotic political developments in increasing contact with the Tsar's officers. It took about a decade, however, for Russian interests to meet with significant stabilization of the volatile conflicts among the Kirghiz chiefs and their armed followers. One of Jantay's earliest recorded exploits was peaceful, and not recorded in Russian sources: his presidency over the anniversary memorial feast for his late uncle Taštanbek in 1835, during which he was elevated as khan.[133] Oral traditions hold Jantay to have been both an advisor to and rival of Ormon of the Esenġul Sarıbağıš.[134] The latter had become a khan, by a proclamation that he himself engineered,

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129 Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, p. 472.

130 Sereda, "Bunt kirgizskago sultana," part 3, pp. 689–690; Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*, p. 141; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 327–328. See Appendix B.

131 Jantay, the second son of Qarabek eldest son of Atake, died in 1867, aged 73 (according to his epitaph [Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, p. 38]; published birth and death dates range from 1794 to 1796 and 1867 to 1868). On Jantay see Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 52, 68/(1990) pp. 42, 58; Hatto, "Jantay" (a re-edition with translation of the funeral lament recorded by Radloff from oral performance and published in his *Proben/Obraztsy*, vol. 5); Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 109; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 274–276, 286–292, 301–305, 321–323, 333, 369–370; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy"; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 166, 168–170, 174–175, 202–203; Abdyldabek kyzy, op. cit.; Abdıldabek qızı, "Babam Šabdan jönündö," pp. 15–19; Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, pp. 472–477; V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 83; Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, p. 208; Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 7–8; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 120–126; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5.

132 Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, p. 207.

133 Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 166; cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 274.

134 The relationship between Jantay and Ormon is analyzed in a later section.

and ruled with severity over a broad bloc of northern Kirghiz formations, probably from around the time that Kenesarı made his appearance. In 1848, with Kenesarı no longer a threat, Ormon, Jantay, and Jaŋġarač sent letters to the Russian authorities requesting permission to submit to Nicholas I;[135] these overtures by the principal Ču valley chiefs had been anticipated by at least three years by Borombay Bekmurat uulu of the Issyk Kul Buġu (whose main competitors for Russian favor were the sultans and *biy*s of the Qazaq Senior Horde).[136] Ormon repeated his request in 1852 under pressure of the latest Qoqandian military encroachment,[137] but his oath of submission never transpired, as war broke out between his Sarıbaġıš and the Buġu under Borombay, and he was captured and killed ca. 1854.[138] It was Buġu chiefs headed by Borombay who, in January 1855, became the first Kirghiz to submit formally to the Tsar,[139] an act that eventually led to the end of their hostilities with the Sarıbaġıš. Instead of submitting, the Buġu military leader Balbay Baatır decamped with his followers across the Chinese border, to the upper Tekes valley (where we find the Sarıbaġıš raiding party paying a friendly call on him in the first poem in the Šabdan Baatır Codex). Jantay's Tınay division of the Sarıbaġıš had been less involved in the hostilities, in which Ormon had depopulated large expanses of Buġu territory around lake Issyk Kul. After Ormon's death, Jantay, now the most influential Sarıbaġıš aristocrat, did not press forward Sarıbaġıš claims to the Issyk Kul pastures, and Sayaq groups took up residence in the depopulated areas north and west of the lake,[140] while the Buġu returned to the east and south.

In October 1860, in the valley of the Qara-qastek river on the northern slope of the Zailiiskii Ala-tau range east of Pišpek, Russian troops under

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[135] Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 137.

[136] Prior, "High Rank and Power." Below, the term *biy* normally refers to a tribal chief as distinct from a Činggisid *töre* or sultan.

[137] V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, pp. 151–153; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 119.

[138] Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*, 173 ("as far back as 1854"); Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 332–337 (1854); Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 125 (1853); Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 150 (1855). Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, pp. 207–210 gives no date of Ormon's death but discusses the causes of the Buġu–Sarıbaġıš war.

[139] Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 144–148, including a facsimile of the document in both Chaghatay and Russian; the facsimile is also found in V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, on the sixth through eighth unnumbered pages of plates between pp. 244 and 245; the Russian copy of the oath is edited and published in ibid., pp. 177–178. See Prior, "High Rank and Power" for English translations and analysis.

[140] Zainidin Qurmanov, personal interview, 21 July 2008, Bishkek.

Colonel Gerasim A. Kolpakovskii won a decisive battle with the Qoqandian general and governor of Tashkent, Qanāʿat Šāh. Accompanying the Qoqandian detachment were a sizeable number of Solto and Sarıbaġıš Kirghiz, but these forces mostly avoided the fighting. This "battle of Uzun-aġač" was decisive in that Qoqand was thrown back into a defensive posture vis-à-vis Russia from which it never fully recovered, and after the battle the Western Siberian command decided to deal leniently with the Kirghiz who had appeared on the field on the Qoqandian side.[141] Among these were Jantay and his son Šabdan, the latter at about 21 years of age making his debut in events of consequence in Kirghiz history.[142] Neither Jantay nor Šabdan were swift to make amends with the Russians. Šabdan and his father's retainer Bayake went from the battlefield back into the suite of Qanāʿat Šāh. They served him for two years in all,[143] assisting in his defense of Tashkent, on behalf of Xudāyār Khan against a rival Qoqandian detachment, with exploits that found their way, much inflated, into the narration of the first poem in the Šabdan Baatır Codex. The vacillations of the senior chief Jaŋġarač of the Talqan Solto, who nomadized around the Qoqandian stronghold at Pišpek, contrasted with the constant hatred of Qoqand and friendliness toward Russia on the part of his younger relative Baytik Qanay uulu. The latter submitted to the Tsar[144] after assisting Kolpakovskii in the final reduction of Pišpek fortress in the autumn of 1862.[145] Jantay's effective submission occurred between 1862 and 1864.[146]

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141 Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 203–209.

142 Šabdan (1839 or '40–6 April 1912) was the eldest son of the fourth wife (the fifth or sixth son) of Jantay, khan of the Tınay Sarıbaġıš (Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 53/[1990] p. 42; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 168). His early career began with raiding around age 13 and included military service to the Qoqandian khans Malla and Xudāyār and the general Qanāʿat Šāh at Tashkent while accompanied by his father's retainer Bayake. Šabdan's early activities are examined in detail in a later section.

143 Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 512.

144 Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 92, 285; Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 23–26.

145 Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 245–250.

146 Khasanov (*Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, p. 17) says that Jantay submitted in 1862, but gives no source citation, and the details of Jantay's formal submission to the Tsar are unclear. His (usually, and after 1862 consistently) friendly stance and good offices to the Russians are well known, and he is said to have "convinced the Kirghiz to submit to Russia" (Khasanov, op. cit., p. 18), and in later years Šabdan said that his father submitted to the Russians amid events that occurred in 1862 (Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," pp. 535–536); but no instrument of submission of the Tınay Sarıbaġıš has been published or noticed in the literature, and it has been suggested that none exists (Jantay's descendant Jaŋıl Abdıldabek qızı stated this in conversation with me in Bishkek, 21 July 2008).

Šabdan, gaining prominence, was among a few northern Kirghiz aristocrats who put off coming to terms with the new masters of the Tian Shan. In the meantime he led an adventurous life in company with his *jigit*s or armed retainers.[147] In 1863, when news reached the Kirghiz and Senior Horde Qazaqs about the Tungan Uprising of Chinese Muslims in Sinkiang, they began forming raiding parties and crossing the Chinese border to plunder the wealth of the Qalmaq (Torġut) pastoralists, whose herds and monastic settlements were left exposed by the thinly-stretched protection of Ch'ing forces.[148] Balbay and his Buġu followers, having long nomadized in the Tekes valley near the Qalmaqs, repeatedly raided their neighbors. Other parties came from as far away as the Ču valley, from the Sarıbaġıš. One of these raids, undertaken by Bayake and Šabdan in late 1864 with the help of experienced Buġu guides assigned by Balbay, became the subject of the first narrative poem in the Šabdan Baatır Codex, which will be introduced in a later section. As the uprising wore on, in 1867 a Russian detachment arrested Balbay for raiding, and he died in prison at Vernyi, the administrative center of the newly-formed Semirech'e oblast of the Governorate-General of Turkestan.[149] Šabdan, diverted by the death of his father in 1867 from his intention to offer his service to the new state in Kashgharia ruled by the Qoqandian adventurer Yaʿqūb Beg,[150] remained in the Ču valley and acquiesced to Russian rule under the influence of his elder brother Manapbay, whom Jantay had groomed as the family's liaison with the Russian authorities.[151] Šabdan was highly decorated for his military assistance to Russian forces between 1868 and 1878, having contributed significantly to the pacification of Kirghiz formations in the central Tian Shan and Alai ranges, and of the Qoqand Khanate itself,[152] which Russia reduced to vassal status in 1868

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147 This fact is generally glossed over in historical works that attempt to depict Šabdan as a staunch friend of the Tsarist government from the moment of his father's submission; cf. Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, p. 61. On the term *jigit* see note to line I.100.

148 Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam," pp. 170–172.

149 Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 317–320.

150 Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 299–302, 321–324. On Yaʿqūb Beg: Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 393–396; Kim, *Holy War in China*.

151 Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," p. 8.

152 Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 61–63; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 378–380, 388–391 (accounts of Šabdan's exploits in Russian service in the subjugation of Tian Shan and southern Kirghiz groupings accompanied by Bayake; the latter is mentioned a few times as a leading comrade-in-arms of Šabdan in published documents from the late 1860s to the mid-1890s: see Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, pp. 41, 43, 95).

and liquidated in 1876.[153] The late Jantay's many honors, on the other hand, reflected the greater political turmoil of his age: by the time of his death he had attained the Kirghiz ranks and titles of *biy, baatır* and *qan* (khan), the Qoqandian rank and title of *dādxʷāh* (Kirghiz *datqa*),[154] and the Russian rank of lieutentant colonel (*podpolkovnik*);[155] he was also decorated by Russia with a gold medal and a commendation for his service in defeating Sultan Kenesarı.[156]

Jantay had also been among the first generation of Kirghiz aristocrats to assume the designation *manap*, which came to epitomize the severely stratified social system of the Kirghiz. The manaps were at the apex of northern Kirghiz society, distinguished by genealogy (the exclusive bloodlines of the manaps came to resemble a Kirghiz "white bone" estate), by their virtually despotic power over the commoners attached to them, and, resulting from these two conditions, often by great wealth. The sources provide little evidence for the existence of the manaps as distinct from the biy estate before the middle of the 1840s. Rather, the documents that survive show how the category *manap* took hold after the Russians authorized the use of the label for purposes of diplomacy and indirect rule; among the Kirghiz, *manap* was originally not a title at all and in fact conveyed no little opprobrium.[157] The label spread from the northern Kirghiz to those in the south after their submission to Russia was complete in the 1870s. Later sanjıra accounts that refer back to the existence of manaps before the coming of the Russians were undoubtedly colored by the colonial concept. The structure of the colonial administration in Semirech'e oblast that was worked out over the course of the period from the 1860s to the 1890s[158] provided no official status for the manaps, but many of them managed to become ensconced in the apparatus of power by getting elected or appointed to

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153 Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 2, pp. 75–86.

154 Jantay is addressed with the title *dādxʷāh* in a letter written by Qoqandian authorities in the early 1860s, which is housed in the Central State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan (TsGA RK, Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Respubliki Kazakstan), *fond* 3, *opis'* 1, *delo* 167, *listy* 135–135ob; and in a similar letter quoted in Abdıldabek qızı, "Babam Šabdan jönündö," p. 18.

155 Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, p. 18.

156 Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 531; Baron Fëdor Osten-Saken saw Jantay in 1867, and noted as badges of his bravery in battle against Kenesarı the gold medal on its ribbon of the Order of St. George, and a deep scar on his forehead (Osten-Saken, "Poiezdka v Zanarynskii krai," p. 130).

157 On the early history of the manap estate see Prior, "High Rank and Power."

158 Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 2, pp. 100–104; cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, pp. 377–378.

various offices. Šabdan was a manap who declined to take official posts but still commanded great authority and influence;[159] another heir of Jantay's, Manapbay, was appointed to the post of assistant to the *uyezd* (district) superintendent in the late 1860s.[160]

Ormon Khan's son and successor Ümötaalı of the Esenġul Sarıbağıš became the last major northern Kirghiz chief to submit to the Tsar, having held out until the summer of 1867. With no official post, he continued to nomadize in the Tian Shan until his death in 1879.[161] Belek Soltonoyev noted the social effects of Russian colonialism in this caricature of the narrowed horizons of the Kirghiz nomads in the new age:

> From that time [1867], the free-roaming Kirghiz could no longer engage in the raiding that was their specialty. They felt constrained when they could no longer cross the borders from their assigned volost lands to other places. It was as if they had been imprisoned in cages or had entered a dark tomb: the way of life of the timid, retiring townsmen, whom they had always hated as flightless chickens in immovable houses, bowed them to the law of the colonizers. From that point, the children of the Kirghiz began to ride in carts, calling them four-legged, wooden horses.[162]

In 1869 Radloff observed that the Kirghiz under early Tsarist rule were far poorer, and engaged in agriculture to a greater extent, than their neighbors the Qazaqs.[163] As for Šabdan, by the time the present poems were dedicated to him ca. 1910, he was near the end of a long career of unrivaled prosperity, power, and influence in Kirghiz affairs. He was an exemplar of the manap estate, friend of powerful Russians and highly decorated holder of the military rank of lieutenant colonel (*voiskovoi starshina*), and outright owner of an estate in Pišpek *uyezd* granted to him by special charter. He funded religious institutions, completed the hajj, was an official guest at the coronation of Alexander III in 1883, and was acclaimed as a "father" of the Kirghiz and Qazaqs. The number of his consorts has been recorded as four, six, or nine; he had seven sons.[164] He was also one of the manaps whom Belek Soltonoyev,

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159 Akiyama, "Kyrgyz Tribal Chieftain."

160 Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 380. The given name of Manapbay echoes that of the Sarıbağıš ancestor Manap son of Döölös, who according to one Sarıbağıš legend was the inspiration of the term *manap* (Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 353; cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 111–115), but although Manapbay was an heir of Jantay, unlike Šabdan he does not seem to have been referred to as a manap.

161 Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 45–49.

162 Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 378.

163 Radlov, "Kratkii otchet," p. 99.

164 On the life of Šabdan Baatır see also pp. 63–70 and: Dzhantaev, [Autobiography]; Ṣidiq

the historian of the late Tsarist and early Soviet eras whose views were decidedly anti-manap, referred to as *qan ičer* 'blood-drinker, bloodsucker'.[165]

Šabdan's grand "anniversary" memorial feast was held on 6 April 1912, six months after his death, and although it was well-attended and full of both the high solemnities and lavish entertainments appropriate to the passing of a Kirghiz *nonpareil*, the succession of political and social capital to the next generation occurred only on a greatly reduced scale. Šabdan had correctly predicted that he would be the last manap in his line, and could do no more than set his sons up in business for themselves before he died. The suppression of the manap estate that later became a hallmark of Soviet politics in Kirgizia was already begun under late Tsarism.[166]

Writers, Singers, Patrons, and Genres

Musa Čaġatayev is the stated author of the four poems that comprise over 90 percent of the Šabdan Baatır Codex; the author of the last poem is not known. About Čaġatayev himself almost nothing is known. He has gone unmentioned in works on Kirghiz literary history, even those produced after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when the possibility opened up to commemorate authors who wrote in service of manaps such as Šabdan Baatır. Although there is authentic information connecting Čaġatayev with the poems, defining his relationship to the text is a complicated matter. The

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ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*; Jusupov et al., *Šabdan Baatır*; Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 172–173, 175–180; Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 61–65; Akiyama, "Kyrgyz Tribal Chieftain." Soltonoyev records highly critical (generally anti-manap) reports of Šabdan's activities, many of which are not reflected in the Russian-based or family-based sources (those at Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 307–310 are largely based on Soltonoyev's first-hand experience; see also ibid., pp. 350–355, 380–381).

[165] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 111–115, 161, 333, 350, 358, 378, 380–381, 383, 387, 390, 411, 414. The term is somewhat ambiguous, as Soltonoyev also applied the epithet to such distant historical figures as Attila (ibid., p. 30), Amir Timur (pp. 104, 202), and Činggis Khan (pp. 137, 180–181, 185, 205, 208), where the meaning is closer to Kirghiz *qanqor* (with the same literal sense but used as a positive epithet of heroes, as 'brave, warlike'; Soltonoyev uses the epithet *qanqor* for Činggis Khan more frequently than *qan ičer*). But there is no doubt that over the course of writing his history from 1895 to 1934, Soltonoyev, whose sympathies lay with the masses, made the connection between the overt 'bloodthirstiness' of *qan ičer* and the economically exploitive behavior of the rich and powerful: cf. *zalim qan ičer manaptar* 'tyrannical, bloodsucking manaps' (p. 414) and *qan ičer kapitalizm* 'bloodsucking capitalism' (p. 436).

[166] Akiyama, "Kyrgyz Tribal Chieftain."

details of this relationship will be discussed in Appendix A. For the moment it will be useful to consider how Čaġatayev talked about his literacy and his role as author, and what the texts themselves reveal about his authorship.

Čaġatayev refers to "literary acts" in his Inface and Postface. He uses unambiguous language to refer to his own acts of writing: "As for what's useful, I'll write it down; as for what's harmful, I'll flee from it! Since I have the gift of poetry, how can I go on without writing?"[167] From these verses it is clear that Čaġatayev was a writer rather than an exclusively oral poet. In another passage he seems to be promoting written storytelling (*qısa*) as a specific antidote to the inevitable loss of information in oral tradition: "There are tales written of the Qazaqs and Noġay and all of them, but I have never seen one about the Kirghiz. I'll write down everything that the Russians have written about, every sort of fight between heroes, as far as I know. […] [If you are] unable to speak about your own heroes, you will stop singing their songs too!"[168] As this passage suggests, the production of written narratives was an endeavor in which nearby peoples such as the Qazaqs had made more progress than the Kirghiz at that time. Čaġatayev was keenly interested in the reception of his work, and saw promoting and securing patronage for it as a key step to securing due recognition for a group that he conceived as particularly Kirghiz: "If I am given a mandate in this pursuit, and the means are put at my disposal, [I,] Musa will vindicate […] the warriors who have sprung from the Kirghiz! How will it be, children, if God vindicates them—if I take pen in hand, if we embark on the path of literature?"[169] He was not beneath asking for patronage outright, as when he urged his contemporary Ėšenaalı Arabayev to publish the poems: "Let Arabayev, my peer, edit this tale! Publish it among the Kirghiz! Let him sing it like Manas!"[170] In this passage Čaġatayev refers to the new medium of printing that Arabayev was beginning to master at the time. Ešenaalı Arabayev (1882–1933 or '38) was a Kirghiz educator and scholar, and the author and editor of several works of Kirghiz literature and pedagogics, the earliest known publication being his edition and introduction to Moldo Qılıč's poem *Qıṣṣa-i zilzila* 'The Story of the Earthquake' in Ufa in 1911.[171] Arabayev's known publishing

[167] II.56–59.
[168] II.6–10, 13–14.
[169] IV.9–16.
[170] II.48–51.
[171] On Arabayev see V. Ploskikh, *Manas*, pp. 37–40 (with death in Tashkent in 1933); Borbugulov, *Issyk-kul'*, pp. 205–206 (with death in Frunze in 1938); Asanov et al., *Kto est' kto*, p. 33 (death in 1938); Hu and Imart, *Kirghiz Reader*, pp. 60–63, 89–104, 111–114.

activities thus began slightly later than the ostensible date of the present manuscript, which is 1909–1910; Čağatayev seems to have been aware, in any case, that Arabayev had publishing projects in the works.

Not unusually, though the Central Asian Turkic reading public was small, works aimed at popular tastes were in high demand. Among the Qazaqs in the late nineteenth century, who had much higher literacy rates and more extensive literature than the Kirghiz,[172] the increasing availability of *qissa*, or popular printed books of varied narrative contents, supplemented the older traditions of knowledge in manuscript and oral form.[173] The word that Čağatayev used to refer to his own narrative works in the Šabdan Baatır Codex, *qısa* (<< Arabo-Persian *qıṣṣa* 'story') suggests that such literary developments were not unknown to the Kirghiz. Most instances of the word in the Codex mean nothing more specific than 'story',[174] but when Čağatayev wrote, *Qazaq, Noġoy, baarı bar*;/ *Qırġızdan qısa körbödüm* 'There are tales written of the Qazaqs and Noġay and all of them, but I have never *seen* one about the Kirghiz',[175] he implied that *qısa* were something that the Kirghiz as yet lacked, and that they were something that could be "seen" rather than heard. The form that best fits this description is the Qazaq-style *qissa* in print;[176] that Čağatayev viewed print as an unattained aspiration is clear in the way he tried to cajole Arabayev into publishing his work, as quoted above.[177]

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[172] In the 1880s the portion of the Qazaq population who could read "Arabic" or "Tatar" was reckoned at 10–25% (Smirnova, *Kazakhskii fol'klor*, p. 98); a comparable figure for the Kirghiz, 3.1% for ages 9–49, is dated only "before the revolution" (S. Ploskikh, *Repressirovannaia kul'tura*, p. 44, drawing on a Soviet-era statistical tract).

[173] Smirnova, loc. cit.

[174] I.151, 1630; II.25, 49; III.1, 297.

[175] II.6–7; emphasis added.

[176] On the characteristics of Qazaq *qissa* in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Smirnova, *Kazakhskii fol'klor*, pp. 102–103. Standard Qazaq *qissa* and Standard Kirghiz *qısa* mean 'narrative', with a literary connotation; in the Qazaq language spoken in Sinkiang today the word means any oral narrative poem (Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 77). On Central Asian traditions of tale recitation in proximity with writing, see Reichl, *Turkic Oral Epic Poetry*, pp. 87–91.

[177] Kirghiz literati were at work in the late nineteenth century, writing mostly in Chaghatay and circulating their works in manuscript form. Genres included the *zar-zaman* 'time of sorrows' jeremiads on the approaching end of the world, as well as ghazal lyrics. Notable poets included Moldo Nıyaz, Qalıġul Bay uulu, and Moldo Qılıč (see S. Ploskikh, "Repressirovannaia kul'tura," pp. 122–145; Musayev and Aqmataliyev, *Aqılman Qalıġul*; Jacquesson, "Un barde kirghiz"; Qılıč, *Qiṣṣa-i zilzila*; Qılıč, *Qazaldar*; Hu and Imart, *Kirghiz Reader*, pp. 75–77; Allworth, "Focus of Literature").

In the last passage quoted above, Čaġatayev used the metaphorical idiom of singing ("Let him sing it like Manas!") to refer to the cultural enterprise in which he and Arabayev were engaging. This enterprise was rapidly evolving ca. 1910 with the spread of printing. Although Čaġatayev clearly considered himself to be a writer, he worked in a time-honored oral creative milieu that commanded attention and respect, for, like Tacitus's information on the Germani,[178] oral tradition was his most authentic source of information on the people and events he wished to commemorate. When Čaġatayev talked about and even addressed his singer-colleagues, he could be a scold, as in the lines *Ïrčıları Qırġızdın/ aqılı joq naadanı!* 'Kirghiz singers are stupid know-nothings!'.[179] But his general sentiment favored the continuation of oral tradition; why else would he berate Kirghiz singers by saying, *Öz baatırıŋ aytalbay/ munu da ırdap qalasıŋ!* '[If you are] unable to speak about your own heroes, you will stop singing their songs too!'?[180] With such words Čaġatayev presented his written work as a hedge against the erosion of oral memory.

In Čaġatayev's writings as in any culture, there is a difference between memory and history. The subjects of his two main narrative poems, the defense against incursions by Sultan Kenesarı and the raid against the Qalmaqs of the Tekes region, are historical facts, but Čaġatayev never referred to any aspect of the Šabdan Baatır Codex as *tarıx* 'history' or *sanjıra* 'genealogical chronicle', a synonym for history in some Inner Asian societies (both words being ultimately borrowed from Arabic). The closest he comes to characterizing the genre of his work is with the word *qısa*. The simple fact that the two poems are presented in reverse chronological order perhaps says something rather negative about the "historicism" of the author's project. However, one northern Kirghiz writer who definitely saw Čaġatayev's work as a link in his people's oral historiography was Belek Soltonoyev (1878–1938), the copyist of the first four poems in the surviving Šabdan Baatır Codex and the author of the first major work of modern scholarship in Kirghiz, [*Qızıl*] *Qırġız tarıxı* 'The History of the [Red, i.e. Bolshevist] Kirghiz'. It is not known when Soltonoyev copied poems I–IV in the form we find them today in the Codex,[181] but we may infer from certain sections of his *Qırġız tarıxı* that he was deeply and critically familiar with the manuscript's contents by the time he finished his own work. He used some

[178] See the epigraph on p. 3.
[179] II.38–39.
[180] II. 13–14.
[181] On Soltonoyev and his relation to the Codex see Appendix A.

pieces of information found in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* in writing appropriately brief notices about that raid[182] and about another action narrated in a flashback within the poem, a skirmish between Kirghiz and Qoqandian forces in the Talas valley.[183] In contrast, Soltonoyev ignored poem III, *The Story of Kenesarı*, in compiling his information on those events. This is undoubtedly because he possessed more and higher-quality sources, such as his own extensive interview with a participant in the narrated events, whose account corroborates certain details of poem III.[184] Soltonoyev's oral informants plus readily available publications concerning the final battle in 1847 afforded him the luxury of barring *The Story of Kenesarı* from evidence in writing his *Qırġız tarıxı*. Whereas Musa Čaġatayev seems to have been most interested in getting the old songs down on paper (or, if possible, in print) to preserve the past, Soltonoyev represents another face of oral historiography, a historian who took an interest in weighing different forms of oral and oral-derived evidence. He used narrative poetry where other information was lacking, but sparingly, resisting long recitations of the poems' contents; when an apparently more reliable source like an interview transcript was available, he quoted it *in extenso* to the exclusion of the concurrent poetic account. Soltonoyev thus had his own working conception to distinguish and evaluate various oral and written genres as sources. This kind of thinking undoubtedly was strengthened in his methodology through his familiarity with western scholarship, but it was not foreign to the tradition of historiography in his native country of Semirech'e.[185]

Many Turkic peoples of Inner Asia wrote history in genres with names borrowed from Arabic *šajarah* 'tree', meaning essentially genealogy: *šajara* in Chaghatay, *šežire* in Qazaq and Qaraqalpaq, *sanjıra* in Kirghiz, and so on. Written works in these genres commonly include pedigrees listing patrilineal descendants from one or more ancestors as well as prose narrative materials pertaining to certain generations and individuals; the overall effect is somewhat "biblical." Among such works there are formal similarities across time and space, so that, for instance, Qadır ʿAlī Bek Jalāyirī's original genealogical supplements to his "Noġay Tatar" translation of *Jāmiʿ at-tavārīx* by Rašīd ad-Dīn (end of the sixteenth to early seventeenth century)[186] share features of structure and even content with the *Šajara-i Tarākima*, the

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182 See Appendix G.
183 See note to lines I.1036–1102.
184 See Appendix B.
185 Cf. the slightly earlier work by Qurbān ʿAlī Xālidī, *Tavārīx-i xamsa-i šarqī*.
186 Žalayır, *Šežireler žinaġı*; cf. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, pp. 382–392.

'Genealogy of the Türkmens' in Chaghatay by Abūʾl-Ġāzī of Khorezm (completed 1660–1661).[187] Both of these in turn partly resemble the *Šežire* in Qazaq by Šäkärim Qudayberdï ŭlı (1911),[188] and the texts in Kirghiz- and Tatar-inflected Turki by ʿUthmān ʿAlī Ṣidiq ūġlī published a few years after the Šabdan Baatır Codex was written down (1913 and 1914),[189] and the sanjıra of Toġoloq Moldo in Kirghiz (from the early Soviet period).[190] Surviving examples of Kirghiz sanjıra texts written down before the Russian conquest are rare,[191] and very few can be dated to before 1917. This fact makes poem V in the Šabdan Baatır Codex, *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, with its genealogical overtones, particularly valuable for the light it can shed on the function of genealogy in group-conceptions among the Sarıbağıš elite in the prerevolutionary era. A comparative, contextual analysis of *The Poem of Saint Sančı* with other sources on Sarıbağıš genealogy appears in the Commentary.

Finally, a generic reference point for the two main narrative poems in the Codex that is perhaps as recognizable to Musa Čağatayev's contemporaries as it is to today's readers is the Kirghiz oral tradition of heroic and epic poetry.[192] The similarities of theme, characterization, incident, and style between poems I and III of the Codex and the Kirghiz Manas-epics reveal an underlying creative milieu uniting Čağatayev and his oral forbears, which will be analyzed in detail in later sections. Among these commonalities, one aspect of Čağatayev's milieu that greatly strengthens the value of the Codex as a source of cultural history is the complex system of reciprocal interests tying poet, patron, and audience together.[193] Radloff, only the second European-trained scholar to observe Kirghiz epic performances, registered the essential importance of bard–patron–audience relationships in

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187 Abūʾl-Ġāzī, *Rodoslovnaia turkmen*.

188 Kudaiberdy-uly, *Rodoslovnaia tiurkov, kazakhov, kirgizov*.

189 Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Muxtaṣar-i tārīx-i Qirġiziya*; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz-i Šādmāniya*.

190 Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*. On the versatile *aqın-demokrat* Toġoloq Moldo see his *Čıġarmalarının eki tomduq jıynağı*; Sooronov, "*Manas*" *trilogiyasındagı epikalıq oquyalardın süröttölöš özgöčölüktörü*, pp. 3–16.

191 The genealogical information in the Persian *Majmūʿ at- tavārīx* is often cited as evidence of Kirghiz genealogy, but its problematic dating and textology limit its value as early evidence of Kirghiz sanjıra per se.

192 On Kirghiz epic poetry before the Soviet era see Zhirmunskii, "Vvedenie v izuchenie ėposa 'Manas'"; Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*; Hatto, "Kirghiz (Mid-nineteenth century)," and the other items by Hatto in the Bibliography of this book; Prior, *Twilight Age*.

193 Hatto, "Towards an Anatomy," pp. 149–151; Prior, "Patron, Party, Patrimony." On colonial-era Kirghiz chiefs' patronage of other genres of performed poetry cf. Jacquesson, "Kyrgyz Memorial Feasts."

a description of a performance that resonates with the ideals Čaġatayev openly acknowledged with the written word:

> The bard always strives to gain the approval of his audience, since he is anxious not only for his own glory but also for personal gains, and in everything he strives to conform to the attitudes of his listeners. When they do not invite him to sing any certain episode, he begins his singing with a prelude meant to prepare the listeners for the song itself. By artfully interweaving verses and alluding to influential personages among those surrounding him, he draws the listeners' attention before beginning the song itself. When he concludes from the enthusiastic shouts of the audience that he has achieved his aim, he either proceeds directly to the action itself or sketches in quick strokes what is needed to understand the episode. The singing does not always move at the same speed. Every approval from the audience incites the bard to new effort, and what is more, he conforms totally to his circle of listeners. If rich or notable persons are present, then he interweaves his song with praise for their clans or other circumstances which notables always like. If the circle of listeners consists of poor people, then he is not above adding various cutting allusions to the haughtiness of the rich and distinguished. […] One can only be amazed at how well the bard knows his audience. I saw with my own eyes how one sultan[194] leapt to his feet in the middle of a song, tore off his silk robe, and with an exultant shout threw it to the bard as a gift.[195]

Čaġatayev's written appeals to his patrons sometimes amounted to pure blandishment, such as when he addressed Arabayev. He could be equally direct in flattering his most powerful patron, Šabdan Baatır, as when he compared Šabdan and Bayake to the paramount hero of epic, Manas, and his chief companion Almambet: "Šabdan is no less than Manas, Manas was no greater man than Šabdan; and Almambet, it is perfectly plain, was no match for Bayake!"[196] Šabdan's great fame and influence not only motivated Čaġatayev to make grandiose comparisons, they also reassure us that the ideological content of the Šabdan Baatır Codex has significance outside the personal sphere of poet and patron. Although we know little about the substance of the two men's relationship and the actual reception of this unique, relatively unknown codex among its intended readers, the prominence of the patron allows us to use the poet's words as a lens to examine thinking "discussed" among the elite in northern Kirghiz society in the Tsarist era.

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[194] In the 1860s Russians sometimes referred to Kirghiz manaps as sultans on the analogy of the Qazaq nobility.

[195] Radlov, "Predislovie," pp. xvii–xviii. Cf. similar accounts by Veniukov, "Ocherki Zailiiskago kraia," pp. 115–116, and (among the Qazaqs) Ianushkevich, *Dnevniki i pis'ma*, pp. 66–68.

[196] II.15–18.

The formal similarities and differences between the narrative poems in the Codex and Kirghiz heroic epic poetry should not be understood as a means of calibrating the former genre with the latter, for two reasons. First, to attempt to measure Musa Čağatayev's works against the artistic achievements of heroic epic would be to rub the relatively poorly-understood, liminal genre that is the subject of this book against a recognized and admired touchstone of world literature; the outcome is easy to guess. Rather, as in Reichl's comparative study of Turkic and medieval European heroic poetry, what interests us here is the network of different genres, with epic occupying no *a priori* place of privilege, that together informed the northern Kirghiz people's conception of their past.[197] Second, during the period we are examining here, the epics were undergoing significant changes. As I have shown elsewhere, epics collected before the final imposition of Russian rule in the north differ in their content, structure, and ethos from those recorded after the middle of the 1860s. The Twilight Age of the tradition, as I have called it, that began around that time was still going on when the Šabdan Baatır Codex was created, so far as the scanty textual records attest.[198] The mutability of the epics themselves underlines their historicity as texts, and points to concurrent changes under way in northern Kirghiz culture as a whole. The Šabdan Baatır Codex can help us to understand, through the dual prisms of epic poetry and history-writing, the transitional period of which it was a product. With Šabdan Baatır and Ešenaalı Arabayev named in the work itself as at least would-be patrons, and Belek Soltonoyev implicated as the manuscript's copyist and as its first user in compiling his history, the Codex has unique credentials as material for studying the network of oral and written genres that informed the northern Kirghiz' views of past and present in the early twentieth century. Never straying far from familiar forms of oral tradition, the Šabdan Baatır Codex illustrates how the early modernizing trend in Central Asian pastoral peoples' historiography was not a break with a benighted or outdated past but a continuation of an existing system of knowledge.

At the time in the early 1930s when the American historian Carl L. Becker spoke of historians as "of that ancient and honorable company of wise men of the tribe, of bards and story-tellers and minstrels, of soothsayers and

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197 Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 3.

198 Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, pp. xiv–xvi; Prior, "Patron, Party, Patrimony"; Prior, *Twilight Age*; Prior, *Semetey of Kenje Kara*; Prior, "Sparks and Embers." The second and third works just cited show further how *Manas* as Kirghiz national epic was a product of outside, particularly Soviet, intentions.

priests, to whom in successive ages has been entrusted the keeping of the useful myths,"[199] Milman Parry was still making the preparations that led to his epochal sessions with Serbocroatian bards in the field. The intervening eight decades of developments in oral theory have seen much work done to illuminate the expertise of the purveyors of traditional knowledge, about which Becker could summon only a quizzical notion. His insight about the deep function of history-writing is still a useful starting point for a careful examination of the Šabdan Baatır Codex, a work that attempts, on its own terms, to bridge the old and new.

[199] Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," p. 231.

THE RAID ON THE QALMAQS

Stealing herds of ungulates and protecting them from theft have been themes of literature for millennia, from the oral *Rigveda* to *The Virginian* on celluloid.[1] Stories of heroes "eager for the sharing out of cattle as the plentiful takings of battle"[2] are best known in the Homeric Greek and Old Irish traditions; older Germanic heroic poetry revels in plunder, though Germanic peoples' cattle raiding activities as such are known only from historical sources.[3] The famous cattle raid of Nestor's reminiscence in the *Iliad* is only one of the examples found in both Homeric epics. Old Irish even has terms for cattle- and other raids in its list of traditional genres. Cattle raiding is more often a feature of genres recognized otherwise than by their animal content, as in the brief praising and boasting verses of the Bahima of eastern Africa that shine a spotlight on their warriors' prowess around the herds,[4] and the even shorter, but remarkably similar in style, praising elegies of the Dark Ages of North Britain preserved in the Welsh *Gododdin*, where bloody business with cattle is seen obscurely in one allusion crafted for cognoscenti of forgotten events.[5]

The form of the raids, and hence their stories, owes much to the characteristics of the target animals—horned cattle, camels, horses—and to the traditions of the pastoral peoples who possess and covet them. The enormous battle in the fourth book of the *Mahābhārata* was fought over Duryodhana's raid on Virāṭa's herds of horned cattle, whose plodding movement is mirrored by the vast armies; likewise, ponderous force outweighs speed in the Connachtmen's campaign in the Old Irish *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, "The Cattle Raid of Cooley." Dromedary camels can cover long distances at speed, but the cultural and biological context of camel-herding tends to keep the real numbers of herds, and thus potential returns for raiders, low.[6] As for horses,

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[1] See the essential study by Hatto, "Foreword."

[2] Koch, *Gododdin*, p. xxii.

[3] *Iliad* xi; *Táin*; Thurneysen, *Irische Helden- und Königsage*; Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 91–92.

[4] Morris, *Heroic Recitations*.

[5] Jackson, *Gododdin*, p. 132; Koch, *Gododdin*, p. 95.

[6] Sweet, "Camel Raiding." The fast-moving dromedary (one-humped, desert) camel is the target of raiding in Arabian and Rajasthani epics (*Sīrat ʿAntar*: Lyons, *Arabian Epic*, vol. 2,

their quickness, power, and agility are such that raiders can get large numbers of them far away from their owners in a few tactically crucial moments. Thus, possessed of the element of surprise, horse raiders enjoy a unique advantage over their target herds' defenders. Against man-hours expended and the level of technology involved, horse raiding must surely rank among the most profitable forms of theft in history.

Yet the drama and spectacle of the cattle- or horse-raid could never be reduced to purely economic causes. There is a reason that idle warriors rising up from their boredom and riding off on some enterprise became a common theme of heroic poetry in many cultures, a reason that is vividly reflected in the observation of the nineteenth-century Russian officer N.A. Maev, who tellingly conflated art and life:

> When past exploits are recounted, the eyes of a Kirgiz flash, and in his soul he remains the same inveterate *barantači* (raider). And the Kirgiz melancholy for the old order is not surprising: *baranta* for him was not simply robbery, not a crime; it was a whole poem, a series of adventures that were closely connected with each other and lent variety to the monotonous life of the nomad.[7]

This unguarded metaphor by an outside observer—*raiding for them was a poem*—gets at the highly-wrought, mutually referential web of raids and celebrations of raids in song that has been inferred far more often than observed in so-called "heroic societies."

Inner Asian oral and oral-derived poetry is rife with examples of horse raiding.[8] Among these, indeed among cattle-raiding and perhaps even all raiding poems worldwide, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* has the combined distinction of being a narrative of a factual raid from a well-documented oral tradition that (a mere five decades before our poem was written down)

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pp. 18–44; *Pābūjī*: J.D. Smith, *Epic of Pābūjī*, pp. 324–380). I know of no significant mention of Bactrian (two-humped, steppe) camels as the subject of raids in Inner Asia; likewise horned cattle, sheep, and goats were too slow or low in status to attract narrative treatments (cf. Abramzon *Kirgizy*, p. 72). Any accounts that scholars could bring forward of elephant-raids in south and southeast Asia or reindeer-raids in the north would no doubt be of interest.

[7] Maev, "Ot Tashkenta do Viernago," p. 346. At the time (1873) the term *Kirgiz* did not reliably distinguish between Qazaq and Kirghiz. On *baranta* see Martin, *Law and Custom*.

[8] Lipets, *Obrazy batyra*, pp. 167–171; cf. Vladimirtsov, *Mongolo-oiratskii geroicheskii ėpos*, pp. 131–135; Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 287–293. See also the edition, translation, and detailed analysis of a Qazaq horse-raiding poem collected by Karl Reichl in his *Singing the Past*, pp. 75–86, 181–188. The very early example of the verse "cycles" preserved in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* is discussed above, pp. 13–14.

produced examples of oral heroic epic poetry recorded in the field.[9] The famous and powerful old soldier Šabdan Baatır was not only one of the principal warriors in the raid in 1864 that is the poem's subject; he was also the poem's patron and honoree. Lastly among its objective distinctions, at 1,637 lines *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* is one of the longest horse-raid poems known in a Central Asian Turkic language. The poem presents a well-constructed narrative with a sense of drama and "cinema" that in some scenes almost approaches the feeling achieved in the epics; this similarity is reinforced by the poem's meter of seven- and eight-syllable lines that is identical to that used in epic poetry. The narrative also offers numerous insights into the customs and manners surrounding campaign life.

The action of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* can be analyzed as follows:

1–153 Bayake had a dream in which the arbaq told him to make a raid on the Qalmaqs. He summoned the four Tınay Sarıbağış heroes Šabdan, Manapbay, Qarakesek and Botpay to go with him. They assembled a large force including about 40 named heroes, the catalogue of whose names ends in a digression about a former raid undertaken by the Five Heroes on the Moyġut (Noyġut) of Turpan (Uč Turfan).

154–376 The heroes went to Jantay, patron of Bayake and father of Šabdan and Manapbay, to ask for a blessing. Bayake related the dream to Jantay and the heroes received Jantay's enthusiastic blessing and prayers for the raid. They appointed leaders over each of ten campfires of ten men each, and Janıbek and Temir as leaders of the two companies of fifty, and Andaš as khan of the entire party of a hundred men. Šabdan's wife Šaake provided the raiders with food, clothing, and all manner of equipment. Their departure was a grand spectacle.

377–533 Crossing from the Čoŋ Kemin valley to the Issyk Kul basin at Torʾayġır, the warriors followed the lakeshore east, then crossed into the Tekes river drainage via Saŋ-taš (San-taš) pass. In the upper Tekes the party visited Balbay of the Buġu, who received them with honor and sent ten men and his retainer Tınıstam along with them as a guide to the Qalmaqs' territory. The augmented party traveled for twelve days, passing Jıldız (Yulduz, which is misplaced on the itinerary; also the length of the march is exaggerated) before reaching a vantage point on the Qara-too mountains.

534–647 Bayake led a small party on a reconnaissance of the Buddhist monastery at Sümbö (Sümbe). A Qalmaq they took captive there converted to

[9] My narrow definition of "heroic epic poetry" based on distinctive plot structures and my theory of its disappearance as such in Kirghiz after the mid-nineteenth century are explained in Prior, *Twilight Age*. The date of the raid, 1864, occurred around the end of the time period when Kirghiz heroic epic poetry was observed. We may suppose with a high degree of confidence that before our poem was written down it existed in oral form for a long time, and probably since shortly after the raiders came home.

Islam and informed the Kirghiz raiders of the location of the Qalmaqs under their khan Dörbööl, to the east. The raiders slaughtered the few inhabitants of the monastery and smashed its cauldron, then with the Qalmaq convert as a guide traveled for eight days (another exaggeration) to a vantage point near the Qalmaqs at a pass on (the other end of) the Qara-too range.

648–916 Šabdan surveyed the Qalmaqs' position with a pair of binoculars, his acquisition of which as a gift from Qudayar Xan (Xudāyār Khan) and Qanaat (Qanāʿat Šāh) is narrated in a digression that involves Bayake and Šabdan having participated in a battle at Tashkent. The land Šabdan saw spread out ahead and its abundant verdure and game are described in lyrical detail. The raiders attacked and defeated a patrol of 15 Qalmaqs, chasing off a lone survivor. Under cover of darkness and preserving the element of surprise, 60 members of the Kirghiz party executed the main attack of the raid with complete success, making off with all of the Qalmaqs' herds of horses. The Five Heroes stayed and fought off an impromptu Qalmaq counterattack, then rejoined the main party at the earlier vantage point. Sending 30 men to drive the herds of horses homeward, the remaining men waited at the pass to repel the anticipated Qalmaq punitive attack.

917–1454 The Qalmaq khan Dörbööl, enraged by the loss of his herds, mustered an army of about 900 men. Leading the pursuit was the giant Manjum, Dörbööl's closest comrade. The Kirghiz waiting at the pass grew fearful at the sight of the dust from the approaching army; Bayake gave them their courage back with a long speech in heroic tone that includes a digression on the prowess of himself and Šabdan in combat against Qoqandian troops at Talas. Dörbööl and Manjum were at the head of the Qalmaq host. A Qalmaq hero emerged and took the field for single combat; Bayake charged, killed him, and took his horse. Manjum went out next and Botpay engaged him; the two fought long and hard but neither one got the advantage. With that duel deadlocked, Dörbööl roused next and Šabdan went out to fight him. Missing Dörbööl with his lance, Šabdan was struck by an arrow. Bayake rushed in and killed Manjum from behind, a maneuver that distracted Dörbööl. After hard fighting Šabdan killed Dörbööl. The Five Heroes led a rally by the remaining 70 Kirghiz, who killed many Qalmaqs and set them to flight, plundering as they chased them away.

1455–1637 The Kirghiz fighters stopped at sunset and waited until morning to search among the corpses for their eleven missing comrades; six were found alive, and the five martyrs were buried with prayers. Having divided up the booty from the battle, including a hundred horses and ten mules, they set off homeward, catching up with the drovers and herds on the third day. After a joyful reunion and celebratory meal, they traveled for eight days back to Jıldız (again erroneously placed far to the west) and rested there for two days, then returned to Balbay's camp in the Tekes valley. Balbay received them with honors. After presenting horses to Balbay and the ten Buġu raiders under Tınıstam, and leaving

> others for the poor and as blood payment for the Qalmaqs, the Tınay party went home to Kemin with 800 horses. Jantay welcomed them with a feast. The poem ends with a seamless transition into the next poem, the Inface.

The organization of the raid itself was handled like those that Louise Sweet observed in real life among the Bedouin: "Apparently the larger and more important raids are usually organized and led by aspiring young men of the chiefly lineages."[10] Šabdan was one of the aspiring men of the Tınay Sarıbağış, and he seems to have had a group of armed supporters answering to the Turkic form of the classic epic *comitatus*,[11] the band of Forty Companions, though it is not clear whether this number of men-at-arms existed in life or only in art. In any case, Šabdan was not the real initiator of the raid or the main character in the original poem upon which our version was based; that role belongs to his retainer Bayake, who in a dream sees hallowed ancestors calling the Kirghiz to exertion against the infidel Qalmaqs.[12] It is Bayake's dream-forecast that sets the whole raid in motion (indeed in the closing months of 1864 news of Muslim uprisings and looting in western China caused a spike in cross-border raiding by Qazaqs and Kirghiz). It is Bayake who originally gave the speech at the crucial moment in the poem, full of the spirit of heroic enterprise in a world ordained by God, to rally the troops to their supreme effort against the Qalmaq counterattack. And it is this speech that is most recognizable as an expression of the martial ideal so widespread in heroic poetry, as Maurice Bowra characterized the hero's lot: "In the ordeals of the heroic life his full worth is tested and revealed. It is not even necessary that he should be rewarded by success: the hero who dies in battle after doing his utmost is in some ways more adimirable than he who lives. In either case he is honoured because he has made a final effort in courage and endurance, and no more can be asked of him."[13] The ultimate reward offered in Bayake's speech is not fame, as in the oft-quoted formulation by Achilles, "If I stay here and fight on round the Trojans' city, then gone is my homecoming, but my glory will never die: and if I come back to my dear native land, then gone is my great glory, but my life will stretch long and the end of death will not overtake

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[10] Sweet, "Camel Raiding" p. 1141.

[11] The elite sociopolitical and military structure of the leader and his *comitatus* was first described by Tacitus as a real phenomenon (*Germania* 13–14) and was later abstracted by scholars describing the social worlds within heroic epic traditions.

[12] See pp. 255–266.

[13] Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, p. 108.

me quickly,"[14] or of Beowulf, "Each of us will come to the end of this life/ on earth; he who can earn it should fight/ for the glory of his name; fame after death/ is the noblest of goals."[15] Rather, the Muslim heroes are fighting for a place in Paradise. Compare the words in the first passage below by Bayake with those in the next quotation from *The Song of Roland*, spoken by the archbishop Turpin to the Christian host about to face the Muslim enemy:

> Never fear, boys! Everyone will realize his own strength if God gives us this foe. Who would care if there are many or few? If we are martyred by Infidels, then we still have the Eight Paradises! You are born, and then you die; thus *who* ever finds death [on his own]? This is the way of your forefathers from olden days! *This* is the party that plunders such great numbers of enemies! [...] We know this world is false; God knows its true nature. Let those who know the Qurʾan recite it! Let Him lay no debts on our shoulders, and forgive what's coming to us![16]

> Barons, my lords, Charles has left us here and if need be we must die for our King and to uphold Christendom! None of you can doubt that there will be battle: now you can see the Saracens before you. Confess your sins and call upon God for his mercy, and for the salvation of your souls I shall grant you absolution. If you die, you will be holy martyrs and will sit in the topmost parts of Paradise.[17]

Besides Bayake's excellent vatic and rhetorical gifts, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* displays heroic characterization in a style at times reminiscent of the catalogues of the Forty Companions in the mid-nineteenth century Manas-epics, as in this passage when Šabdan has heard of Bayake's dream and summons the warriors:

> The excellent ones were in a hubbub: Janıbek came on, roaring, while the cowards in the land sat trembling in their yurts. Andaš came on, shouting, calling to his comrades and daunting the hearts of dogged enemies. Temir came on, spreading laughter and turmoil at the edge of the camp as he spurred his horse, Čal-qašqa, to an amble.[18]

The sole female figure in the poem, Šabdan's wife Šaake, outfits the warriors expertly in a manner reminiscent of Kirghiz epic heroines' solicitude

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[14] Homer, *Iliad*, ix, 410–416 (quoted from Hammond trans., p. 143).

[15] *Beowulf*, 1386–1389.

[16] I.1024–1035, 1140–1144.

[17] *Song of Roland*, lxxxix, 1127–1135 (quoted from Merwin trans., p. 37).

[18] I.56–67; for a discussion of the whole catalogue, see the note to lines I.52–101. Cf. "Bok-Murun," lines 353–374, 1485–1511; "Köz-Kaman," lines 1460–1518.

for their campaigning heroes. On the broad stage of epic action in Turkic Central Asia in the nineteenth century the Qalmaqs were without doubt the Muslim heroes' choicest villains.[19] The ungainly appearance of their champion Manjum in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* recalls that of the enemy hero Joloy Khan in the Manas-epics. Ironically deprecating characterizations are built on contrast with "our" heroes, and are analogous with passages in the Manas-epics. Yet a horse-raid poem arising among (recent) bearers of heroic epic poetry is not necessarily a heroic poem, let alone an epic. For example, the general expressions of manliness are offset in a wonderfully wry moment when we glimpse hungry campaigners' enthusiasm for the trail dulled by a host's home cooking. The bleak realism of the warriors' searching for the bodies of fallen comrades the day after battle is another mood not matched in mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epics. *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* is a praising narrative cast with some stylistic elements of heroic and epic poetry, of which it was a neighbor in the network of oral genres surrounding heroic epic.[20] If anything, it shows by contrast how highly-wrought the artistry of heroic poetry is.

The conspicuous success of the climactic horse-stealing raid is instigated by the dream-inspiration of Bayake, and is complemented by the party's early coups, their conversion to Islam of a Qalmaq who turns informer and their vandalism and profanation of the Buddhist monastery of Sümbe and slaughter of its inhabitants. The Qalmaqs need not commit any villainous acts; in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* they are simply, utterly victimized by the Muslims, their only "offense" being that they are non-Muslim. Yet in premising the raid on the grounds that the Kirghiz raiders were Muslims and the Qalmaqs were not, the poet stopped short of fashioning the religiously-justified raid into an episode of holy war, of the kind long celebrated in the khoja *dāstān*s of East Turkistan, and which in real life was just then being proclaimed and fought by Muslim subjects rising up against the Ch'ing dynasty in China. That rebellion was the inspiration for narrative poetry in the *ġazavāt-nāma* 'story of holy raids' genre, many originally oral examples of which are found among the sedentary Muslim population of East Turkistan.[21] Similar to these but with a bearing of defeat and martyrdom are the poems that were recorded among the Muslims of western

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[19] Zhirmunskii, "Ėpicheskoe tvorchestvo," pp. 218–220; Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*.

[20] Reichl, *Singing the Past*, p. 3.

[21] Bilāl, *Kitāb-i ġazāt*; Sugawara, "Heroic Legend"; Reichl, "Hero and Saint".

Turkistan concerning their failed resistance to the Russian army's advance.[22] Although *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* shares certain themes with these poems of Muslim triumph and martyrdom, and could be compared with them on those terms, it comes from a different tradition of heroic taste in which aggrandizement of Islam had to coexist with other ideals. The one living religious figure mentioned in the poem, the mullah Qudayqul, is portrayed with irony as an oppressor of the poor and friend of the elite heroes—and as their quartermaster and accountant. Martyrdom, when it comes to some of the warriors in battle, is treated anonymously and in few words; in contrast, the heroes who triumph on the battlefield are named and praised in detail. Although the poet was knowledgeable about religion, and God is the subject of prayers, oaths, apostrophes, occasional surmises about right action in His sight, and pious references in Bayake's rather beautiful hortatory speech before the final battle, nothing in the poem happens by the explicit intervention of God or the saints. The latter are invoked in one prayer; on the other hand, the *arbaq*, spirits of departed ancestors beloved of Kirghiz heroes, play a key role in setting up the main action. The Qalmaqs were infidels in the Kirghiz epics, but their nature as hated Others dated back to the time when they were the conquering forces of the Junghar Empire, even before the Kirghiz came to be regularly recognized as Muslims by their neighbors. In this sense *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* has more in common with the epics of the era of the Qalmaq wars, such as the Kirghiz *Qurmanbek* and *Er Tabıldı* and the mid-nineteenth century Manas-epic *Köz-qaman* featuring a raid on the Qalmaqs, and the Qazaq *Qoblandı* and *Er Tarġın* (the surviving versions of which hinge on clear religious difference),[23] than with the *ġazavāt-nāma*s of neighboring peoples.

The Kirghiz had territorial as well as ethnic and religious boundaries to uphold. With their post-Junghar reoccupation of the Tian Shan they had relatively secure possession of a mountainous region that came to define them. Their epic bards devoted keen attention to the place-names and itineraries that defined the land's intricate topography.[24] The borders that Manas and other heroes defended became enshrined in epic formula,[25] and the Qızıl-qıya range and San-taš pass of epic stood as the real easternmost

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[22] Veselovsii, *Kirgizskii razskaz*.

[23] Aqmataliyev, *Qurmanbek, Seyitbek*; Tınıbekov, *Er Tabıldı*; "Köz-Kaman"; Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 167–205; Kidaish-Pokrovskaia and Nurmagambetova, *Koblandy-batyr*.

[24] Hatto, "Marschrouten"; Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary."

[25] Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, line 3212; "Semetey," line 1055; Tınıbekov, *Er Tabıldı*, p. 298.

border of the Buġu against the Qalmaqs until the 1850s, when the former were driven over into the Tekes valley by war with the Sarıbağıš.[26] With mentions of Tashkent and Qoqand on the west and Yulduz and Uč Turfan in the east, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* encompasses a relatively broad stage of action even when compared to the heroic epics of the mid-nineteenth century. Though it is not explicit, some echo of the formulaic delineation of Manas's realm would surely have been felt as the raiders passed beyond Qızıl-qıya and San-taš, the evocation of which made it easier for audiences—and patrons—to draw favorable comparisons between the raiders and the most venturesome epic heroes. The ways in which the poet used ethnic, religious, territorial, and other markers to assert a concept of Kirghiz-ness centered on the person and lineage of his patron, Šabdan Baatır, will be explored in a later section.

Historical Background of the Poem

Šabdan began his career as a warrior at the young age of thirteen (ca. 1853). In the years following Kenesarı's defeat in 1847, minor conflicts between the northern Kirghiz and the Qazaqs were continuing unabated; when Tülööqabıl went before Jantay to ask for his blessing to make a raid on the Qazaqs, Šabdan went with him and asked for his father's permission to take part. Jantay gave permission with the laconic comment, "Let him go—and become a man, or die." Apparently having second thoughts about this grim send-off, Jantay caught up with the warriors and sacrificed a mare for his son. In the raid Šabdan unhorsed a Qazaq with his lance but also received a lance-wound to the back of the neck. The boy's father scolded him as he was brought home unconscious: "You're a coward, you've bitten the lance from behind. Why don't you bite the lance facing forward?"[27] Šabdan later wrote:

> In those days the chief occupation of the Kirghiz and Qazaqs was raids and theft, and even rich and influential Kirghiz did it to obtain fame. So as to gain a name among the Kirghiz, I began to take part in raids. At first I had to endure a lot of failures, but I didn't get downhearted and I didn't quit. Finally I started

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[26] The sole mid-nineteenth century text of a Manas-epic collected among the Sarıbağıš, "The birth of Manas," recorded in 1869, is coincidentally preoccupied with smashing the infidels on a geographically grand scale; see Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, pp. 3–4.

[27] This story is related in a biographical note on Šabdan by his son Kemel: Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 7–8.

> gaining renown, not only among the Kirghiz of the Tınay clan, who began choosing me as their leader during raids, but my influence also grew among other clans and among the Qazaqs.[28]

This passage is recorded in Šabdan's own autobiography, which he composed at the request of the ethnographer and historian, the Tsarist official Nikolai A. Aristov, in 1885.[29] Šabdan's autobiography is marred by omissions and unclear chronological details, which is unsurprising in a set of recollections written down several decades after the fact.

There are signs that Šabdan held inconsistent views on his involvement with the Khanate of Qoqand during this period of political turbulence, which only later came to decisive resolution in Russia's favor. In the first half of the 1860s, during the very years when the raid on the Qalmaqs took place, young Šabdan and his father Jantay, like numerous Kirghiz aristocrats, were drawn into highly volatile and at times contradictory relations with Russia and with the factions fighting for the throne of Qoqand. The sources on Šabdan's activities in these years give us glimpses of back-and-forth movements on a broad stage encompassing Tashkent in the west and lake Issyk Kul and beyond in the east.

From the perspective of Šabdan's life (the only participant in the raid for whom we have detailed biographical information), the crowded events of the four years or so prior to the raid on the Qalmaqs provided their share of appropriate preparation. In 1860 Šabdan was called to the court of Qoqand to attend Mallā Khan.[30] The khan received him and his companion Bayake with honor and then dispatched him back homeward in the staff of the Qoqandian general Qanāʿat Šāh, who was leading an army against the Russians across the Zailiiskii Ala-tau range.[31] In October a small Russian force

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[28] Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 512.

[29] The autobiography is available as a long quotation in Russian in Aristov's larger work, *Usuni i kyrgyzy*, which was completed in 1893 but lay unpublished until 2001 (Aristov, *Usuni i kyrgyzy*, pp. 512–515). Šabdan presumably composed the autobiography in Kirghiz, so the version we have now would be a translation.

The Autobiography is only one of a number of important sources of biographical information on Šabdan: see Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*; Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*; Jusupov et al., *Šabdan Baatır*; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 173–181.

[30] On the siege of Tashkent and Šabdan's service to Qoqand in 1860–1862 see also the note to lines I.654–685.

[31] Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 512. Šabdan's own statement that it was Xudāyār Khan who summoned him is an anachronism: Xudāyār did not regain the throne of Qoqand until March 1862. Cf. Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, p. 14.

defeated this army and a large number of irregulars at Uzun-aġač while another destroyed the Qoqandian forts at Pišpek (present-day Bishkek) and Toqmoq (Tokmak).[32] Earlier Russian records mention Šabdan, his father Jantay, and others as having offered their assistance to the Russian detachment and having expressed their wish to accept Russian suzerainty;[33] after Qanāʿat Šāh arrived in the area of the battle, however, these same Kirghiz went over to his side.[34] After the defeat at Uzun-aġač, Šabdan is next seen in his autobiography spending "two years" in service under Qanāʿat Šāh, who had taken up the post of governor of Tashkent. This service began in early 1861, since it was Qanāʿat who stayed to refortify Pišpek in the closing months of 1860.[35]

These were dangerous and decisive years in the history of the Qoqand Khanate and the Kirghiz. In Tashkent Šabdan found himself, far from home under the patronage of Qanāʿat Šāh, supporting the faction of the formerly-deposed Xudāyār Khan who was fighting his way into the khanate from Bukhara to take the throne from a junta of Qıpčaq courtiers.[36] The struggle began when the army of the khanate under the Qıpčaqs marched out of the capital and laid siege to Tashkent, where Xudāyār had arrived at Qanāʿat's invitation to prepare to take back the throne. Qoqandian accounts differ as to the length of the siege of Tashkent and the reasons for the ultimate withdrawal of the Qoqandian army;[37] Šabdan's autobiography contains the self-aggrandizing and obviously exaggerated claim that the siege was broken by a bold sortie led by Šabdan and Bayake. The heroic coloring of the

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[32] Dzhantaev, loc. cit.; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 535; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 195–210; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, vol. 2, pp. 143–145.

[33] Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 196–197.

[34] Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 202; this information is difficult to reconcile with Šabdan's claim that he arrived in the area in Qanāʿat Šāh's suite.

[35] *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, vol. 1 [translated excerpt of *Tāʾrīx-i Šāhruxī*], p. 237; cf. Dzhantaev, loc. cit.; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, pp. 368–370. Bartol'd ("Kirgizy," p. 535) says on the basis of an uncited source that Šabdan "arrived" in Tashkent in 1862 with a request for Qoqandian assistance against the Russians. If this is true then Šabdan would not have spent the entire two years' service in Tashkent, but would have traveled back and forth between there and his home. This appears to contradict Šabdan's own statement (Dzhantaev, loc. cit.) that during this time Qanāʿat wanted to appoint him *bek* of Pišpek, but he refused.

[36] The throne had been cast into contention in February 1862 by the murder of Mallā Khan at the hands of the Qıpčaqs. Muhammad Yunus Djan, *Life of ʿAlimqul*, p. 44; Niyāz Muḥammad, *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*, pp. 232–238 (cf. Beisembiev, *Taʾrikh-i Shakhrukhi*, p. 123); Dzhantaev, loc. cit.

[37] See Niyāz Muḥammad, *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*, p. 238 (cf. Beisembiev, "*Taʾrikh-i Shakhrukhi*," p. 123); Muhammad Yunus Djan, op. cit., pp. 45–46 and n. 151.

circumstances of Šabdan's and Bayake's assistance to the Xudāyār faction's victory is, not surprisingly, strongly developed in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*.[38]

Šabdan returned to the Ču valley in 1862, around the end of April, when Colonel Gerasim A. Kolpakovskii was beginning his conquest of the valley by capturing the Qoqandian forts at Merke, Aq-su, and other locations on the northern flanks of the Qırğız Ala-too west of Pišpek.[39] Šabdan and Bayake arrived at Pišpek while Šabdan's father Jantay was away at the Russian fort Vernoe (in the location of present-day Almaty). Jantay was seeking assistance from the Russian authorties in a feud between his Tınay and another main subdivision of the Sarıbağıš, the Temir–Bolot: a marriage between Jantay's daughter and a son of the Temir had gone sour, the bride had been murdered, and in the mutual reprisal-raids the Tınay were getting the worst of it. Under these circumstances Jantay's attempted policy of avoiding firm commitments to either Qoqand or Russia came to an end; the authorities granted his request to submit to the Tsar. However, the immediate goal of peace with the Temir–Bolot was achieved at the cost of danger to Šabdan and Bayake, who were apprehended and thrown into prison as soon as the news of Jantay's break with Qoqand reached the commandant of Pišpek. The two were released long before Kolpakovskii captured Pišpek in October 1862.[40] Šabdan's next exploit with Bayake, "a while after" the fall of Pišpek according to his autobiography, was their journey to Talas to defend the Bağıš chief Sarımsaq and the Kirghiz under him from an attacking force of Qoqandian soldiers. Another source dates this fight near the Talas–Čatqal watershed to late 1862.[41]

It is after this expedition that Šabdan mentions his raid on the Qalmaqs that is the subject of the poem being examined here: "Having returned

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[38] Lines I.654–685. The poem mentions gifts and appointments that Xudāyār and Qanāʿat bestowed on Šabdan and Bayake (which likely happened); see Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], pp. 512–513 (Šabdan was awarded the governorship of Turkestan on the Syr Darya, which events in the Ču valley prevented him from accepting); Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 535; Mokeev, "'Nasab-name'," p. 178.

[39] Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 237–238; Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513.

[40] Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 16–17; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," pp. 535–536; Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513; cf. Töröqan uulu, *Qırğızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 175–176. The chronology of these events is somewhat different in Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, pp. 369–370, which nevertheless provides the probably reliable information that Šabdan participated in at least part of the feud with the Čerikči (Temir–Bolot), and that Šabdan and Bayake made their escape from Pišpek after only a few days in captivity.

[41] See lines I.1036–1102 and the Note in the Commentary.

home after a year, I soon undertook a raid with forty jigits[42] on the Qalmaqs inhabiting Suašu,[43] on the Qulja side of the Tekes. Although the raid was successful and we took away a lot of horses, the times were not what they used to be: by Kolpakovskii's order we had to return the lifted animals to the Qalmaqs."[44] As it happens, Šabdan's autobiography is not the only source of corroborating evidence of the raid on the Qalmaqs. Aristov was responsible for independently producing an official report in 1873 on general conditions in the region, which preserves more details on the raid; however, Aristov did not collate his own account of 1873 with the one produced by Šabdan in 1885, and there is no reason to believe that Šabdan was aware of Aristov's 1873 report, in which no raiders were mentioned by name anyway.[45] Another source on the raid comes from a brief but circumstantial account by Belek Soltonoyev in his historical work, *Qızıl Qırġız tarıxı*. This source is partially compromised with the poem being examined here, because Soltonoyev was the copyist of the Šabdan Baatır Codex and evidently used it in compiling his history; however, some details given by Soltonoyev do not appear in the present poem and must have been drawn from other sources, probably Kirghiz oral reports.[46]

The interval indicated by Šabdan in his autobiography between the fight at Talas and the raid on the Qalmaqs is curious: "Having returned home after a year"—from when? The mission to Talas in late 1862 would have lasted a few weeks at most. Since his father had accepted the suzerainty of the Russian conquerors in the Ču valley, Šabdan's home was at peace. He may, however, have wanted to be elsewhere for exactly that reason: the young

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[42] See lines I.52–101 and the Notes in the Commentary.

[43] The toponym that Šabdan used to identify the region where the raid took place is not one used in the poem itself, where the Qalmaqs are found at Sümbe and Qara-say. Šabdan's *Suašu* (sc. Standard Kirghiz *Suu-ašuu*), found on maps also as *Suasu*, is a mountain pass between the Ili and Tekes valleys, which at the time was well-known as a convenient pass on the important caravan road between Kulja and Kashġar (43°24′56″N 81°31′57″E; see Kaul'bars, "Zamietki o Kul'dzhinskom kraie," p. 138); according to oral-derived accounts it was also the base of action for the Buġu warrior Balbay during a period (dated by Russian documents between 1865 and 1867) when he was raiding the Qalmaqs and abetting the Muslim rebellion ("Balbay tuuraluu," pp. 300–301, 303–304, 321; Aytbayev, "Balbay," pp. 329 ff.; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 317–319). Thus the region of Suašu was a spot of some historical and economic note for sons of Sarıbaġıš caravan-raiders wishing to name a distant, unfamiliar corner of the middle Tekes valley, where most of the important actions of the raid took place.

[44] Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513.

[45] Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam", pp. 171–172; cf. Appendix F.

[46] See Appendix G.

man having begun a traditional nomad military career by personal valor and initiative, and having gained the attention of Özbek khans and Kirghiz holders of Qoqandian titles, probably did not value peace under the Tsar in the same way his father did. Moreover, his clash with Qoqandian soldiers in Talas amounted to a break with the former center of his military patronage, the khanate.

During the "year" gap in time when Šabdan's movements are unknown, a target for the enterprising young Kirghiz raider was opening up, one that was politically uncomplicated and presented a temptingly abundant target of non-Muslim nomads and their herds: China. The Muslim rebellions that for a time threw off Ch'ing control over China's western lands spread rapidly after the first outbreak of violence in Shensi province, reaching the Ili region adjacent to Russian Semirech'e after only a year, in 1863. The region, cut off from the rest of China in the summer of 1864 by the Muslim takeover of Urumch'i, was finally wrested from Ch'ing control in November when the city of Qulja fell to a combined mob of Tarančis and Tungans, who massacred the non-Muslim population of Chinese and Manchus.[47] The Muslim Qazaqs and Kirghiz of Russian Semirech'e, whose pastures lay along and in some cases even inside the Chinese border, reacted to the increased disturbances in the Ili region by surging across the frontier to take what they could from the beleaguered non-Muslims, especially the herds of the nomadic Qalmaqs. Nikolai Aristov's description of this rash of attacks includes an account of the actual raid that became the subject of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*; the account is included in Appendix F in translation. Aristov's account makes it very clear that this raid was but one of many instances of robbery and destruction committed by Kirghiz and Senior Horde Qazaq raiders, and that the large haul of animals and booty described in our poem was a small fraction of the total damages inflicted on the Qalmaqs in this anarchic period. Aristov also confirms Šabdan's statement in his autobiography that the raiders were forced to return the stolen animals.[48]

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[47] On the Chinese Muslim Rebellion of 1862–1877 see Qurbān ʿAlī Xālidī, *Tavārīx-i xamsa-i šarqī*, pp. 311–331; Bilāl, *Kitāb-i ġazāt*; Kim, *Holy War in China*; Kuropatkin, *Kashgariia*, pp. 127–156; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, vol. 2, pp. 156–188; Chu, *Moslem Rebellion*; Boulger, *Central Asian Questions*, pp. 219–231, 360–395; Noda, "Kazakhs in the Muslim Rebellions."

[48] The total number of animals stolen by Kirghiz raiders over this period was several tens of thousands; in one of two payments noted by Aristov, the Buġu alone were forced to return 68,100 head of cattle stolen from the Qalmaqs (Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam", p. 172). Compare this with statistics for 1876 compiled by the Turkestan Statistical Commission: there were 47,457 horses in the southern portion of Qulja region (not all owned by

According to Aristov's circumstantial narrative of the outbreak of raiding and its causes, the raid may be dated to the closing months of 1864.[49] This was two years, not one as Šabdan apparently remembered, after the battle between Šabdan and Qoqandian troops in late 1862.

The cross-border raiding did not stop immediately, but Šabdan and the Sarıbağıš were no longer involved. In the spring of 1865 the Tekes Buġu were approached by Kashghari khojas who threatened military action against them unless they joined the rebellion; this is supposed to have led to the final devastation of the border Qalmaqs in a raid carried out by Buġu warriors under khoja leadership.[50] Balbay and his close allies among the Buġu continued raiding the Qalmaqs, as did the Qazaq Senior Horde. The Russian authorities considered these actions a violation of the oath of submission, and finally captured the elusive raiders in May 1867; Balbay died in prison in Vernoe.[51] After Šabdan's father Jantay died, in 1867, Šabdan's relations with the Russian administration began to strengthen. This was partly under the influence of his older brother Manapbay, who had entered Tsarist service in the newly-formed *uyezd* that included the lands of the Jantayids, and partly due to Šabdan's bravery and skill in assisting Russian military units.[52]

In compensation for the rather rueful memory of the Qalmaq adventure he recorded in his autobiography, Šabdan undoubtedly heard many times the praising poems sung by oral poets in honor of the raid's principals, which formed the basic material of the written poem being examined here. It is not known how wide the public was for this poem in its early phase. If bards performed oral versions of it in extended sessions that included the immensely popular epics of the Manas cycle, such as the events where Radloff observed bards singing before rich and powerful men and "interweav[ing] his song with praise for their clans or other circumstances which never fail to please the notables," then there is nothing in the poetics or content of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* to prevent us from imagining large and

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Qalmaqs) and a total Qalmaq population of 15,940 in the region as a whole (Pantusov, "Statisticheskiia sviedeniia," pp. 10, 19).

Buddhist Mongols of the Tarbağatay mountains north of Sümbe had greater success defending themselves against insurgents when the Muslim uprising enveloped that region in 1865 ("Mongol'skii vozhd'," pp. 194–195; cf. Kim, *Holy War in China*, pp. 56–57).

[49] See the Commentary below.

[50] Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 315.

[51] Ibid., pp. 315–319.

[52] Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," p. 8; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, p. 380; Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 57–64.

enthusiastic audiences, as when Radloff "saw with my own eyes how one sultan leapt to his feet in the middle of a song, tore off his silk robe, and with an exultant shout threw it to the bard as a gift." Yet northern Kirghiz society in the Tsarist era knew class tensions: "If the circle of listeners consists of poor people, then [the bard] is not above adding various cutting allusions to the haughtiness of the rich and distinguished."[53] The Codex's copyist, the innovative scholar Belek Soltonoyev, had something in common with audiences like these; Soltonoyev peppered his own historical work with scathing criticisms of Šabdan, Bayake, and other members of the manap elite, some of them preserved in verse from well-known performances.[54] It will become apparent that one of the most important problems of Kirghiz history for which *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* constitutes a primary source is the poorly-understood process of the formation of Kirghiz "great men"—for the Codex has something to say, both in the poet's own voice and in the implicit contextual facts that it yields through analysis, about the vicissitudes that the young Šabdan faced in life, and how he overcame them, before he became a paragon.

[53] Radloff, "Predislovie," p. xviii.
[54] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, pp. 330, 351–354.

THE STORY OF KENESARI

In contrast to the obscure facts in the historical background of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, the Kirghiz defensive actions against Kenesarı's incursions into the Ču valley in 1846 and 1847 were important events widely known among the Qazaqs and Kirghiz. Hence they were well-attested subjects in their own right in narrative poetry and prose (and, of course, in Russian official documents). The words of the Tsarist official N.A. Maev apply equally well to the Qazaqs and the Kirghiz: "The memory of [Kenesarı] and of his fight with the Kirghiz is still alive among the people and probably will survive for quite a long time to come."[1] For the Qazaq poets, Kenesarı was a beloved hero who made a brave last stand against odds;[2] for the Kirghiz he was a cursed foe. Russian documents portray a dangerous and influential rebel.

The Story of Kenesarı can be summarized as follows. A greater ingredient of praising of the Kirghiz warriors and condemnation of the Qazaqs makes for a looser narrative thread than in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, but in their epic-like meter, style, and diction the two poems resemble one another.

1–87 The poet begins with a complaint about the evil intentions of the descendants of Ablay. Intending to destroy the Kirghiz, Kenesarı Khan raised an army and crossed from the (Sarı) Arqa steppe to the Ču valley via Qurday pass. There he captured a Kirghiz named Tınaalı and ordered him to guide the Qazaq army to the Kirghiz under cover of night. Tınaalı managed to trick the Qazaqs into crossing the Ču at a bad place, where many of them fell into the water and died.

88–203 Across the Ču, ranged between the Ïsıq-ata river in the west and the Šamšı in the east, lay the teeming encampments of the Kirghiz, whom the Qazaqs now attacked. Chief among the Qazaq warriors were the princes Nooruzbay and Erjan Törö. Among the Kirghiz who led the defense were Qalpaq (who was killed in the first onslaught), Jamanqara, Tülööqabıl, Törökeldi, Jantay, and the Jeti Qašqa 'seven preeminent ones' of the Bölökbay (Solto). These fought in single combat and led sallies that beat the Qazaqs back from the camps and across the river.

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[1] Maev, "Ot Tashkenta do Viernago", p. 347.

[2] See Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 282–287; Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay"; Axmetov et al., *Kenesarı–Naurızbay*; Bekmakhanov, "Fol'klornye istochniki"; Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*.

204–254 Simple narration of the rout of the Qazaqs by Jamanqara, Tülööqabıl, and Törökeldi, "the three naked heroes" (who went into battle without getting dressed) is interspersed with comments on the doomed nature of the Qazaqs' undertaking. The "three naked heroes" utterly defeated the Qazaqs and set them to flight in a short time; Kenesarı and Nooruzbay ran for their lives.

255–304 (The last 50 lines of the poem are a mixture of brief statements about the ensuing events and boastful comments on the cruel fate of the Qazaq attackers at the hands of the Kirghiz; it is even less committed to narrative exposition than the preceding lines.) At a safe distance, Kenesarı marshaled another army of Qazaqs and set out to make an end of the Kirghiz. This time his army was dispersed, and the princes were captured and given to the Tınay women to be killed, and their corpses were eaten by dogs. The poem ends with words of harsh judgment and a curse on the Qazaq princes.

Sanjıra has preserved reports in prose about the battle narrated in *The Story of Kenesarı*. One of these, an oral account by Qalıġul Alıbek uulu (1806–1899) included by Belek Soltonoyev in *Qırġız tarıxı*,[3] has an excellent record of provenance and is extremely detailed in a manner befitting an eyewitness report by a presumed participant in the battle itself, Qalıġul, who was also a well-known figure in the Sarıbaġıš political maneuvers that resulted from Kenesarı's killing. Qalıġul *Q*, as the narrative is referred to in this edition, was not a source of *The Story of Kenesarı*, because there are few significant verbal similarities between the two texts. However, the latter stacks up rather well against the former on the level of factual detail, which strongly suggests that it too drew on authentic reports in some way. Another, shorter and differently focused version of the events in *The Story of Kenesarı* is contained in a sanjıra by a teller named Bala Ayilčı. Nothing about that text indicates it could have been a source or a reflection of the source of our poem. The poem also shares its subject with a long narrative in Kirghiz verse and prose, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (The Kirghiz–Qazaq Events), written in 1939 by the Kirghiz folklorist Ïbırayım Abdıraxmanov;[4] it too lacks specific textual connections to *The Story of Kenesarı*. These accounts show that the "network of oral genres" that gave rise to our poem included both prose and poetic traditions; they are discussed further in the Commentary. Appendices B–D consist of translations of Qalıġul *Q*, a different Russian version purportedly by Qalıġul (*R*), and Bala Ayılčı's account.[5]

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[3] Qalıġul *Q*, Appendix B.

[4] Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası."

[5] Cf. another account of this conflict with quite different (presumably Qazaq) origin,

In a poem that ends with the words *Busulmandı jooloġon/ ošondoy törö qurusun!* 'To hell with such a prince who opposes the Muslims!' one is not surprised to find the overall tone to be one of vengeful triumph at the Qazaqs' defeat. The Kirghiz, after initial passive help from Tınaalı's ruse, rally in sufficient time so that only the first camp caught in the surprise attack, that of Qalpaq, suffers notable losses; the rest of the poem follows a number of Kirghiz warriors from victory to victory in repulsing the overwhelmed Qazaqs. The poet delights in imagery of the humiliating slaughter of the Qazaq princes at the end of the second campaign, and he carefully counterbalances this with a graphic depiction of the atrocities the Kirghiz had suffered previously at Kenesarı's hands. The featured champions are of disparate genealogies, mainly from the Bölökbay Solto and two subdivisions of the Sarıbağıš. Their unifying identity is stated in two ways in the poem. As "Muslims" they stood against foes whose situational identification was automatically conditioned to be non-Muslim, even though this was not literally true in the case of the Qazaqs.[6] As defenders of a homeland, however, the poet stresses that the heroes were *Kirghiz*. The working out of the meaning of this ethnic label in poetry—in a sense that was unprecedented in the surviving mid-nineteenth century records of Kirghiz verbal art—is one of the poet's most significant preoccupations in the rhetorical development of his work, and will be discussed further in the General Commentary.

As with *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, we are dealing here with a poem that urges comparison with other traditions, though the subject of *The Story of Kenesarı*, "they attacked us, and we beat them," is not so richly attested

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which was first published in 1889, in Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 122–123. Another published Kirghiz sanjıra, by Esenqul Töröqan uulu (*Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 93–94, 112–113), displays wording very close and in places identical to Qalıġul *Q*. Since the latter was first published in 1993, two years before Töröqan uulu published his accounts, direct borrowing of the one by the other is the most sensible explanation of the similarities.

[6] Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" has a preface, a postface, and intermittent language (pp. 409–410, 427–428, 458–459) that emphasize Kenesarı's descent from the "Qalmaq" Činggis Khan as the cause of his tyrannical behavior, as distinct from the natural-born Qazaqs' friendship with the Kirghiz; in this work the victims of Kenesarı's attacks are not Muslims or only the Kirghiz, but both the Kirghiz and Qazaqs (the latter for being forced to fight the Kirghiz)—and, more distantly, Russia. This probably in part reflects the political situation in Soviet Kirgizia at the time Abdıraxmanov composed "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," in 1939: Kenesarı was easily made into a symbol of exploitation by "foreign" class enemies of peoples friendly by nature. Abdıraxmanov's poetic conclusion depicts the Kirghiz and Qazaq peoples as close friends again now that the Činggisid interloper Kenesarı has been removed (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 459).

as the cattle-raid theme. As it happens, the inner spark of this poem shows itself clearly from comparison with the Old English post-heroic poem *The Battle of Brunanburh* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, about the victory by king Æthelstan and his English army over a combined invading force of Norse, Scots and Strathclyde Britons.[7] On the level of historical circumstance it would be difficult to underestimate the importance for the fate of the Kirghiz of the battles on the Čˇu river, or for the English people of the Battle of Brunanburh. England, as it has often been remarked, has remained a unified kingdom since the repulse of the invaders in 937. Over the two decades or so after the battles on the Čˇu in 1846 and 1847, the northern Kirghiz manaps, with no effective power ruling over them (Qoqandian authority was irreparably damaged by inaction during the Kenesarı crisis), seized the chance to enter into their own, albeit several, relations with the Russian Empire, forming the embryo of the Kyrgyz Republic. It is a curious coincidence that these battles in England and Semirech'e were commemorated soon after they occurred in poems that have been called both historical and panegyric; these and other relevant poems are discussed in comparative perspective in the Commentary.

Historical Background of the Poem

If we attempt to sketch the background of Kenesarı's incursions into Kirghiz territory in any detail, we find that Ermukhan Bekmakhanov's words are as true today as when he wrote them in the 1940s: "Kenesarı's campaign in Kirgizia has been so little studied that it is difficult to reconstruct a detailed chronology of events."[8] For all the detail purported in the available Russian documents, there is a considerable lack of clarity in them about Kenesarı's movements and relations; this is because the military officers with authority over Russia's affairs in Semirech'e in the 1840s generally conducted their intelligence-gathering operations at a considerable remove from the events themselves. Oral-derived Kirghiz and Qazaq accounts can provide important detail, but often, as we have seen before, at the cost of consistency in chronology and other facts. With these two strands of information a merged reconstruction of events can be attempted.

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[7] Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*; Harris, "Altenglische Heldendichtung," pp. 249–251; Reichl, *Singing the Past*. The Old High German panegyric *Ludwigslied* affords useful comparison as well (Schlosser, *Althochdeutsche Literatur*, pp. 100–103; Reichl, op. cit.).

[8] Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, p. 334. Cf. Aseev, "Kenesary Kasymov i kirgizy."

In early April 1845, when he had been already eight years at the head of his armed campaign for control of the Qazaq steppes and had assumed the title of khan, Sultan Kenesarı Qasım ŭlı (Kasymov) was visited in his mobile headquarters near the Irgiz and Turġay rivers by two separate Russian envoys, Dolgov and Gern, simultaneously. Dolgov, whose title was "guardian of the Qazaqs near the fortified lines," had instructions and letters from the presiding officer of the Orenburg Boundary Commission aimed at convincing Kenesarı to submit unconditionally to the Tsar.[9] The overt purpose given for Lieutenant Gern to be traveling in the steppe was that he was accompanying hostages whom the Russian authorities were returning to Kenesarı; in secret he was scouting out locations for two fortifications to be built on the Irgiz and Turġay in the heart of the sultan's pastures, which adjoined Middle Horde and Junior Horde territories.[10] Kenesarı treated the two envoys well but was angered by the terms Dolgov offered and made no concessions; Gern was never permitted to see the sultan.[11] Both envoys reported that the sultan was not well supplied with weapons but had plans to increase his stockpiles.[12] After Dolgov and Gern returned with no diplomatic results, Russian forces entered the Irgiz and Turġay steppes and built the two planned forts, severely impeding Kenesarı's communications in the region.[13] Enraged, Kenesarı called an assembly to discuss the new constraints and decided to quit the area and seek shelter farther south, in the area occupied by the Senior Horde. But before leaving the Irgiz and Turġay, Kenesarı sent to the Bukharan emir to ask for grazing grounds and also cannon; the first request at least was not granted.[14] His strategy henceforward was to continue as needed his friendly relations with Bukhara and his long-standing enmity with Qoqand in order to gain control over the Qazaq tribes near the Syr Darya;[15] in effect he became a hazardous factor in the interests of the Qazaqs, Kirghiz, and Russians he encountered. In late July 1845 he

[9] Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, pp. 348–354; Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, pp. 273–275. The wording with *kazakh* in the title *popechitel' prilineinykh kazakhov* is an anachronistic emendation by the modern editors; the actual term would have been *popechitel' prilineinykh kirgizov*.

[10] Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 396–403; Bekmakhanov, loc. cit. The hostages included Kenesarı's wife and other relatives.

[11] Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 396–397.

[12] Bekmakhanov, op. cit., p. 297.

[13] Bekmakhanov, op. cit., p. 276; Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 397, 392–393.

[14] Kenesarı was reported to have had cannon in his outfit at the time of his first incursion into Kirghiz territory in 1846: Stepniak, *Materialy*, p. 6 (with the incorrect date 1845).

[15] Bekmakhanov, op. cit., pp. 276–278; Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 414–415.

moved from the Jılančıq stream in the vicinity of the Irgiz[16] southeastward to the lower Sarı-su,[17] taking precautions that his movements were not being followed by the Russians.[18] By the beginning of August he had traversed to the bottom course of the Ču, whence he nomadized upstream along that river into September.[19] From this point he sent a force to the Syr Darya that coerced assistance out of local Qazaqs and with them destroyed three small Qoqandian positions on that river.[20] His further movement up the Ču to the pastures at lake Kokui-kul[21] was hindered by drought there, so he went instead to the stream Quraylı[22] on the lower Sarı-su and intended to head to Kokui-kul at the first snowfall.[23] He was noted overwintering by the Ču and Sarı-su.[24]

In the early spring of 1846 Kenesarı progressed southward and eastward all the way through the territory of the Qazaq Senior Horde, with whom his relations were generally not good at this time. A small band led by his younger brother Naurızbay (Nooruzbay in our poem) and another sultan raided the Sarı-Üysün tribe on the Qara-tau mountains north of Tashkent before rejoining Kenesarı,[25] who next crossed to the left (south) side of the middle Ču and launched a plundering raid on the Solto and Sarıbağıš Kirghiz who were camped along the river. The incursion was preceded by an unsuccessful peace mission sent by a coalition of Kirghiz chiefs who were expecting Kenesarı's approach, and was apparently touched off by a casual horse theft by a lone Kirghiz for which Kenesarı was not properly recompensed.[26]

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[16] The location matches that of a mountain named Dzhalanchik ca. 40 km SW of the town of Irgiz (originally the fort Ural'skoe) around 48°30′N 61°E, shown on Voenno-Topograficheskii Otdiel, *Karta iuzhnoi pogranichnoi polosy*, sheet XI "Kazalinsk; Turkestan."

[17] The Sarı-su river flows southward through the Qazaq steppe and loses itself in small lakes around 45°10′N 67°15′E, near the point where the Ču, flowing from the east, does the same.

[18] Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, p. 417.

[19] Ibid., pp. 413–414, 417, 431.

[20] Ibid., p. 432.

[21] The lake (the Turkic pronunciation of the first element is uncertain) is located at 44°35′N 72°E on a marshy stetch of the Ču. Cf. the verse in a Qazaq narrative poem about Kenesarı collected by Radloff: *Žaġalay Köküy boyın terek pen tal,/ qŭyġanım tegeške bĭr ayaq bal* 'There are poplars and willows ranged along the banks of Köküy; the drink I pour is a cup of mead' ("Kenensarınıŋ öleŋi," in Radlov, *El qazınası*, p. 285).

[22] Kozybaev, op. cit., p. 417.

[23] Ibid., pp. 417–418.

[24] Ibid., p. 440.

[25] Ibid., p. 463.

[26] Cf. Appendix B; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası" (p. 413) records a horse theft in association with an embassy in the lead-up to the battle, but in the other direction. Kenesarin

This battle on the Ču and its dire consequences for Kenesarı are the main subject of the poem being examined here, *The Story of Kenesarı*.[27] Half of the Qazaq force of 2,000 men perished in the ensuing battle among the tents (several Činggisid sultans were among those killed)[28] and Kenesarı's own encampments were sacked in a counterattack.[29] But the Kirghiz, who had been caught by surprise, fared poorly also, and knew they had to seek peace.

Over the course of the spring and summer Kenesarı and his followers ranged widely thoughout Semirech'e. They arrived on the right (north) bank of the Ili among the Dulat, Šapıraštı and Adban of the Senior Horde by the beginning May,[30] but uneasy relations with elements in these tribes led Kenesarı to move again. Russian documents place him somewhere on the Qara-tal river, which feeds the eastern arm of lake Balkhash, in early June,[31] from whence he moved south to the pastures of Qulan-bası and Kun-bası by the Ili by mid-September.[32] In the meantime the Ch'ing authorities at Qulja had refused his request to be allowed to winter in Chinese territory;[33] cut off as well from returning to the Middle Horde, he had to persuade his supporters to plant grain crops on the lower Ili and its tributaries.[34] That autumn the Western Siberian governorate-general in Omsk began to move against Kenesarı, sending a detachment from Ayaguz under the Cossack captain (*esaul*) Timofei V. Niukhalov in early September to search for him and reconnoiter the lower Ili region. Through intelligence gained from friendly Üysüns (Senior Horde Qazaqs) and some captured followers of Kenesarı, Niukhalov located but could not reach him on the Qamal peninsula at the

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("Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 122) mentions horse thefts by Kirghiz under Ormon, Qarıboz and Jantay as an irritant leading to Kenesarı's first attack.

[27] Cf. Appendices B–D. The raid by Kenesarı and the Kirghiz repulse narrated by Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 122–123, also seems to reflect the same action.

[28] Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 442, 459.

[29] Ibid., pp. 444–445.

[30] Ibid., p. 442.

[31] Ibid., p. 445. The printed source says *Karatau*, not *Karatal*; this must either be an error for the latter or, if the former is correct, an instance of a mictrotoponym ('black hill') that has eluded identification in the area of the Ili and Qara-tal rivers.

[32] Ibid., p. 451. Only the former place-name is identifiable on available maps; it is a small range of hills located on the right bank of the Ili around 44°25′N 77°E. The Turkic pronunciation of the first element in *Kun-basy* (thus in the Russian document) is uncertain.

[33] Aseev, "Kenesary Kasymov i kirgizy," p. 88; cf. Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 121.

[34] Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, p. 305, citing a report by an unidentified official in the Orenburg Boundary Commission.

mouth of the Ili. There the sultan had gathered an army of about 10,000 men with eight Khivan gunsmiths and was content with the excellent natural defenses of the site, but the lack of grain was acute and he was forced to send out a large party of 500 men and 1,000 camels to requisition millet from the Üysüns.[35] By the beginning of October the Üysüns were in mass revolt; the news of the approach of Niukhalov's detachment reinforced by large numbers of hostile Qazaqs prompted Kenesarı to leave the security of the Qamal peninsula in haste and undertake a dangerous raft-borne crossing to the left bank of the Ili followed by a traverse of the waterless desert to the south, in which many of his horses and camels perished. Kenesarı found no one he could raid on his march southward until he reached the Ču, where (while he was recovering from smallpox) a force of almost 3,000 men under the command of Sultan Seil-khan[36] attacked the grain farmers of the Sarıbaġıš and Solto Kirghiz, killing about 200 and taking a like number into captivity along with a rich haul of plunder.[37] In November Kenesarı had taken up a position back nearer the Ili at the pasture called Aq-qamıš;[38] he had in his suite eight sultans and was in command of the 3,000 ordinary Qazaq troops; his encampments consisted of about 4,000 tents of commoners with some 15,000 camels and 40,000 horses.[39] Poor grazing and overwork of his horses since the stop at the Qamal peninsula put the herds in acute need, but available options to find pasture were few and difficult of approach.[40] Kenesarı had little choice but to overwinter in the Ču valley at the invitation of Üysüns who were at that time in revolt against Qoqand; there were reports of an invitation from Kirghiz groups as well.[41] By the middle of December Niukhalov had what he judged to be reliable information that 20,000 tents of four Üysün tribes had joined Kenesarı and that the combined unit had taken control of a large area, from the ford It-kečüü on the Ču river, where Kenesarı was building a fort against the Qoqandians and Kirghiz, up the Ču to Aq-ölöŋ on the western shore of lake Issyk Kul[42] and along the lake to the western Küŋgöy Ala-too mountains.

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[35] Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 450, 452.

[36] The name is spelled thus in a published Russian document.

[37] Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 451, 456, 464–465, 467.

[38] Ibid., pp. 451, 466.

[39] Ibid., p. 463.

[40] Ibid., pp. 451, 461.

[41] Ibid., pp. 456–457, 466.

[42] The ford It-kečüü 'dog ford' at approximately 43°22′N 74°E is submerged under a reservoir now (Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary," pp. 252–253). The construction of the fort coheres

(The Kirghiz who were affected by this influx were probably mostly Sarı-bağış and Buġu.) It was while he was in command of the Ču that Kenesarı attacked and captured the Qoqandian fort at Merke. To mark his recovery from smallpox, Kenesarı let some Qazaqs leave for their home pastures.[43] Captain Niukhalov spent the winter of 1846–1847 among the friendly Senior Horde sultans Ali (Ġali), Siuk (Süyek), and Bulen laying plans for a decisive spring offensive against Kenesarı.[44]

That autumn the Kirghiz had gathered in great numbers seeking revenge for the Qazaqs' spring incursion. After receiving a letter from Kenesarı demanding their submission, the Kirghiz chiefs Ormon and Jantay called a council, which made the decision to resist.[45] But they had not been quick to come out decisively against Kenesarı; he, for his part, had little reason either militarily or politically to reject *rapprochement* with the Kirghiz. It is clear from sanjıra and other oral-derived Kirghiz accounts that both sides vacillated between conciliatory gestures and brutal score-settling, though the chronology and thus the links between these events are doubtful. (The Russian sources, on the other hand, contain almost no information about these events, which probably says as much about the level of the Russian military's knowledge of the still relatively remote Kirghiz as it does about their opinions on the importance of Kirghiz interests in the region.) Sometime between the spring and autumn of 1846 both Kirghiz and Qazaqs freed captives from each other's side. Qalıġul's *Q* narrative stresses that there was clemency and reciprocity in these acts, and his own embassy also passed peacefully and resulted in a truce, though tensions were barely eased as a result.[46] Kenesarı too dispatched a peace embassy under Sultan Ġali in the late spring,[47] and in mid-November he was "trying by any means to make peace with the Kirghiz," which strongly suggests that any positive results of Qalıġul's embassy had been fleeting. Kirghiz efforts in the other direction were on-going as well, but communication did not flow smoothly.[48]

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with the information given by Kenesarin ("Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 125) that It-kečüü was the place where Kenesarı spent the winter.

The Aq-ölöŋ peninsula at 42°22′N 76°15′E was formerly an island in the lake (*Qırġız jergesi*, pp. 13–14).

[43] Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, p. 467; cf. Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 121–122.

[44] Kozybaev, op. cit., pp. 453–456.

[45] Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 123–124.

[46] See Appendix B.

[47] Kozybaev, op. cit., p. 445.

[48] Ibid., pp. 460–461.

That autumn was probably the time when the Qušču Kirghiz tribe of Talas offered a bride for Kenesarı's son to marry, apparently as a way to win back their biy named Qalča whom Kenesarı had captured in a harvest-time raid; nevertheless, the Qušču eventually withdrew the offer.[49] These peaceful gestures could do little to smooth over the animosities surrounding a series of outrageous killings on both sides. The Bölökbay Solto responded to a request for an embassy from Šooruq (Sauruk), a follower of Kenesarı's from the Čapıraštı tribe, by sending Bolot and Jamanqara Baatır (one of the *üč jılaŋač* 'three naked heroes' of *The Story of Kenesarı*), but upon arrival they were seized and turned over to Kenesarı, who had them tortured and executed—a flagrant breach of the principle of safe conduct for envoys.[50] In retaliation the Bölökbay raised a punitive force that chased Šooruq down and killed him and made off with his herds of horses.[51] It was in this tense atmosphere that Captain Niukhalov sent letters in the autumn of 1846 to attract to his cause the biys Borombay and Ajıbay of the Buġu, Ormon of the Sarıbaġıš, and Jaŋġarač of the Solto[52]—which incidentally was the first contact between Russian and Kirghiz leaders with a view to an immediate, shared political-military purpose.

His ultimatum to Ormon and Jantay having been rebuffed, Kenesarı launched his final assault on the Kirghiz in the Ču valley in February or early March of 1847. The size of Kenesarı's army reported to the Akmolinsk district superintendent was 20,000;[53] this is almost certainly an exaggeration through hearsay, the figure of 8,000–9,000 recorded by Soltonoyev being more likely.[54] The campaign resulted in his forces becoming surrounded,

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[49] Ibid., p. 461; Qalča's father was Bürgö Baatır of the Talas Qušču (see Appendix B). Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay" (1875, pp. 314–315) mentions the autumn raid and a ransom for Qalča involving a girl, but gives no date; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (p. 411) places the raid on Bürgö before the spring 1846 battle on the Ču, which presents chronological difficulties. Cf. Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 123, and Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, p. 330, both with doubtful handling of the chronology of 1846.

[50] Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, p. 476; cf. Appendix B; also Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., pp. 418–442.

[51] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 320–321; cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 431–433, but there the killing of Jamanqara and Bolot by Kenesarı has occurred before the 1846 battle on the Ču, which is unlikely. Bekmakhanov (*Kazakhstan*, p. 333) based his narration of the killing of Šooruq on Soltonoyev's account and stressed that the truce effected by Qalıġul's embassy was broken by the killing; this is a reasonable theory, although the chronology is not certain.

[52] Kozybaev, op. cit., p. 457.

[53] Ibid., p. 473; the report was made in mid-April.

[54] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 322.

and when the key Senior Horde supporters Sultan Rustem and Sıpatay Biy turned and left the field, the Kirghiz defenders captured and killed Kenesarı and a number of his close relatives and other sultans.[55] The final campaign is the subject of numerous published works the repetition of which here is unnecessary;[56] in any case the events of 1847 and Kenesarı's fate are mentioned only fleetingly in *The Story of Kenesarı*.

[55] Ibid., pp. 472–478; V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, pp. 126–127, 130–133; Bekmakhanova, *Prisoedinenie Kazakhstana k Rossii*, p. 182.

[56] See the note to line III.(Title).

THE INFACE AND POSTFACE

We have Musa Čaġatayev to thank for the first four poems in the Codex, and it is in the second and fourth poems, the Inface and Postface, that we find the clearest and most succinct explanation of his intentions in writing his work down. These two brief poetic asides are the keys to understanding the cultural significance of Čaġatayev's poems.

The Inface and Postface (as the poems are conventionally labeled in the present edition; they bear no titles and are not even clearly separated from adjacent text in the Codex) are written in a common poetic genre called *terme*, in a syllabic meter of seven- and eight-syllable lines identical to the meter of the narrative poems. The basic meaning of *terme* is 'collection, selection', and it is used in Turkic languages throughout Central Asia to denote non-narrative poetic compositions of varying length that are improvised by a bard in the moment of performance, often as an attention-getting prelude to the longer epic poems that comprise the main event.[1] In his terme the bard strings together runs of gnomic and topical verses stating personal opinions about the world, often in a moralizing or philosophical tone. Some of these compositions are far from ephemeral, being remembered and recognized as their authors' work by later generations.[2] Since the normal occurrence of terme in performances that have been described is as a prelude to the main epic, Čaġatayev's placement of his first written terme not before but after the first main narrative poems is unusual from an oral standpoint. This fact underlines the specially literary quality of Čaġatayev's oral-derived work.

Iudin theorized on the generic specificities of such pronouncements in written records of steppe oral historiography: "widely encountered were rhymed maxims, which could serve as the beginning, or the colophon, or the culmination of a corresponding narrative heading in [a work of] steppe oral historiography. Short expressions of a proverbial character made it easier

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[1] Cf. Radloff's description of the bard's opening strategy in live performance: "By artfully interweaving verses and alluding to influential personages among those surrounding him, he draws the listeners' attention before beginning the song itself" (Radlov, "Predislovie," pp. xvii–xviii).

[2] See Reichl, *Singing the Past*, pp. 40–42 on *terme* (*termä*, etc.) in Özbek, Qazaq, Qaraqalpaq, Azeri, and other traditions.

for people to remember the voluminous amounts of information in these works."[3] Iudin thus supposes that the main function of these short poetic runs was somehow as an aid to memory, but the rhetorical connections in the Šabdan Baatır Codex between the terme and the longer poems are not so one-dimensional, and deserve their own comparative analyses. Reichl highlights the "meditative and moralizing" stance of the terme genre in comparison with Old English elegy.[4] Musa Čağatayev's terme verses display another characteristic that they share with similarly-situated compositions by oral bards in performance: flattery of his patron and himself.

The 59-line Inface begins with the very next line after Čağatayev has "signed" his name as author of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, and lays forth his reasons for writing: there are plenty of written tales vaunting the deeds of Qazaq, Noğay, and other heroes, but there are none (he says) about the Kirghiz. His comparison of the two principals in the *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, Šabdan and Bayake, with the two main heroes of the Kirghiz' beloved epic poems, Manas and Almambet, is a compliment to the former. Allusions to Kirghiz and Qazaq warriors of the past, though not entirely transparent (to us—and possibly not to some members of his contemporary audience, for the author complains about the ignorance of Kirghiz singers) generally back up the assertion of Kirghiz superiority and sound the first notes of the theme of the next narrative poem, *The Story of Kenesarı*. The Inface ends with the author's audacious and seemingly mocking appeal to Ešenaalı Arabayev to support and publish such a deserving work. Continuing after the conclusion of *The Story of Kenesarı*, in the 30-line Postface Čağatayev reiterates two themes from the Inface, the superiority of Kirghiz warriors (particularly over the Qazaqs, in an obscurely ironic put-down) and his need for material support.

Čağatayev's comments in the Inface and Postface convey his sense that his people are on the wrong course with respect to their knowledge of the past, and his conviction that matters can be set right through literature. According to Čağatayev, while neighboring peoples' heroic narratives have been written down for posterity, Kirghiz singers and their audiences are forgetting their own heroes of the past. And as illustrious as those heroes were, he claims that the living man to whom he is dedicating his work, Šabdan Baatır, is no less than Manas himself. There is depth to this seeming puffery, for according to Čağatayev the real problem with the Kirghiz is their lack of

[3] Iudin and Baranova, "Dzhami at-tavarikh," p. 180.
[4] Reichl, op. cit., p. 42.

regard for their own, properly Kirghiz, heroes. In the nineteenth century the Kirghiz had been content to identify their "home" heroes, including Manas, as Noġay, an ethnic conceit they shared with the Qazaqs and other Turkic steppe peoples whose epic traditions inherited the glamour of Edigü and the Noġay Horde. But Čaġatayev finds fault with this tradition: "There are tales written of the Qazaqs and Noġay and all of them, but I have never seen one about the Kirghiz."[5] Thus in the space of only a few dozen lines Čaġatayev sets up challenging comparisons between his patron Šabdan and the heroes of olden times; exposes problems of communal memory in oral tradition; shakes up old conceptions of ethnicity; and eggs on a literary colleague to bring all these concerns to light with the new technology of printing. Because these gambits all relate to the overall cultural achievement of Čaġatayev's work, the Inface and Postface will be analyzed together in the General Commentary.

[5] II.6–7.

THE POEM OF SAINT SANČI

The Kirghiz title of the final poem in the Codex may be translated literally as "The Ghazal of Saint Sančı," the term *ghazal* meaning something different from its normal sense in classical Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poetics. The poem's 80 lines feature a syllabic meter of 11 or 10 syllables per line, not the quantitative meter of Persian, nor the epic-like meter of seven or eight syllables per line that was used in the first four poems. Various types of rhyme are present but are not obligatory, nor can the lines be divided in any way into stanzas. For the Kirghiz, *ġazal*/ *qazal* is a term used fairly loosely for verse forms that in practice overstep even the relaxed formal boundaries of the lyric ghazal genre in Persian and Turkish; before the Soviet era the word could mean, as it does here, simply a poem recorded in writing.[1]

This poem probably does not share an author with the first four poems.[2] In its generic contrasts with the main work and its focus on a wise man of the past, it resembles another literary appendix to Turkic epic-like material, the Prologue to the Oghuz *Book of Dede Qorqut*.[3] Even if it was not written by Musa Čaġatayev, however, it forms a neat set with the four preceding poems by virtue of its focus on the Sarıbaġıš Kirghiz.

Beginning in a deep past inhabited by the legendary ancestor Mansur and ending with the recent imposition of Russian colonial rule over the Kirghiz, *The Poem of Saint Sančı* covers the longest time span of all the poems in the Šabdan Baatır Codex. It is not primarily a narrative poem, though it uses the device of narrative in the course of its argument, which hinges on the prestige of past and present Kirghiz notables. Most, but not all, of the poet's attention is devoted to members of the Sarıbaġıš lineage, to which Šabdan Baatır traced his affiliation through the Tınay branch. Curiously, the poem has rather little to say about Šabdan's Tınay ancestors, slighting them in favor of a rival branch of the Sarıbaġıš, the Esenġul.

In terms of its content, *The Poem of Saint Sančı* finds itself in interesting company. The evocations of illustrious ancestors, saints, and heroes

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[1] Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 316.

[2] The questions of authorship in the Codex are discussed in another section of the Introduction and in Appendix A.

[3] Sümer, Uysal and Walker, *Book of Dede Korkut; Kniga moego deda Korkuta*.

and prognostications on genealogical matters that together fill almost every line of the poem are similar in their narrative content to the genre of genealogical chronicles now known as sanjıra. There are close verbal parallels in this poem with other sanjıra accounts of Sančı Sınčı's predictions about the descendants of Bolot Biy, parallels that even extend down to the level of individual words and phrases. One account, written down by Belek Soltonoyev, was roughly contemporary with our poem.[4] *The Poem of Saint Sančı* differs from most known sanjıra texts, first, in that it is much shorter, and second, because it is in verse rather than prose. The poet employs commentaries on past prognostications to make a rather coherent (though brief) argument about the Kirghiz past and present. These commentaries suffuse the poem with an "ethnosymbolic" atmosphere reminiscent of Musa Čaġatayev's terme verses in the Inface and Postface. Such musings are not so prominent in the more voluminous examples of sanjıra published today. But little is known in detail about the origins of the sanjıra genre or about the form that such texts took in the period before Kirghiz genealogical recollections were packaged wholesale into sanjıra accounts under the auspices of Soviet ethnology.[5] Alongside the few surviving genealogical texts from before 1917, there is the observation by a Russian colonial official: "Those who perpetuate the idea of the clan are the wealthy and those in power [...] The poor know nothing but the names of their direct ancestors, their clan, and their branch; nothing about the remoter ramifications of kinship."[6] Šabdan and his circle were members of the elite, and clearly took an interest in genealogical matters. The issue of what they may have known, and cared to know, about their ancestry will be taken up in the Commentary.

Another way in which *The Poem of Saint Sančı* seems to differ from known sanjıra texts is in its religious coloring, expressed in the poet's insistence that Sančı Sınčı was an *oluya* or saint by virtue of his powers of memory (or prediction?).[7] But the sanjıra genre is still relatively little studied, especially the records from before the effects of Soviet official atheism permeated Kirghiz culture, so it is not easy to define a proper field of discourse with which to compare this poem, which in any case is less a recitation

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[4] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 159; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204; cf. the Notes to poem V.

[5] Jacquesson, *Pastoréalismes*, p. 23.

[6] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i karakirgizy*, vol. 1, p. 12.

[7] *Sančı Sınčı bir oluya*/ *jeti qılım zamandı bilip aytqan*;/ *čın oluya emespi qaraġanda* 'there was a saint called Sančı Sınčı, who could narrate seven ages—just consider, was he not a true saint?' (V.6–8).

of genealogical information than a rhetorical exploitation of it. The poem at least shares the bare mention of the legendary ancestor Mansur with the Kirghiz genealogical manuscript *Šajara-i nasab nāma-i īlātiya*, which is likely to have been written before 1917,[8] but the latter is simply a listing of descendants with no argument. Undoubtedly the religious dimensions of pre-1917 Kirghiz genealogical texts, once they can be brought to light, will help us to understand the use of the term *oluya* 'saint' in the present poem,[9] and to relate Kirghiz genealogical traditions with other strategies of identity-construction in Inner Asia that rely on the assumption of numinous ancestors.[10]

Sančı Sınčı,[11] styled "Saint" in this poem, is a figure whom several sanjıra narratives mention in connection with ancestors of the Kirghiz right wing. As a *sınčı* 'judge of warriors, brides and animals; soothsayer', Sančı has an enduring reputation as an unerring assessor of the reproductive potential of prospective brides, an expertise he is said to have dispensed to the forefathers of important northern Kirghiz lineages, such as Bolot Biy of the Üčükö subdivision of the Sarıbağıš (progenitor of the Esenġul)[12] and Tülkü, founder of an eponymous branch of the (Čekir) Sayaq.[13] In both these instances Sančı Sınčı identified a fruitful progenitrix despite her unlikely appearance or social station. He was also remembered as an infallible prognosticator of the fates of children and descendants, such as those of Solto Biy, whose physically feeble infant son Čaa went on to father a major branch of the Solto;[14] those of Belek of the Buġu;[15] and those of the doomed Sarıbağıš khan Qudayan and his followers in the hard times when "the Qazaqs milked birches and the Kirghiz went to Hissar and Kulab."[16] Sančı Sınčı, if he was

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[8] See note to line V. 2 and further discussion in the Commentary on poem V.

[9] The term is applied to Sančı Sınčı and to another figure, Qaba (V.75), who was an illustrious ancestor but not an expert on genealogical knowledge, so far as available reports show.

[10] DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*; DeWeese, "Politics of Sacred Lineages."

[11] His proper name was apparently Sansız (Jılqıbaeva, *Qıdır Ake*, p. 41). The name is also recorded as *Sanjı* (Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*). On Sančı Sınčı see Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, pp. 641–642; Jeenbayev, *Tolubay Sınčı*.

[12] As in poem V.

[13] Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 286–288 and trans.; cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 6.

[14] Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 39; Jılqıbaeva, *Qıdır Ake*, p. 46; cf. Abramzon, op. cit., fig. 4.

[15] Töröqan uulu, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 16.

[16] Abramzon, "Narodnye predaniia," p. 74; Jılqıbaeva, *Qıdır Ake*, pp. 41–42; cf. the poem "Qazaq qayıŋ saap, Qırġızdın Ïsarġa kirgeni," pp. 9–12.

a real person, may have lived around the seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, but his presence in legend is not firmly bound to realistic chronology.[17] His genealogy is similarly doubtful; he has been identified with the Sayaq, the Solto, and the Baġıš.[18]

[17] A move by a large number of Kirghiz to Qarategin and Hissar (cf. the Qudayan narrative) has been dated to 1635–1636 (Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 35, referring to Bartol'd's ["Kirgizy," pp. 517–518] citation of the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī). Since Abramzon's informants maintain that Qudayan was the brother of Üčükö and thus Bolot Biy's grandfather, and Sančı Sınčı rendered his services to both Bolot (cf. the present poem) and Qudayan, we may infer that, if the two incidents actually occurred, Sančı Sınčı was already an old man when Bolot asked him for his expertise. But there is much in Sančı Sınčı's legendary reputation to motivate a Kirghiz genealogist to posit his intervention at an important juncture in the past, whether factual or not; another account of Sančı Sınčı forecasting the fates of the sons of Taġay Biy, who was at least six generations prior to Qudayan, reminds us that figures in the oral tradition were often susceptible to legendarizing extension across time (Abramzon, "Fol'klornye motivy," p. 161).

[18] Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 286 and trans.; Abramzon, "Narodnye predaniia," p. 74; Jılqıbaeva, *Qıdır Ake*, p. 41.

THE MANUSCRIPT AND THE EDITION

Description and Dating of the Codex

"The Šabdan Baatır Codex" is the title applied for convenience in this study to a bound manuscript housed in the archives of the National Center of Manasology and Artistic Culture (Manastaanuu jana körköm madaniyattın Uluttuq borboru) in the National Academy of Sciences, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.[1] The unique manuscript, lacking any general appellation besides shelf number (280)80, measures 14 cm wide by 12 cm high, and consists of 53 folios of yellowed, lightly lined pulp paper sewn with twine, down the right-hand side, into a badly worn, black cloth-covered cardboard cover with no markings. The folios are numbered not as such but rather by pages.[2] The text is written in steel pen with a succession of different colored inks: black (to f. 13^{r}), red (to f. 24^{v}), and purple (to f. 53^{r}).

There are no apparent defects in the text. The literary contents, all in the Kirghiz language in two different Arabic-script orthographies, are divided into five poems as follows, numbered I–V for the purposes of this edition.

I. A narrative poem about a raid in which a party of Kirghiz desecrated the Buddhist monastery of Sümbe (*Sümbö* in the text) and fought a battle with the Qalmaqs of the Tekes valley, stealing their horses. The poem begins, with no title, at the top of f. 1^{r} and ends on the last line but one on the bottom of f. 40^{r}; it consists of 1,637 lines in Central Asian Turkic syllabic meter with normally 7–8 syllables per line. In this edition, poem I is also referred to as *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*.

II. A gnomic–topical poem (terme) consisting of personal views of the author. The poem is continuous with poem I and begins, with no title, on the last line of f. 40^{r} and ends at the bottom of f. 41^{v}; it consists of 59 lines in the same meter as poem I. In this edition poem II is also referred to as the Inface.

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[1] This description is based on notes of my *de visu* examination of the Codex and the full copy I made on 35 mm black-and-white film at the same time, in July 2001.

[2] The numbers appear at the top of each page, once in correct sequence in Oriental (Arabo-Persian) numerals, and again in Arabic (western) numerals with a discrepancy of + 1 page (e.g., Oriental page 22 bears the incorrect western page number 23). All references in this edition adhere to the folio sequence.

III. A praising narrative poem entitled *Kenenṣarının qıṣṣası* 'The Story of Kenesarı', about the successful Kirghiz armed defense against two incursions into the Ču valley by the Qazaqs under Sultan Kenesarı (written *Kenensarı* in the text). The poem begins with the title at the top of f. 42^{r} and ends at the bottom of f. 49^{r}; it consists of 304 lines in the same meter as poem I. In this edition poem III is also referred to as *The Story of Kenesarı*.

IV. A gnomic–topical poem (terme) consisting of personal views of the author. The poem is continuous with poem III and begins, with no title, at the top of f. 49^{v} and ends in the middle of f. 50^{r}; it consists of 30 lines in the same meter as poem I. In this edition poem IV is also referred to as the Postface. Folio 50^{v} is blank.

V. A poem entitled *Sančı Olıyanıŋ qazalı* 'The Poem of Saint Sančı', containing an account of bride selection and genealogical prognostications by Sančı Sınčı, involving lineages of the Kirghiz Sarıbaġıš tribe, and including authorial comments on the prognostications. The poem begins with the title at the top of f. 51^{r} and ends a little below the top of f. 53^{r}; it consists of 80 lines in varying numbers of syllables, mostly 11 syllables (71 percent of the lines), but also 10 (21 percent), 12, and more and fewer syllables. In this edition poem V is also referred to as *The Poem of Saint Sančı*.

Musa Čaġatayev (alias Küntuuġan) asserts his authorship in first-person references to himself in poems I, II, and IV.

Poems I–IV are written in mostly 20 lines of text to the page (two or three poetic verses per line of text) in Orthography A; poem V is written in mostly 22 lines of text per page (two verses per line of text), but with its first page sparsely laid out with 10 lines (one verse per line), in Orthography B.[3]

[3] A full description of the two orthographies, though desirable, is outside the scope of the present work; the Facsimile included with this edition should make such a contribution by a specialist possible, and the Table of Equivalents provide a basic overview. Both orthographies clearly embody a late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century state of Central Asian literate practice that had taken a few steps away from the general Chaghatay conventions in use during the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries, in the direction of ethnolinguistic particularization. The spelling is not directly mappable onto modern Standard Kirghiz, however. Various Chaghatayisms persist (e.g., in conventional grammatical suffixes, the letter *y* for Standard Kirghiz *j*, and lack of differentiation of *p* from *b* and *č* from *j*); and lexical, phonetic, morphological, and syntactic elements from Kirghiz dialects and Qazaq sometimes appear—though all these features' occurrence is more or less casual and fitful. Neither orthography's vowel system makes any improvement on the notoriously inadequate inventory of signs for Turkic vowels provided by the Arabic alphabet, which leads to a high degree

Four hands are discernible in the Codex.[4] Poem V, in its own separate orthography and hand, has the appearance of a later addition.

The language of the text is unmistakably Kirghiz as distinct from the Turki or late Chaghatay *koine* commonly used in the literatures of Central

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of arbitrariness even in the numerous instances where the scribes ventured to use diacritical marks; the Kirghiz long vowels, a matter of some equivocation even for linguists today, are treated erratically.

Orthography A, while displaying a significant number of conservative and nonstandard features, appears to be related to what became the earliest versions of standard Kirghiz Arabic orthography found in publications under Soviet auspices, down to about 1925. Within this orthography there may be some variation in usage between poem I and poems II–IV, as in poem I's greater (but still infrequent) tendency to drop the *alif* from intial vowels. Because of the smaller number of lines in the latter poems, this may be a sampling artifact.

Orthography B is similar to A, but is distinguished on the one hand by the (perhaps Tatarizing) feature of representing *ı* often with the letter ه *ha*, and on the other hand by a stronger undertone of what appear to be attempts to represent particular Kirghiz pronunciations, some of which would be classed today as southern (grading into Chaghatay), some as northern (grading into Qazaq). Among the former features belong the resolution with /w/ of (Standard Kirghiz) intervocalic /b/ and the second half of long labial vowels; among the latter are the fairly committed substitution of /g/ for /k/ in front-vowel environments, and /s/ for /z/. It is an open question whether these apparent instances of phonetic faithfulness reflect a nascent literary convention for Kirghiz. On the plane of purely graphic practice, Orthography B is somewhat more "modern" than A in its frequent omission of the place-holding *alif* before initial *vav, ha* (when encoding a vowel, itself a post-Chaghatay innovation) and *ye*.

On the history and sociolinguistics of Kirghiz Arabic-script orthographies with examples, see Hu and Imart, *Kirghiz Reader*, pp. 34–40, 58–111; also pp. 326–329 on Qazaqizing and *ortoq* 'common, median' linguistic features.

[4] Hand 1, that of Belek Soltononyev, wrote all of the lines in poems I–IV, with the exception of lines 1083–1185 of poem I (from near the top of f. 27^{v} to the middle of f. 29^{v}), which was executed in Hand 2, and lines 178–245 of poem III (from the middle of f. 46^{r} to the bottom of f. 47^{v}), which was executed by Hand 3. Hand 4 wrote all of poem V. All four hands reflect penmanship rules that, like their orthographies, appear "simplified" and probably Jadid-informed. In contrast with the conventions cultivated in Chaghatay *nasta'liq* handwriting with a reed *qalam*, these steel-pen hands stick to the line, avoid stacking graphic groups, and allot a more uniform amount of space to each letter; they dispense with scribal habits found in Chaghatay such as ligatures and (except in Hand 3) the retroflex final *ye*. Soltonoyev's Hand 1 is flowing, confident, and fairly clear, but with a tendency to multiply redundant strings of minims. The main distinctive feature of Hand 2 is that it belonged to a scribe who very frequently broke the pattern of allocating two whole poetic lines per line of text. Hand 3, though it is scratchier and less neat than Hand 1 (it appears that a different pen was used) differs only slightly from Hand 1 in orthography, mainly by the Ču dialect preference for replacing /z/ with /s/ and by the graphic tendency to drop final ى *-i* after د *d*, as from the accusative noun suffix *-di* etc. and the third person past tense verbal suffix *-di* etc. (for example, لد اه *e.l.d* is read *eldi* 'the people (acc.)' and كرد *k.r.d* is read as *kirdi* 'went in'). Hand 4 is fairly evenly-proportioned but rapid, with many unclear formations (a problem not helped by the wantonness of the orthography); notable are the tachygraphic tendencies to make final ى *i* and ن *n* indistinguishable, and to make medial جـ *j* and چـ *č* appear like the loop in medial غـ *ġ*.

Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries;[5] this much is clear (though in slightly different ways in orthographies A and B) from the fairly widespread representation of vowel harmony, the forms of verb tense suffixes, and the use of noun declension suffixes such as genitive *-nin*/*–din* etc. for Chaghatay *-ning*, among other features. But since the manuscript was produced before the alphabet reforms and the concomitant creation of the standard Kirghiz literary language in the Soviet era, it naturally has formal features reflecting a number of overlapping literary and speech varieties with which the authors and/or the scribes were familiar. Chaghatay elements are fairly common. There are occasional lexical items and spellings that would be identified today as Qazaq. There is a small amount of Perso-Arabic learned vocabulary. Lastly, there are a number of Russian loanwords.[6]

Determining the date and authorship of the text is possible by comparing Musa Küntuuġan's (Čaġatayev's) explicit claims of authorship with a few extraneous markings found throughout the Codex. These notations are analyzed in detail in Appendix A;[7] they show that Musa is the author of poems I–IV, and that Belek Soltonoyev was the main copyist of those poems. The date of composition of poems I–IV is ca. 1909–1910; the date of Soltonoyev's copy is no later than 1938, the year of his death, and probably before 1934. The author of poem V is not known, but is probably not Musa Čaġatayev. The date of its composition is likewise unknown, but may have been after Šabdan's death in 1912; it was included in the Codex before 1947.

The Codex received notices by me in 2002 and in 2006.[8] Poem I was published in an abridged, popular edition in Cyrillic script by Keŋeš Qırbašev in 2002.[9] I am not aware of any other publications mentioning the work.

Principles of the Text Edition

Neither of the two Arabic orthographies in the Codex were used in a manner adequate to the purpose of accurately representing the phonemes of Kirghiz or any language. The ambiguous, phonetically redundant, and inconsistent

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[5] See the two previous notes and Appendix A.

[6] See p. 329.

[7] Elisions and other markings are described in the Notes to the Text. In addition, the pages bear various stamps and jottings related to collections control; childish scrawls and lists of numbers adorn the inside front and back covers.

[8] Prior, *Twilight Age*, pp. 166–169; Prior, "Heroes, Chieftains."

[9] Čaġatayev, "Šabdan qazalı."

characteristics of the orthographies necessitate a text editing regime that tempers consistent transliteration with a measure of judicious interpretation.[10] The Latin-based system of letters used in this book to textualize poems I–IV, which were written in Orthography A, is intended to give a semblance of the most important graphic characteristics in the manuscript orthography, to the extent I found them to be dialectally meaningful or potentially representative of important supra-dialectal graphic habits of the author, Musa Čaġatayev, or the main scribe, Belek Soltonoyev. Thus the spellings in poems I–IV cannot all be converted directly into modern Standard Kirghiz; the largest class of exceptions consists of items of Perso-Arabic learned vocabulary. A different approach was required for poem V, in Orthography B, which is much less amenable to resolution into recognizably Kirghiz word forms without doing violence to the apparent claims of other, related speech forms, particularly Chaghatay. For a manuscript of this date, those claims are valid; in other words, I judge Orthography B to be not necessarily an exclusive appliance of the "Kirghiz" language in the sense understood by that label today. I have deferred definitive interpretation of Orthography B until the sociolinguistic aspects of pre-1917 Central Asian Turki regional-dialectal varieties are better understood, and instead take the approach of normalization. Nearly all dialectal and graphic eccentricities in poem V (the great majority of which belong to Chaghatay, Tatar, and "southern" Kirghiz) are normalized to Standard Kirghiz. Exceptions are a few features obviously reflecting either (a) Kirghiz dialectal forms that appear particularly salient against the background of orthographic "noise", or (b) the Qazaq language spoken in the area adjacent to the Ču valley (the probable location of the poem's composition and a source of transitional forms in that Kirghiz dialect). In no case was a word normalized when doing so would change the number of syllables and hence the metrical shape of the poetic lines. Thus the spelling of a word in poem V represents only my general understanding of its etymological identity.

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[10] Some illustrations of the orthographic chaos found in the Codex may be of interest. The scribes employ a plethora of labial vowel graphs, but with no particular system, so that the distinctions are of no help in reconstructing words. For example, in Orthography A alone, the diacritic vowel letter ۇ (*vav* with hamza; 28 occurrences in the ms.) can mean: *o* (I.11 اۇيغونوب *oyġonup*), *ö* (I.799 بۇلودو *bölödü*), *öö* (I.742 سولۇسون *sülöösün*), *ü* (I.428 اۇيونه *üyünö*), or *üü* (I.1547 اورۇ *örüü*). The letter ۋ (*vav* with *ḍammah*; 32 occurrences in the ms.) can mean: *o* (I.1168 تۋلوقشوغان *toluqšuġan*), *u* (I.11 تۋردۋ *turdu*), *u* in distinction from *o* (I.18 چوغۋلۋب *čoġulup*), *uu* (I.1161 تۋ *tuu*), or *ü* (I.51 سۋيۋنوشوب *süyünüšüp*, where it occurs in only the first two of four instances in the word).

A full accounting of my editorial decisions is on record in the combination of Facsimile, Text, and Notes.

Inspection of the Facsimile will show that I have effected a number of minor editorial changes without comment. Doubled and superfluous consonants and vowels, missing vowels, extra minims, aberrant dottings, *-b* for *-p* in the converb suffix, *p* and *b* for written *f,* ı for written *u*, voicing variations between *g*/*k* and *ġ*/*q*, vowel harmony of final written *-i*, progressive devoicing of suffix consonants, etc., are realized in the expected form.

There is one important respect in which my transcription system for Kirghiz (both in the Text and in the Standard Kirghiz of cited publications throughout this work) does not represent a one-to-one match with the Kirghiz Cyrillic alphabet. Because of the strict observance in Standard Kirghiz of the phonetic rule of agreement of velar and uvular consonants with the fronting of their adjacent vowels,[11] the Kirghiz Cyrillic alphabet is able to use the letter к unambiguously to represent both velar /k/ and uvular /q/, and the letter г to represent velar /g/ and uvular /ɢ/. My system retains the distinction, setting *k* and *q, g* and *ġ* throughout. The justification will be apparent: the need in this edition to coordinate transcription systems across a number of related languages and dialects trumps the appeal of local fidelity to this phonetic peculiarity of Standard Kirghiz. (The household term "Kirghiz" is my only exception; comparison with the transliterated form, *Qırġız*, illustrates the principle.)

Words and senses found in the Text as entered in alphabetical order in the lexica of Kirghiz listed in the Bibliography (primarily Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, 1965) are normally not given special explanations in the Notes. The farther away linguistically from Kirghiz that a given helpful form was found (Qazaq and Eastern Turki being generally closest), the more likely it is that the Notes contain an explanation of the steps taken to establish the form used in the text; conversely, readings predicated on the nearest linguistic neighbors of Kirghiz are more likely to be established silently. Words in any language and their senses as cited in the Commentary in most cases will be found in alphabetical order in one or more of the lexica pertaining to that language as listed in the Bibliography; where clarification is necessary, words are cited by the source title and either the page or the abbreviation s.v. to indicate the main alphabetical listing of the cited dictionary.

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[11] Batmanov, *Sovremennyi kirgizskii iazyk*, vol. 1, pp. 95–96.

The transliteration system in the table below is carried through to all text quoted in Kirghiz, and, with some augmentations, to the other Turkic and Mongolian languages used in this edition; this applies to forms in bibliographic citations as well. Quoted words and bibliographic citations in Arabic, Persian, and Osmanlı Turkish are transliterated in a system that differs from the one used in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* mainly in that there are no digraphs (*š* is used instead of *sh, x* instead of *kh*, etc.). Russian quoted words and bibliographic citations are spelled in the simplified Library of Congress system.

The linguistic precision and consistency gained by uniformly applying a system of transliteration across all Turkic languages was not in every case worth the cost of legibility. Therefore the names of some countries have been retained in their usual spellings: *Kirgiz S.S.R., Kirgizia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan*.

In usages prior to about 1923 the Russian term *Kirgiz*(*skii*), the name for the people and language, means 'Qazaq and/or Kirghiz, when impossible to differentiate'.

The abbreviation q.v. after a term in the Notes on the Text means that additional information about the term is available with the help of the Index.

Line numbers appear in the margins in both Text and Translation; manuscript folio numbers also appear within parentheses in the margins of the Text. Because the English prose rendering often changes the order of phrases in the original, the line numbers shown in the Translation are in some cases approximate.

TABLE OF EQUIVALENTS IN THE EDITION

In this edition the original textual forms in all their variations are on view in the Facsimile; there is no apparatus composed of forms that diverge from a table of unique transliteration equivalents. The table on the following pages is intended to give a comprehensive overview of the orthographies; obviously it cannot be used in reverse to produce an unambiguous reconstruction of the ms.

The first column in the table gives the Latin letters used in the Kirghiz edited text. The second column shows the main corresponding Arabic graphs in the ms. in orthographies A and B (poems I–V). The third column gives additional variant graphs found in both orthographies. The fourth column gives variant graphs found only in Orthography B (poem V). The fifth column gives pronunciation equivalencies in the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Ambiguities in the Arabic orthographies that affect the interpretation of a given word are discussed in the Notes.

Edited Text	Manuscript			IPA
	Main (I–V)	Variants (I–V)	Variants (V)	
a	ا [1]; آ [2]	ه [10]	أ; ∅ [13]	a
aa	ا [1]; آ [2]	اا		a:
b	ب	ف	وُ	b
č	چ	ج ;ج	چچ [12]	tʃ
d	د		تد [12]	d
e	ه [1]; اه [2]	ه [2]; ی	ب [3]; ا; ∅ [13]; ئِي; ی [2]	ɛ
ee	هه [1]; اهه [2]	ه; يه; ا		ɛ:
f	ف			f
g	ک; گ		كك [12]	g
ġ	غ	ق ;ع	قق ;قغ [12]	ɢ
h	ح			h
i	ی [1]; اِی [2]	ا [2]; ب [3]; ∅ [13]; ـٖ [4]; ئی; و [11]; ه	بِّل ,بِّر [14]; ي [7]; ئِی; ی [2]	i
iy	ی [1]; اِی [2]			ij
ı	ی [1]; اِی [2]	ب [3]; ∅ [13]; ـٖ [4]; و [11]; ه	وُ; ا [11]	ɨ
ıy	ی [1]; اِی [2]			ɨj
j	ج	ی	چ	dʒ
k	ک		گ	k
l	ل		لل [12]	l
m	م		مم [12]	m
n	ن	ب [3]	نن [12]	n
ŋ	نك [5]; نغ [6]	كْ; اْكْ	گ	ŋ

[1] Medial or final [2] Initial [3] Minim with no dots [4] Dots with no minim
[8] After a labial vowel according to vowel harmony [9] After a voiceless consonant
[13] Not written, even if nominally accented [14] In the syllables *bir, ber*, and *bil*

Edited Text	Manuscript			IPA
	Main (I–V)	Variants (I–V)	Variants (V)	
o	و [1]; او [2]	ؤ; ئو; ا [8]; و [2]	وو	o
oo	و [1]; او [2]	وو		o:
ö	و [1]; او [2]; ه [8]	ا [8]; ه [8]; و [2]; ۇ	و [2]	ɵ
öö	وو [1]	و; ه [8]; ۇ	اۇ	ɵ:
p	ب	پ; ف		p
q	ق	غ	ع	q
r	ر			r
s	س	ص; ز		s
š	ش			ʃ
t	ت	د [9]; ـ [4]	تت [12]	t
u	و [1]; او [2]	∅ [13]; ؤ; و [2]; ى [8]	ۇۇ	u
uu	و [1]; او [2]	وو; ۇو; ؤ	ۇ	u:
ü	و [1]; او [2]; ∅ [13]	ؤ; وو; ى [8]; و [2]; وو [2]	ۈ	y
üü	و [1]	وو; ۇ		y:
v	و	ب	ۋ	v, β
w	و			w
x	خ			χ
y	ى		ي [7], يى	j
yi	ى			ji
yı	ى	يى		jɨ
z	ز	س		z

[5] In front vowel environments [6] In back vowel environments [7] Final
[10] After *a* or *aa* according to vowel harmony [11] Unstressed [12] Medial

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[I.]

(1r) Er Bayake tüš kördü;
bir tündö tüštü üč kördü:
Qalmaq menen qıyrašıp
qatuu qırġın iš kördü.
Atake Baatır, Arġımbay
tüšündö ayan beriptir:
“Attanġın—dep—Qalmaqqa!”
išarat qılıp ketiptir.
“Qup bolot” dep Bayake
aytqanına kütüptür;
turdu ordunan oyġonup,
körgön tüšün oyġo alıp,
tört baatırdı čaqırtıp,
aqsarbašıl qoy čalıp,
daarat alıp boyuna,
quvanıč kirdi oyuna.
“Ne söz bar?” dep baatırlar
(1r/1v) baarı keldi čoġulup: |
Baatır Šabdan, Manapbay,
Qarakesek, Čoŋ Botpay.
“Qazat qılar kün boldu,
ölümgö ortoq joldoštor!
Tündö jatıp tüš kördüm;
bir tündö tüštü üč kördüm:
Sümbö degen Qalmaq men
qıyrašıp jatqan iš kördüm!
Atake Baatır, Arġımbay
‘Bar—dedi—baldar, tartınbay!’
Arbaqtar bizdi qoldodu!
Ne deysizder, baatırlar?
Beker jatıp ne payda?
Barbay bolbos, baatırlar!
Qazat qılıp Qalmaqqa
jürböy bolbos, baatırlar!
Qalmaqtın Sümbö šaarın
körböy bolbos, baatırlar! | (1v/2r)
Qaza jetse Qalmaqtan,
šeyit bolup ölörbüz;
aman bolsoq, Qalmaqtı
čaap alıp kelerbiz!
Alda salġan iš bolso,
aqır bende könörbüz!”
Munu uġup Er Šabdan—
artıq tuuġan tiri jandan,
mingen atı Sur-qula
anıq tulpar aybandan—
munu uġup qubandı.
“Qapırġa qazat qılam!” dep
qubanġandan ıyladı;
janındağı üč baatır
süyünüšüp turadı.
Jardıq qılıp Er Šabdan
tuš-tušqa qabar čaptırdı;
nayzakerden köyqašqa
baarısın tegiz čaqırdı.
Köyqašqalar dürküröp,
Janıbek keldi kürküröp;
el ičinde qorqoġu | (2r/2v)
üyünön čıqpayt dirkirep.
Andaš keldi aqırıp,
joldoštorun čaqırıp,
peyili jaman dušmandın
zamanasın sapırıp.
Temir keldi küldürüp,
ayıldın četin büldürüp,
mingen atı Čal-qašqa

[1.]

[*THE RAID ON THE QALMAQS*]

Er Bayake had a dream. He had the same dream thrice in one night: a vision of violent carnage, of exchanging blows with the Qalmaqs. Atake Baatır and Arğımbay gave him a portent while he dreamed: "Mount up and ride to the Qalmaqs!" they said, and having signified, they disappeared.

"Very well," thought Bayake, | heeding their words. He awoke, stood up, and considered the dream he had had. Then he had the Four Heroes summoned, slaughtered a sacrificial sheep, and performed ablutions; happy thoughts rose in his mind.

The heroes all came crowding in—Baatır Šabdan, Manapbay, | Qarakesek, and Big Botpay—asking, "What's the word?"

"The day has come to go raiding, my comrades-unto-death! At night as I slept I had a dream; I saw the same dream thrice in one night: I saw a vision of exchanging blows with the Qalmaqs of Sümbe! Atake Baatır and Argımbay said, 'Go, boys, don't hold back!' The *arbaq* have approved us! | What do you say, heroes? What's the use of lying idle? It won't do to stay home, heroes! It won't do not to go raiding the Qalmaqs! It won't do not to see the Qalmaqs' town of Sümbe! Should death come at the hands of the Qalmaqs, we will die as martyrs; should we avoid harm, | we will plunder the Qalmaqs and return! Since it is a mission imposed by Allah, we, His humble servants, will obey!"

Hearing this, Er Šabdan—exceptionally well-born among living men; the horse he rode, Sur-qula, a real *tulpar* among beasts—rejoiced. "I'll make a raid on the Infidel!" he shouted with joy; | the three heroes at his side felt gladness as well. Er Šabdan made this proclamation and had riders sent in every direction with the news; he summoned all of the excellent lancers.

The excellent ones were in a hubbub: Janıbek came on, roaring, while the cowards in the land sat trembling in their yurts. | Andaš came on, shouting, calling to his comrades and daunting the hearts of dogged enemies. Temir came on, spreading laughter and turmoil at the edge of the camp as he spurred his horse, Čal-qašqa, to an amble. Their mullah, Qudayqul—himself

jorġolotup jürdürüp.
Qudayqulu Moldosu—
özü adamdın jorġosu,
bečaranı köp jegen
baatırlardın joldošu—
tozoq jaqqa jiberbeyt;
bütkül Qırġız moldosu—
šarat aytsa elderge
moldo turmaq qojosu—
buqaranın üstünö
čamınıp čıqqan jolborsu—
kembaġaldı sasıq dep
(2ᵛ/3ʳ) manaptardı qoldoču. |
Aytıluu Qıpčaq, Saadabay,
Jumaš uulu Tanabay,
Satılġan menen Alapay,
Oroz menen Qabatay,
Čıŋġıš menen Qalčake,
Tülkübay men Er Qanay,
Sarala menen Küykösü,
Sazıq menen Bürgösü—
Bürgö degen Qaması,
at baġuuču Tüytösü,
Uman menen Qapsalaŋ,
Oruz menen Er Qaraŋ,
jaštuu bala Keseke,
Nıyšanın uulu Joluman,
Dıyqanmoldo, Nooruzbay,
Qaraqušman, Qonušbay,
Miŋ-jašar men Keldike,
Sarbaš menen Berdike,
Sarıseyit menen Dıyqanbay,
Tölögön menen Mergenbay—
jazılbay qalġan jigiti
(3ʳ/3ᵛ) aytılbay qaldı bir talay. |
Qulansarı, Saparbay
aŋgemesi bir dalay;
Turpandı barıp suraġan
bayqap uqqun ošondoy:
Üčükö, Tülkü atabız
banda bolbos qatasız
Oyġuttan barıp ölüptür.
Qızıqqa emi batasız:
Jaŋıl Mırza jaa tartqan,
ököönü qatar bir atqan;
Üčükö menen Tülkünü
šeyit qılıp sulatqan.
Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay,
Qarakesek, Čoŋ Botpay
barıp čapqan Moyġuttu—
qayrattanıp eč qorqpoy,
beldi mekem buušup,
Moyġut menen urušup,
Üčükö, Tülkü atasın
aqır qunun quušup—| (3ᵛ/4ʳ)
Moyġut, Čerik jıyılıp,
bir talayı qırılıp,
yüz jılqı tartuu berišip,
baatırlarġa süyünüp,
“Jaman, jaqšı baarısı,
qadırluu, čoŋ, qarısı,
qunuŋdu al!” dep erlerge
araġa kiši salışıp,
baarı tegiz kelišip,
baatırlarġa körüšup,
Üčükö, Tülkü qununa
miŋ jılqı bütüm berišip,
mal bütürüp aluuġa
Saparbay degen Abıla,
Sarı degen Jetigen
Qulandı qoštu tağıda.
Qattı vada qılışıp,
köŋüldörü tınışıp,
on beš adam taštašıp,
qayra tarttı jıyılışıp—| (4ʳ/4ᵛ)
bul sözdörgö dalil bar:
Turpanġa barġan baarıŋ bar—
Qulan-sarı degen jer,
Saparbay degen naam bar;
Turpandın joġoru jağında,

an ambler in [the herd of] men, | the heroes' comrade, who often gouged the poor—he sends no one to hell. He was the mullah of all the Kirghiz, and their khoja, on account of being a mullah, for he delivered judgments to the people—their tiger, who pounced upon the common people. Turning up his nose at the poor, he supported the manaps. | [There were] the famous Qıpčaq and Saadabay, Tanabay son of Jumaš, Satılgan and Alapay, Oroz and Qabatay, Čıŋġıš and Qalčake, Tülkübay and Er Qanay, Sarala and Küykö, Sazıq and Bürgö—Bürgö, called Qama—and Tüytö, who minded the horses, | Uman and Qapsalaŋ, Oruz and Er Qaraŋ, the young lad Keseke, Joluman son of Nıyša, Dıyqanmoldo, Nooruzbay, Qaraqušman, Qonušbay, Miŋ-jašar and Keldike, Sarbaš and Berdike, Sarıseyit and Dıyqanbay, Tölögön and Mergenbay—| and a great many of his unrecorded *jigit*s go without mentioning.

Qulansarı and Saparbay have a long story. Listen well [to the story about] those who went and held sway in Turfan; it happened thus. Our forefathers, Üčükö and Tülkü, blamelessly not part of any raiding band, had died departing from the Noyġut. Here's the heart of the matter for you: | Jaŋıl Mırza had drawn her bow and shot Üčükö and Tülkü through with one arrow; she had brought them low and martyred them. Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay, Qarakesek, and Big Botpay went and raided the Noyġut—fearing no one in their boldness, tightly girding themselves, they fought with the Noyġut | and pursued the final blood-compensation for their elders Üčükö and Tülkü. The Noyġut and Čerik rallied together, but a great many were slaughtered. So they made a gift of a hundred horses and gave it to the heroes with their compliments, sending a man into the midst to tell the warriors, "All of you, high and low, the esteemed, the grand, and the old among you—take your blood-payment!" | But when they had all come and met with the heroes, they paid a settlement of a thousand horses as blood-payment for Üčükö and Tülkü; to finish the business, Saparbay of the Abıla and Sarı of the Jetigen acted jointly with Qulan, and they formed up a teeming herd to ease the [raiders'] hearts. | They [also] exiled fifteen men [to go with the raiders, who] quit [that place] and withdrew as a body. There is proof of these words, all of you who have gone to [Uč] Turfan: there is the place, Qulansarı, and the place-name Saparbay; you people saw it, above [Uč] Turfan,

qalıŋ Čerik bağında
körgönsüŋör qalayıq
ürküp barġan čağıŋda.
Čuuluq qılıp qayırdım
bu Turpandın qısasın;
köyqašqalar jıyılıp
Qalmaqtı közdöy uzasın!
Baarı tegiz kelišti;
aŋgemeni bilišti;
aq boz bee jetelep
Qan Jantayġa kelišti.
Adam batpayt sürünö,
ajıdaarday türünö.
Salam berip aldına
Andaš keldi jügünö;
Janıbek keldi kötünön.
(4ᵛ/5ʳ) Bir-birlešip kirišti |
baatırlarıŋ četinen;
ooz tiydi Qan Jantay
alıp kelgen etinen.
“Jol bolsun” dep suradı
baldardı qarap betinen.
Janıbek joop beriptir:
“Bayake balaŋ, qan ata,
bir jaqšı tüš körüptür.
Ay tuyağın jetelep
jorutqalı keliptir.
Ruxsat berseŋ, qan ata,
bizge Quday beriptir.”
“Aytqın, baldar, tüšüŋdü;
bayqap köröm išiŋdi.
Jaman jolġo jiberbeym
jaqšı körgön kišimdi.
Aytayın baldar ırasın:
baarıŋ qızıp turasıŋ;
barbağın desem bolboysuŋ.
(5ʳ/5ᵛ) Bir šoyqondu qılarsıŋ; |
bararıŋ, baldar, qanča qol—
Qalmaq degen alıs jol;
barıp qalsaŋ, baldarım,
baarıŋ tegiz aman bol!”
Bayake ayttı körgönün,
tüšündö körüp bilgenin:
Atake Baatır, Arġımbay
tüšündö ayan bergenin
ošol ötkön tünündö.
“Jalġan bolso, qan ata,
qalayın körböy künümdü!
Erdi jırıq sarı adam,
eŋčegey boyluu qara adam
anıq kördüm tüšümdö.
Tüš körüp balaŋ jatqanı,
eki adamdın ašqanı.
Qolunan kelse arbaqtar
ošo jolu bizdi saqtadı.
‘Bayake, Šabdan jatpağın;
Quday Özü saqtaytın | (5ᵛ/6ʳ)
Qalmaqqa ketken kegim bar;
Sümbönü čaap taptağın!
Alasıŋ, baldar, Qalmaqtı;
barbay joldon qaytpağın!’
dedi ‘Bar—dep—tartınbay!’
Atake Baatır, Arġımbay
bata berdi eki atam.
Jalġančıġa Quday bar,
arbaq degen sözünö.”
Qan Jantay da qızıqtı;
dene boyu ısıdı.
Qalayıqtar qurčadı
üydün iči-tışını.
“Bayake balam bügün tün
bir jaqšı tüš körüptür.
Tilegin Quday beriptir;
arbaqtar anıq qozġolop,
jardam bolup keliptir.”
Aqsarbašıl qoy aytıp,
ay tuyaqtuu bee aytıp,
aman baldar kelse—dep, | (6ʳ/6ᵛ)
ayır örköčtüü töö aytıp,
talaġa čıqtı buralıp,

in the gardens of the numerous Čerik, the time you fled there. | But I've digressed, and chattered on with this tale about [Uč] Turfan. Let the excellent ones assemble and depart for the Qalmaqs!

They all came, and heard what was happening. Leading a light-gray mare, they went to Khan Jantay. No man went boldly before that august countenance, that dragon-like visage. | Andaš came in to his seat of honor, and Janıbek came in behind him, to give him their greeting. Then, one at a time, your heroes who were standing round went inside. Khan Jantay tasted of the meat they had brought. "How fare you?" he greeted them, studying the lads' faces.

Janıbek answered, | "Father Khan, your son Bayake has had an auspicious dream. He has brought a sacrificial horse with the intention of having his dream interpreted. If you give your approval, Father Khan, so will God grant us."

"Tell me your dream, boy, I'll see what it means for you. I'll not send people I like on an unlucky errand. | I'll tell the truth, boys: you all are fervent, but there will be no success for you if I tell you not to go. You're up to some mischief; how big is your raiding party, boys? It's a long way to the Qalmaqs; if you leave, boys, may every one of you avoid harm!"

Bayake told him what he had seen and learned in his dream, | how Atake Baatır and Argımbay gave him a portent in his dream just the night before. "Father Khan, if this is a lie, may I not live to see another day! In my dream I clearly saw a cleft-lipped, red-haired man and a round-shouldered, black-haired man. Your boy here saw, as I lay dreaming, that the two were superior men. | The arbaq, so far as it's in their power, will save us this time! 'Bayake, Šabdan, don't lie about; I have a grievance against the Qalmaqs nourished by God Himself. Whip up a raid on Sümbe! You will defeat the Qalmaqs, boys; don't avoid this journey!' he said. 'Go,' he said, 'and don't hold back!' Then Atake Baatır and Argımbay, | my two fathers, gave a blessing. God is present in this transitory world, and in the words of the arbaq."

Khan Jantay too became excited; a thrill ran through his whole frame. People crowded around the yurt inside and out. "Last night my boy Bayake had a lucky dream. God has granted his wish; | the arbaq, it is clear, have bestirred themselves and come to assist." Picking out a sheep and a mare for sacrifice—so that the boys would return safely—picking out a twin-humped camel for sacrifice, he wended his way out onto the open ground

qalayıqtar quralıp.
Barabız—dep talapker
baarı keldi; barabız—dep
surašıp,
köyqašqalar duuldap,
baarı keldi šuuldap;
qatın, bala čuuldap,
baarı birdey jılašıp,
bet-betinen čuuldap,
moynuna qurun saladı;
qıbılaġa qaradı.
Burqurap ıylap Qan Jantay
aq boz beeni čaladı—
qalayıqtar qamığıp,
moynuna burčaq salınıp.
Qolun jayıp Qan Jantay
Jaratqan Aqqa jalınıp,
munajat qılıp Qan Jantay
qolun jayıp burqurap,
qatın, bala čurqurap,
(6ᵛ/7ʳ) qalayıqtar ıylašıp, |
sööktörü jašıp sırqırap:
“On segiz miŋ aalamdın
badišası Qudayım,
baldarım barat qazatqa.
Bašıma salba ubayım!
Joqton bizdi bar qılġan
bir Özüŋdön suraymın!
Aq Bayġambar Muqambet,
balalarġa qıl medet!
Din jolunda baš bergen
qızmatkeriŋ biz ümböt;
er, jigittin piri ediŋ;
sayıp quran er ediŋ—
jardam bergin baldarġa!
Azıret Aalı šer ediŋ;
Qızır-Iliyas, Qırq Čilten
qoldoġonsuŋ ilgerten—
baldarım ketti qazatqa;
(7ʳ/7ᵛ) medet suraym senderden! |

Oluya bütkül bayġambar
jardam suraym baarıŋdan!
Saqtay kör dep tileymin!
Dinsiz batbaq zalımdar
qaršı kelse—Qalmaqtar—
qoldosun baldar arbaqtar!
Jaratqan Aqqa tapšırdım;
joluŋ bolsun; bar, baldar!”
Qan Jantaydan bata alıp
döödöy tüštü köyqašqa;
sayġanı jurttan bir bašqa;
mandırġaluu köyqašqa
talapkerler yüz boldu.
Jıyılıštı bir bašqa:
on sayın bir ot bölüšüp,
baarı yüzgö tolušup,
on kišige bir čatır
qırqar tigip qoyušup,
on kišige bir kiši
on bašı qılıp šayladı. | (7ᵛ/8ʳ)
Elüüsünö bir kiši
baščı qılıp jayladı.
Yüz kišinin üstünö
birdi qanġa qamdadı.
Beš baatırdı čıġardı;
bölüngöndün ičinen
Andaštı qanġa ıyġardı.
Elüü denge baščıġa
Janıbek, Temir turadi;
baarın iretke saluuġa,
esep-čotun aluuġa
Qudayquldu šayladı;
üstünön qarap baruuġa
üč ot boldu mergender—
buta qoyup jumurtqa
jara atıp köngöndör.
Šabdan zayıbı Šaake
saramjalduu jan eken;
ar bir önörü bar eken;
kөŋülündögü müdöösü | (8ʳ/8ᵛ)

as the people gathered together.

The aspiring ones came, all saying "Let's be off!" and sounding out each other's intentions to go; | the excellent ones were shouting, and all of them came in a hubbub. The women and children clamored, all of them weeping together, and, clamoring every which way, they all hung their girdles on their necks and faced the qibla.

Then Khan Jantay, weeping and sobbing, slaughtered a light-gray mare, | the knife striking its neck as the people sorrowed. Spreading out his hands, Khan Jantay beseeched God the Creator; saying a prayer, Khan Jantay spread out his hands and wept. The women and children cried, and the people sobbed, their bones aching with sadness. "My God, ruler of the eighteen thousand heavens, | my boys are going on a raid. Do not bring sorrow upon my head! I beseech you, the One God, who created us out of nothing! Holy Prophet, Muḥammad, assist these boys! We, the *umma*, are your servants—yours, Who have started us on the way of religion. You are the patron of warriors and jigits; you are the Lord of the Qurʾan. | Help these boys! You, Lion, your Majesty, ʿAlī; you, Xiḍr-Ilyās and the Forty Čilten: you have supported us since the old days. My boys are going off on a raid; I pray to you for aid! Holy prophets, I ask you all for help! I pray you, try and protect them! | If the Qalmaqs—the faithless, cruel scoundrels—oppose these boys, may the arbaq support them!

"Fare well; I commend you to God the Creator. Now go, boys!"

Having received their blessing from Khan Jantay, the excellent ones dismounted like giants. Their lance-thrusters were not the normal run of men. These excellent, swaggering aspirants numbered one hundred. They assembled some distance away | and divided up, a fire for every ten men, making up one hundred in all; and they set up one tent for [each] ten men, in rows; and one man in every ten they elected as head of the ten. They placed one man as a leader over each fifty, and appointed one to be khan over the hundred men: | the five heroes were nominated, but they appointed Andaš as khan from among those who had been divided up. As leaders of the fifties stood Janıbek and Temir; to put all in order and to keep accounts they elected Qudayqul. To keep watch over them as they went they had thirty sharpshooters, | men practiced at hitting an egg set up as a target.

Šabdan's wife, Šaake, was a careful woman possessed of every skill; the attentions of her heart were as gold to that fellow. She gathered the artisans

bir balaġa zar eken.
Usta menen čeberdi
baarın birdey jıydırıp,
askerlerdin jabdığın
qoyġon eken qıldırıp.
Töönün jünü taardan,
jayqı jamġır, jaandan
kiyip alsa suu ötpöyt,
köz tayġılat naardan—
munday kiyim bolboptur.
On irikti soyuptur;
baarın tegiz bışırtıp,
qurjunġa tigip qoyuptur.
Qatındardı jıydırıp,
qalıŋ boz suq qıldırıp,
munu tigip qurjunġa,
jay-jayı menen tındırıp,
bir semiz tay soydurup,
on samoordu qoydurup,
(8ᵛ/9ʳ) askerlerdi čoġultup, |
baarın tegiz toydurup,
jabdıqtarın qaratıp,
öz qolu menen taratıp,
jetišpegen askerge
baarına tegiz jaratıp,
tört atqa azıq arttırıp,
arqan menen tarttırıp,
munu körgön askerler
Šaakeni jaqtırıp,
batasın berdi köp eli.
Bul önördü körgönü
emi askerler jürmökkö
iretterin bölgönü.
Čatırların büktöšüp,
qoš atına jüktöšüp,
azıq-tülük šaymanın
baarın tegiz büktöšüp,
jürmök boldu šaylanıp,
jan qazanın baylanıp,
(9ʳ/9ᵛ) “Ja Alda!” dep askerler |

mindi atqa qamdanıp.
Aldı-artı ızı-čuu,
ayčığı altın ala tuu—
bašına altın čögörgön
Atakenin qara tuu
aldıŋqı sapqa berišip,
Qan Jantayġa kelišip,
sap-sap bolup askerler
tegiz atqa minišip
tuunu Oroz qarmadı.
Qan Jantayġa barġanı,
batasın alıp köyqašqa
endi jolġo salġanı.
Jürdü erler bölünüp,
yüz kišinin qaraanı
miŋ kišidey körünüp,
buuruġup turġan oŋ baatır
quturġanday jeligip.
Jürdü erler šaraqtap,
eki közü alaqtap, | (9ᵛ/10ʳ)
nayzaları qolunda;
belde qılıč jaraqtap,
jürdü erler duuldap;
epkinderi šamalday
ketip barat šuuldap.
Qatın, bala, qalıŋ jurt
ıylašıp qaldı čuuldap.
Nayzaları qolunda,
mıltıqtarı jonunda,
jol bulaqtı bet alıp
kirdi erler joluna.
Čoŋ Kemindi basqanı,
Tor’-ayġırdı ašqanı,
Sar’-qamıštın čatına
barıp qazan asqanı.
(Xuday salġan iš bolso
aqır bende könödü;
ajal kelse Aldadan
üydö jatsa da ölödü!) | (10ʳ/10ᵛ)
Ol künü jatıp tınıšıp,

and craftswomen all together, | and had them make up the fighters' gear. 310
There were never such clothes, made from watertight fabric woven of camel wool, as these. Wearing them, one would not get wet in the summer rains and showers; the eyes were dazzled at their designs. She slaughtered ten three-year-old wethers and had them all cooked, then she stuffed the meat in the saddlebags. She had the women assemble | and make stout, untanned 320
waterskins, and she stuffed these in the saddlebags. Then she quieted them down group by group, and had them slaughter a fat yearling foal, and set ten samovars, and gathered the fighters together, and feasted them all. Then she had them see to their gear, and distributed it with her own hands, | satisfying 330
the needs of all the fighters who lacked things. Then she had the supplies loaded on four horses and fastened with rope; and Šaake was pleased at the fighters she beheld, and the crowds of people gave their blessing.

Having benefited from all this handiwork, the fighters now divided into their ranks for marching. They folded their tents, | loaded them onto their 340
spare mounts, packed up all their provisions and gear, tied on their camping-kettles, and prepared to march. "O Allah!" they shouted, making a great din from front to rear as they got ready and mounted their horses with their multicolored standards topped with crescents of gold. | Atake's black 350
standard, its finial wrought with gold, was passed to the vanguard, and, rank by rank, the fighters came to Khan Jantay all mounted on their horses; Oroz held the standard. Approaching Khan Jantay, the excellent ones received his blessing, and then set out on the road. The warriors spread out as they rode, | and from a distance the hundred men looked like a thousand; the 360
worthy heroes, bounding ahead, whipped themselves into an ardent frenzy. The warriors rode in a tumult, their eyes goggling, armed with lances in their hands and swords at their belts. Shouting as they rode, | they departed in a 370
hubbub, forceful as a wind. Women, children, the mass of people were left to weep loudly. Their lances in their hands, their guns on their backs, the warriors turned to face the start of the road, and got on their way.

They went along the Great Kemin and crossed Tor'-aygır pass, and when they reached the neck of land by Sarı-qamıš, | they cooked some food. (Since 380
it is a mission imposed by God, His humble servants obey; since death comes from Allah, even if one stays home he dies!) That day they stayed and rested;

taŋ atırıp jönödü.
Ubayımduu jigitter
üyün, malın sanašıp,
oylop ketip baratat;
ubayımsız erleriŋ—
eč nemeden qoobu joq—
oynop ketip baratat.
Ïsıq-köldü jaqalap,
boylop ketip baratat.
Baarı mıqtı köyqašqa
altı kündö jetišti
Qızıl-qıya, Saŋ-tašqa.
Qızıl-qıya ašqanda
Tekestin jolu bir bašqa;
kirdi Tekes joluna,
tötö joldun oŋuna.
Qan kötörgön Andaš Er
jardıq ayttı qoluna:
(10v/11r) “Attandıq, erler, Qalmaqqa, |
Qalmaqqa qırġın salmaqqa!
Jol bilgeniŋ barsıŋbı,
jaŋılbay baštap barmaqqa?
Tayıbız čoŋ Balbay—
ötpöylü buġa kep salbay,
Qalmaqtın jolun bilüüčü
birar adam baščı albay.
Čoŋ Balbayġa baralı!
Aġan aqıl salalı;
Qalmaq menen četteš el
baščı adamdı alalı.”
Qan ušunday kep aytat;
barčasına ep aytat.
Janıbek menen Temirge
jigit jiber dep ayttı.
Qan jardıġı qaytpaydı:
eki jigit attandı
barıp qabar aytıšıp
askerdi kele jatqandı.
Jigittin biröwü Sarala
kidirbesten araġa
jetip bardı Balbayġa. | (11r/11v)
Atın baylap talaaġa
kirip keldi üyünö;
salam berip jügünö.
Balbay Baatır taŋ qaldı
jigitterdin sürünö.
Balbay Baatır qozġolsun:
“Jigitter kimsiŋ, jol bolsun!
Jönüŋdü aytqın, balalar!
Öŋüŋ bašqa toŋdosun.”
Süylödü baatır Sarala:
“Qulaġıŋ sal sen taġa:
Bayake, Šabdan jeeniŋ
čaptırdı bizdi baġana.
Qan Jantaydan bata alıp,
Qalmaqtı közdöy attanıp,
qazat qılıp Qapırġa
jeeniŋiz kelet qamdanıp.”
Uġup Balbay süyündü.
Kiyimin tegiz kiyindi; | (11v/12r)
üy tiktirip, bee soyup
öz aldınča bölündü.
Balbay Baatır maqtanıp,
elin jıyıp jar salıp,
yüz čamaluu kiši menen
tosup čıqtı qamdanıp.
Eline aytat Er Balbay:
“Kimdin-kimdin jeeni eken;
tayın tartqan er eken.
Jeendin jaqšı bolġonu
taġasına bel eken!”
Aldınan tosup keledi;
kelatqanın körödü;
askerlerdi urmattap,
attan tüšüp turadı.
Balbaydı körüp beš baatır
attan tüšö qalıštı;
jöö basıp barıštı;
amansızbı taġa dep
salam alik alıštı. | (12r/12v)

then, still awake when dawn came, they got on their way. The fainthearted jigits missed their homes and herds and went along brooding; | your fearless warriors, in dread of no one, went along capering. They stuck close to lake Issyk Kul, going along its shore. The outstanding excellent ones all reached Qızıl-qıya and San-taš in six days. When one passes by Qızıl-qıya, the road to the Tekes goes off a different way; | they set out on the Tekes road, right along the most direct route.

Andaš Er, who had been appointed as khan, addressed his party: "We have set off, warriors, to wreak slaughter upon the Qalmaqs! Is there any one of you who knows the way, so that we do not get lost at the start? Let's not pass by our maternal relative, the great Balbay, without having a word, without borrowing | someone who knows the way to the Qalmaqs as a guide. Let us go to Balbay, consult with him, and take one of his people, whose land borders on the Qalmaqs, as a guide." The khan spoke thus and made his reasoning known to all. He told Janıbek and Temir to send jigits, | and the khan's order was not refused: two jigits mounted up to go and tell the news that the fighters were approaching.

One of the jigits, Sarala, reached Balbay without wasting a moment. Tying up his horse outside, he entered Balbay's house and addressed his greeting to the seat of honor. | Balbay Baatır was astonished at the jigits' formidable appearance. Let him be moved to speak: "Who are you, jigits? How fare you? Tell me your lineage, boys! Your faces look strange."

The hero Sarala spoke. "Lend me your ear, maternal uncle: your maternal nephews, Bayake and Šabdan, told us a short while ago to ride here. They are about to arrive, | having received a blessing from Khan Jantay and set out for the Qalmaqs, to make a raid on the Infidels."

Balbay rejoiced when he heard this. He got completely dressed and had a yurt set up and a mare slaughtered, and the jigits were given their own accommodation. Exulting, Balbay Baatır ordered his people to assemble, got them ready, | and with about a hundred men went out to receive the visitors. Er Balbay spoke to his people: "It seems these are nephews by some maternal relation or other; indeed they are warriors who take after their maternal uncle. A nephew who turns out well is a support to his maternal uncle!" He came out and received them; seeing them coming, in honor of the fighters | he dismounted from his horse and stood. The five heroes, seeing Balbay, immediately got down from their horses, walked ahead on foot, greeted their maternal uncle, and received his greeting.

Paratke menen askerler
atčan turdu aldında
amandašıp Er Balbay
askerlerdin baarına,
aldıŋqı turġan qanına.
Körgön adam qorqqondoy
bul askerdin šaŋına!
Endi asker jönödü;
jönögönün körödü;
askerlerdin sözdörü
aytıp ketken bul edi:
“Niyet qazat barmaqqa
zalım batbaq Qalmaqqa,
qubat surap Qudaydan
Quran oqup arbaqqa,
Qırġız asker bizni deer,
bul baratqan öŋköy er!
Qapır menen bet bolboy
(12ᵛ/13ʳ) tarqabayt qo ičten čer! |
Aġızabız qızıl qan;
ayabaybız čımın jan;
din jolunda baš berip
qubattaybız biz ıman.”
Özünčö Balbay čoŋ eken;
Buġulardın zor eken.
Törttön üy qatar tiktirip—
bar šaymanı mol eken—
on-ondon üygö kirgizip,
čoŋduġun Balbay bilgizip,
qımız, sawur etiŋdi
köčö qılıp jürgüzüp,
üč kün jattı tınıġıp,
jürmök boldu sıylıġıp,
tamaġı jaman jigitter
köp jatsaq dep qınıġıp.
Balbay ayttı aqıldı;
Tınıstamdı čıqırdı;
on kiši menen qošuptur
(13ʳ/13ᵛ) Tınıstamday baatırdı. |
Balbay menen qoštošup,
qoš aytıšıp toqtošup,
aman qaytsa Qalmaqtan
keler kezin boljošup
köyqašqalar jönödü.
Sümbödögü Qalmaqtı
Tınıstam abdan biledi.
Bašcı bolup Tınıstam
emi jolġo kiredi.
Üč kün elinen
Tekes degen jer minän
jürüp barat askerler
Tekes suusu, köl menen.
Törtünčü kün bolġondo
ašıp tüštü Jıldızġa;
bešinči kün bolġondo
ašıp tüštü Jıldızġa;
jetinči kün bolġondo
jetip qondu Qunduzġa.
Dal on künü jol jürdü; | (13ᵛ/14ʳ)
az ġana emes mol jürdü;
Qalmaqqa közdöy bet alıp
oŋ köyqašqa qol jürdü.
Tınıstam abdan biledi;
jaqındašıp keledi;
on eki kün degende
endi joop beredi;
körünüp turġan Qara-too;
čalġınčıġa baradı.
“Quday išti oŋdoso”—
Er Bayake kep aytat;
barčasına ep aytat
askerlerdi toqtotup—
“čalġınġa baram” dep aytat.
“Čalġınġa men barayın;
Sümbönü abdan čalayın!
Ašıqpastan aralap,
anıqtap bir til alayın.
Taŋ atqanča kelermin;
aman bolsom men” dedi; | (14ʳ/14ᵛ)
“Jata bersin el” dedi.

The fighters sat in their ranks on horseback before Balbay while he exchanged greetings with all of them, | and with their khan, who stood in front. 470
Doubtless one who beheld this company would be fearful of its grandeur!

Balbay saw that this company was on the march. Here are the words that the fighters had to say: "Our purpose is to go on a raid against the cruel scoundrels, the Qalmaqs; we have asked God for strength | and read the 480
Qurʾan to the arbaq. You may call us Kirghiz fighters, warriors to a man, who are on the move! If we don't face the Infidels, scarcely can we dispel our inner gloom! We'll spill red blood and spare no man's flitting soul; we'll lead the way on the path of religion, and strengthen the faith!"

Balbay, it turned out, was an extraordinary grandee, | a titan of the Buġu. 490
He caused yurts to be set up in rows of four—his stores, it turned out, were abundant—and he sent them inside, ten to a yurt. Balbay was showing his greatness. He had kumiss and porridge with rump-meat prepared continually, and they stayed and rested for three days. When they began to think about moving on, those jigits with poor provisions | had grown to 500
like it there, and argued to stay longer. Balbay spoke with wisdom: he summoned Tınıstam, and assigned ten men to that hero. In taking their leave of one another, Tınıstam and Balbay drew up and discussed when Tınıstam expected he would return if they got away from the Qalmaqs unharmed. Then the excellent ones departed. | Tınıstam knew the Qalmaqs of Sümbe 510
very well, and he was in the lead as they got under way.

For three days they traveled from [Balbay's] land along the valley called Tekes, by the Tekes river and the lake. On the fourth or | fifth day they 520
crossed a pass and descended to Jıldız; on the seventh day they reached Qunduz and camped. They marched for a full ten days. It wasn't a short way—the party of worthy excellent ones marched long on the way the Qalmaqs.

Tınıstam knew the route well. | On the twelfth day, as they approach, he 530
now explains to them: Qara-too has come into view; a reconnaissance will be made. Er Bayake spoke; having halted the fighters, he stated his reasoning to them all: "Since God has justified this mission, I shall go on a reconnaissance. Let me go on a reconnaissance | and thoroughly inspect Sümbe! Let 540
me take my time, get in the thick of it, and capture an informant. I shall return by sunrise if I am unharmed," he said, "Let the people remain here,

“Miŋ-jašar menen Tınıstam
eerčigile sen!” dedi.
Joldoštordon bata alıp,
jönöp ketti Bayake;
Tınıstam menen Miŋ-jašar
joldoš boldu bul üčöö.
Ġuftan maalı bolġondo
jetti erler Sümbögö.
Tögöröktöp čalıšıp,
dalay jerge barıšıp
mal da tappay jan tappay
buġa ayran qalıšıp,
aralap kirdi qalaaġa;
qorqoo kelbeyt sanaaġa.
Bir qoroodo körüngön
jetip bardı qaraanġa;
adam eken, qarmadı,
qol-ayaġın bayladı.
(14ᵛ/15ʳ) Alıp čıqtı talaaġa; |
endi Qalmaq sayradı;
qalaadan tıšqa čıġıštı;
Qalmaqtın sözün uġuštu.
Baarı tegiz uqsun dep
qošuna qayta jürüštü;
taŋ atqan soŋ kelišti.
Amandašıp körüštü;
alıp kelgen Qalmaġın
qoldoruna berišti.
Qalmaqtı aldı ortoġo;
jalġan aytıp bolčubu?
“Ümütüŋ bolso janıŋdan
Qalmaqtan emi qorqubu?”—
“Aman qalat baġıŋġan;”—
“Qalmaq joq deyt baġılan!”—
“Busurman bolsoŋ
ölböysüŋ;”—
“Qapırsıŋ otqo tamıŋġan!”
Qalmaq ayttı ırasın:
(15ʳ/15ᵛ) “Baarıŋ qarap turasıŋ |
din üyrötüp özümö;
Busurman meni qılasıŋ!
Qapırlıqtan qaytayın,
anan sözüm aytayın!
Muruntan künööm bar ele;
aq dinge kirip jatayın!”
Kelmege tilin keltirip,
Busurman qılıp qoyuštu;
qubanıšıp askerler
bir semiz tay soyuštu;
Qalmaq atın joġotup,
Üsön dep at qoyuštu.
Üsön de emi sayradı;
tüz jolġo salıp sayradı.
Qalmaq salıp baatırlar
Üsöndün sözün bayqadı:
“Qalmaq ketken bul jerden
qabar uġup silerden.
Sümbödö on beš Qalmaq bar;
burqanına jibergen | (15ᵛ/16ʳ)
jüzgö jaqın kempir-čal
Sümbödögü turġan jan.
On beš kün boldu Qalmaqtı
baštap ketti Dörbööl Xan.
Manjum degen alpı bar;
bütkül Qalmaq jalpı bar.
Jez-töböwünö bardı dep
uġulup turġan qalpı bar.
Barmaq bolsoŋ, baatırlar,
dal on kündö barasıŋ.
Berki čette Qara-say;
šu jerden taap alasıŋ;
taap berem Qalmaqtı!
Meni qošup alasıŋ!
Men de birge baramın!
Emi qayda qalayın?
Maqul bolso, tuuġandar,
anıq jolġo salayın!”
Üsöngö bir at berišti;
Sümbögö kirip kelišti. | (16ʳ/16ᵛ)
Ïras eken aytqanı:

but Miŋ-jašar and Tınıstam—you accompany me!"

Receiving a blessing from his comrades, Bayake departed; | Tınıstam and Miŋ-jašar accompanying him made three. When the time of night prayers had come, the warriors arrived at Sümbe. They circled around and went all over inspecting it, but found neither man nor beast. This surprised them, so they went right inside the walls—it never crossed their minds to be afraid. | In an animal pen a shape could be seen. They went over to it, and it was a man, so they caught him and tied up his hands and feet. They took him out onto the open ground, and then the Qalmaq "sang"; they went outside the walls and heard what the Qalmaq had to say. Deciding that everyone should hear it, they headed back to their party, | and arrived after sunrise; exchanging greetings, they turned over the Qalmaq whom they had brought. The Qalmaq was conducted into their midst, [while they wondered,] is he prone to lying? "Upon pain of death: are we in any danger from the Qalmaqs now?"—"He who has submitted will remain unharmed!"—"The 'dignitary' here says there are no Qalmaqs!"—| "If you become a Muslim, you will not die!"—"You're an Infidel who worships fire!"

The Qalmaq spoke correctly: "You're all standing there looking at me. Teach me religion, make me a Muslim! Let me turn away from unbelief, then let me say what I have to say! I have sinned in the past; let me enter the true religion!" | They made him utter the profession of faith and made him a Muslim. Then the fighters, rejoicing amongst themselves, slaughtered a fat yearling foal; they annulled his Qalmaq name and gave him the name Üsön. And now Üsön "sang"; he sang them straight on their way.

The heroes pressed Üsön the Qalmaq, and attended to his words: | "The Qalmaqs left this place when they heard about you. There are fifteen Qalmaqs at Sümbe; [those and] around one hundred old people who have been sent inside the temple are all that are now at Sümbe. It's been fifteen days since Dörbööl Khan departed at the head of the Qalmaqs. He has all the Qalmaqs together with him, and a giant named Manjum. | It seems to me I heard them say that they went to Jez-töbö. If you intend to go, heroes, you'll be traveling a full ten days. On the near border is Qara-say: you will find them at that place. I will find the Qalmaqs for you! You will take me along; I will go with you! Where could I stay now? | If you agree, brothers, I will set you on the way with certainty!"

Giving Üsön a horse, they came into Sümbe. He had told the truth after all;

baarın tegiz körüštü.
Burqanda on beš Qalmaqtı
baarın tegiz qırıštı;
niyetin qabıl qılıštı.
Qırq qulaqtuu qazanın
talqan qılıp čıġıštı;
Dörbööl Xandın ordoġo
ol künü jatıp tınıštı.
Taŋ atqan soŋ Alda dep
jabıla atqa miništi;
baarı čoġu Üsöndün
üyünö taman kelišti;
Üsön menen körüštü.
Üsön bir mal soyuptur;
dayar qılıp qoyuptur;
tamaqtanıp askerler
baarı tegiz toyuptur.
Baščı qılıp Üsöndü
(16ᵛ/17ʳ) Alda dep atqa minedi; |
Jez-töböwünö bet alıp
endi erler jönödü.
Segiz kün udaa jol jürüp
Qara-tooġo keledi.
Kündük jerdi körsötkön,
buramalap özgörtkön
eki közdüü čoŋ dürbü
suurup aldı čöntöktön.
Altındaġan boosu bar;
asıl taštan oozu bar.
Bayake menen Šabdandı
Taškendin xanı čaqırtqan:
Qudayar Xan, Čoŋ Qanaat
suraġan Jantay Baatırdan
ošol ökööwün jiber dep.
Ošo kezde Sarttarġa
Qazaq, Qırġız baš urġan;
baatırlar barġan Taškenge,
Qudayar Xan degenge
(17ʳ/17ᵛ) ošondo bolġon čoŋ uruš |
baatırlıq qılġan eki nar.

Taškendi qamap joo kelgen;
Qanaatqa ülkön döö kelgen.
Qırq künü qızıl qan aġıp,
qıyratıp erler sögülgön;
qamaldı buzġan Bayake.
Jeŋip bergen dušmanın
Bayake, Šabdan bul ökö—
bul ökönün erligin,
oqqo čapqan šerligin
köz menen körüp Čoŋ Qanaat
körsötkön eken bektigin:
Qudayar Xan, Čoŋ Qanaat
ošondo bergen dürbünü
baatırlarġa sıyapat.
Bayake Baatır, Šabdanġa
dilde jabdıq at bergen;
Qoqonġo uluq qılam dep
Qudayar Xan xat bergen.
Ošondoy ülkön soġušta | (17ᵛ/18ʳ)
Bayake, Šabdan eki er
oyuna aman da kelgen.
Bul sözdü munday qoyolu;
bayaġı jerge baralı;
dürbünü salıp körölü:
Dürbünü salıp qarasa
Qara-toonun etegi
betegelüü jer eken,
eerdey qayqı bel eken.
Attarın otqo qoyušup,
tamaqtanıp toyušup,
dürbünü alıp Er Šabdan
basıp čıqtı döbögö
jerdi artıp körmökkö,
jonduu jerden el körsö
askerlerin bölmökkö.
Közünö qarmap dürbüsün
Qara-toonu qaradı.
Jürgön eken bir top jan:
qanča eken sanadı,
on beš Qalmaq aŋ ulap

they saw everything. They slaughtered every one of the fifteen Qalmaqs in the temple, fulfilling their purpose. They smashed the forty-lugged cauldron | into powder, and spent the day resting at Dörbööl Khan's headquarters. When the sun had risen, they said "Allah!" and mounted up in a body; they went all together and met Üsön at his house. Üsön slaughtered an animal and prepared it, | and the fighters ate and all were satisfied. Then they put Üsön in the lead, said "Allah!" and mounted their horses; turning toward Jez-töbö, the warriors now moved on.

They marched for eight days in a row and came to Qara-too. [Šabdan] drew from its case | a large binocular spyglass with a gilt strap and eyepieces of precious stones, which could reveal places a day's ride away, and adjusted it with a twist. The khan of Tashkent had summoned Bayake and Šabdan: Xudāyār Khan and the great Qanāʿat had requested of Jantay Baatır that he send those two. At that time | the Qazaqs and Kirghiz were subject to the Sarts; the heroes who went to Tashkent, to the khan called Xudāyār, fought with heroism like two camel-bulls in the great war that was going on then. The enemy came and surrounded Tashkent; [like] a great giant [the enemy] came at Qanāʿat. Red blood flowed for forty days, and the warriors got torn up demolishing [the enemy]; Bayake, ravaging them, was surrounded. Those two, Bayake and Šabdan, | defeated the enemy—the great Qanāʿat saw with his own eyes the bravery of those two, and their courageous advances under fire. So he showed his authority as a *bek*: Xudāyār Khan and the great Qanāʿat presented the spyglass then to the heroes as a hospitality-gift. | They gave horses with gilded harness to Bayake Baatır and to Šabdan, and Xudāyār Khan gave them credentials that conferred Qoqandian ranks upon them. In connection with such a huge war, those two men, Bayake and Šabdan, come surely to mind; but let's leave off this subject and get back to where we were; let's put the glass to our eyes and have a look.

When he put the glass to his eyes, [Šabdan] saw that | the foot of the Qara-too was covered in feather-grass; the pass, he could see, was dipped like a saddle. Having set his horses to graze and eaten his fill of food, Er Šabdan took the spyglass and walked up a hill to look over the land from the crest, so that if he saw people he could arrange his fighters. | Clutching his spyglass to his eyes he examined the Qara-too. A number of people were visible. He counted how many there were: in all, a total of fifteen

jürgön eken tamamı. |
Andan munday qarasa
tüštük jerde janaša
anča biyik too emes,
Qara-toodon alasa.
Körünüp turat Qara-say,
baš-ayaġı malġa jay.
Ataŋa naalat Qalmaqtın
elinen da jeri bay!
Jayılıp jatqan mal kördü;
qaraan-quraan jan kördü;
andan arı qarasa
qalıŋ üydöy šaŋ kördü.
Jerine qarap köz saldı;
jaqšısına taŋ qaldı;
ne bir jaqšı jerlerdi
körüp baatır taŋdandı.
Kölčük-kökčük sazı bar;
ördök menen qazı bar;
ečki, teke jürüüčü
arsaq zooqa tašı bar. |
Kök qašqa tunuq kölü bar;
köz tayġılġan čölü bar;
köldün üstü körünböyt,
ar bir türdüü janıbar.
Qušu jüröt qurquldap,
balapanı čırqıldap;
baladay bolġon balıqtar
oynop jüröt jıltıldap.
Top-top bolup oynošup
qulanı jüröt čölündö;
baqası čardap ičinde,
qunduzu jüröt kölündö.
Arqarı qoydoy jayılat
adır-adır belinde;
soqur tašqa jamınıp
tülküsü jüröt jayılıp;
sülöösün menen suusarı
körünöt közgö čalınıp.
Qaraġay, qayıŋ, tal čıqqan;
ne bir jaqšı aralı |
jayılıp jüröt ičinde;
buġu menen maralı
uqqan aŋdın ba[qırığı]
baarı tegiz sanalı.
Balapandap janıbar
quš olturat butaqta:
tuyġun, tunjur aralaš
jıš olturat butaqta;
itelgi, šumqar, qırğıylar
batpay jüröt bir jaqta.
Jez-töbönün ar jaġı
adır-adır čöl eken,
qayqıp jatqan el eken,
tüpkülüktüü Qalmaqtın
meken qılġan jer eken.
Baarın kördü baatırıŋ
boljop alıs-jaqının.
Tört joldošu janına
basıp bardı aqırın;
dürbünün közün oŋdošup,
buramasın tolġošup,
kezek-kezek salıšıp |
baarı kördü boljošup.
Baarın körüp taŋ qalıp,
jürmök bolup qamdanıp,
askerlerdin baarına
attanġın dep jar salıp
asker atqa miništi;
Alda dep jolġo kirišti.
Körüngön on beš Qalmaqqa
aldınan tosup jürüštü.
Aldınan tosup aladı;
Qara-tooġo qamadı;
qutqarbastan Qalmaqtı
tegerektep qarmadı.
On törtün qarmap öltürüp,
ortoġo baarın keltirip,
tuu qandašıp köyqašqa
abiyirin jaman ketirip,

Qalmaqs were out hunting. When he looked out from there, this way, in the south were mountains, not very high, in a line, lower than the Qara-too.

| The Qara-say lay there before his eyes, a fit place for cattle from source to mouth. The Qalmaqs (damn your fathers!) have a land richer than their people [need]! He saw widespread herds, and the figures and forms of people; as he looked beyond there he saw densely packed shapes like yurts. He fixed his gaze on their land and was astonished at how rich it was; seeing | such exceptionally rich lands, the hero was dumbstruck. There were wetlands dotted with ponds and marshes; ducks and geese; bare, jutting cliffs where wild goats roamed; pure, clear blue lakes, and steppes that dazzled the eye. The surfaces of the lakes could not be seen for all the animals of every kind: | birds swam on them a-crying, their nestlings chirruping; fish the size of young children leapt and flashed in them. Wild asses roamed the steppes, cavorting in droves; frogs croaked in the middle of the lakes, and otters swam in them. Argali flocked like tame sheep on the slopes up to the passes; | mole-voles hid in the rocks; foxes roamed everywhere; lynx and marten met the eye. Spruces, birches and willows grew up, and particularly pleasant islands ran amidst them. Harts and hinds—the [bellowing] of beasts that met the ear—let's list them all! | Birds sat on the branches raising their precious nestlings: white goshawks, cock and hen together, sat thick on the branches; sakers, gyrfalcons, and sparrow hawks flew about with no place to land. Beyond Jez-töbö he could see hilly steppe, a sprawling country; this was the place where the Qalmaqs | made their permanent home. Your hero saw it all and sized it up from end to end.

His four comrades sauntered up to his side; one at a time, adjusting the eyepieces of the spyglass and twisting the knob, they brought it to their eyes and took a cursory look. Astonished at all that they saw, | they got ready to move out. They gave the order to mount, and all the fighters got on their horses; then they were on their way saying "Allah!"

They rode up and blocked the path of the fifteen Qalmaqs they had seen, and trapped them on Qara-too. They caught them by cutting off the Qalmaqs' path; | they surrounded and captured them, giving them no escape. They killed fourteen of them—bringing them all into their midst, the excellent ones bloodied their standard, defiling the Qalmaqs' honor.

biröö qačıp qutuldu;
biyik ülkön too eken,
(20r/20v) jöö qačıp qutuldu. |
Ketken Qalmaq soŋunan
endi erler umtuldu;
toqtolboston jürödü;
aqırın jürböy čüü dedi.
El qaraanın körgön soŋ
erler qızıp keledi.
Quptan maalı bolġondo,
asmanġa jıldız tolġondo
otun körüp Qalmaqtın
emi erler oŋdondu;
Qalmaqtın otun körödü;
qoymočusun bölödü.
Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay
čalġınčıġa jönödü;
salıp ketti üč baatır.
Jatqan eken köp Qapır;
Qara-saydın ičinde
tolup jatqan mal jatır;
baarın körüp alıštı;
(20v/21r) tögöröktöp čalıštı. |
Kirer jolun boljoldop
emi qayra salıštı;
qoymočuġa kelišti.
Eldi eki bölüštü;
qoymočunu irettep
qoš-qoloŋdu berišti.
Elüüsü qaldı bölünüp,
qoymoču bolup körünüp;
altımıšı jönödü.
Oŋoy baatır jeligip,
at quyruġun šüyüšüp,
attarına minišip,
belgilenip baatırlar
aq kiyim tıštan kiyišip,
jönöp qaldı köyqašqa.
Qalmaqtı közdöy jürüšüp,
bayaġı körgön Qara-say

ayaġınan kirišip,
tarsıldatıp mıltıġın
bir četinen tiyišip, | (21r/21v)
dobulbaštı qaġıšıp,
qızıl qandı aġızıp,
qıyqırıqtı salıšıp,
qılčaŋdašıp oŋoy er
bir-birine baġıšıp,
ja Alda dep baqırıp,
Atakelep uraanın
baarı aytıp čaqırıp
Botpay kelet aldında.
Anda-sanda aqırıp,
Qalmaqtardı ıylatıp,
Azoolorun tuylatıp,
tiyip čıqtı jılqını.
Qašaaların qıyratıp
baarı tegiz bay eken:
altı-jeti qašaada
bir miŋ jılqı bar eken;
Qara-sayda mal baġıp
jalpı jatqan jan eken.
Jalġız jılqı qaldırbay, | (21v/22r)
alıp barat erleriŋ;
aldı-artı jılqının
čalıp barat erleriŋ;
birindegen Qalmaqtı
ay balta menen bašına
salıp barat erleriŋ.
Taqaluudan tay qoyboy
taqır čaptı Qalmaqtı!
Izdep kelip baatırlar
aqırı taptı Qalmaqtı!
Qoldo qızıl tuuları
köböydü Qalmaq čuuları;
jıyılıšıp Qalmaqtar
baatırlardı quuġanı;
Qalmaqtın joosun uqqanı
ayıldan uzap čıqqanı.
Aytıluu maalım beš baatır

One got away; it turned out to be a great, high mountain, and he escaped on foot. Now the warriors surged forward in pursuit of the Qalmaq who fled; | they rode without stopping, not at a walk but shouting "gee-up!" But after they had made out the [main part of the Qalmaq] people in the distance, the warriors became more and more excited. When the time of night prayers had come and stars filled the heavens, they spied the Qalmaqs' fires, and then the warriors got themselves in order; seeing the Qalmaqs' fires, they posted their sentries.

Off went the three heroes; | Bayake, Šabdan, and Manapbay departed on a reconnaissance. It was clear that the Infidels were numerous, but it turned out that the interior of the Qara-say valley was totally filled with herds. They got a good look at them all as they scouted the entire periphery. Having planned their route of entry, they then headed back | and came to the sentries. They divided the men into two groups: lining up the sentries, they gave them charge over the supply train. Fifty of them were thus split off and remained, and consequently became sentries. Sixty of them departed.

The expert heroes raged as they bound up their horses' tails and mounted up; | they made themselves visible to one another by dressing in outer garments of white, then those excellent ones were off. They made for the Qalmaqs, entering Qara-say, which they had already reconnoitered, from its lower end. Popping their guns off and beating the war drum, they hit the Qalmaqs from one flank, spilling red blood. | The expert warriors raised a shout, and looked over their shoulders to watch out for each other as they all cried "O Allah!" and called out the war-cry, "Atake!"

Botpay came on in the lead. Shouting here and there, | they raided the horses, bolting the unbroken ones and raising cries from the Qalmaqs. Tearing down the paddocks, they found that they were all well-stocked: in six or seven paddocks they found one thousand horses. The only people staying at Qara-say, it turned out, were those guarding the animals. Your warriors left not a single horse behind when they made off with them; | they went along whipping the horses front and back, and hitting the scattered Qalmaqs in the head with battle axes. They left not even a yearling from among the shod beasts. They completely routed the Qalmaqs! The heroes had come in search, and, in the end, they found those Qalmaqs!

The uproar increased from the Qalmaqs; with their red standards in their hands | they assembled to pursue the heroes, their foes whom they heard moving off away from the encampment. But those five famous heroes

Qalmaqtı tosup buqqanı;
ayday ber dep jılqını
(22ʳ/22ᵛ) attın bašın burġanı. |
Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay,
Qarakesek, Čoŋ Botpay
tosup qarap turġanı.
Jaasın atıp jabırlap,
saydın iči qıbırlap,
attuu, jöölüü bölüšüp,
kele jatır dübürlöp.
Tosup turġan beš baatır
qačıruuġa qamdanıp,
čuuldağan Qalmaqqa
ačuu kelip čamdanıp,
beš baatırġa jaqındap,
kirip keldi dayırdap,
Qalmaq jaqın kelgen soŋ
emi erler turabı?
At üstünö mingen soŋ
at quyruġun šüyödü;
Alda dep atqa minedi;
kele jatqan Qalmaqqa
(22ᵛ/23ʳ) qaršı čaap jönödü. |
Tize qošup beš baatır
aq baraŋdı bir atıp,
betine kelgen Qalmaqtı
nayza menen qulatıp,
aralap kirdi beš baatır—
qılıč menen sulatıp,
köp-azına qarabay,
ölöbüz dep sanabay;
qayra qaštı Qalmaqtar
urušuuġa jarabay.
Aralašıp baatırlar
öltürgön oqšoyt bir dalay.
Īsqarına čıdabay
körüp Qalmaq ıġıštı;
qoy aydağan qašqırday
qurusuna tıġıštı;
qızıl ala qan qılıp,

qıyratıp erler čıġıštı.
Qayra tartıp jönödü
askerlerdin artınan; | (23ʳ/23ᵛ)
salıp jetip keledi.
Ertesi Qalmaq keler dep
baatırlar boljop biledi;
ičinen otuz kišige
jılqıların aydattı;
bayaqı qayqı bel menen
tosup qaldı Qalmaqtı.
Dürbü salġan jerinen
tosup jatsın baatırlar;
Qalmaq ne bop jatırlar?
Otuz Qalmaq ölüptür;
qırq Qalmağı jaraluu;
čoġulušup süylöšüp
andan esen qalġanı
qoš at menen čaptırdı;
Dörbööl degen uluqqa
barıp qabar salġanı.
Dörbööl degen bal'eken,
özü baatır neme eken;
öz aldınča bu Qalmaq | (23ᵛ/24ʳ)
Qalmaqqa ülkön bel eken.
Uġup qabar julqunup,
ačuu kelip qıyqırıp,
joldo ječü azıġın
tün boyunča qıldırıp,
tamaqtarı bıšqınča
bar askerin jıydırıp
beš jüz asker jıyıldı;
burqanına sıyındı;
Dörbööl Qandın bul iši,
oylosoŋor, qıyın'dı.
Taš sayınıp bašına
Manjum degen balbanın
čaqırıp alıp qašına:
"Manjum balban sen eleŋ,
Dörbööl Qan men elem;
Muruttardın baatırınan

turned and made a stand against them, stopping their own horses and ordering the herds to be driven on. Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay, Qarakesek, and Big Botpay | sat waiting to bar the Qalmaqs' way. [The Qalmaqs] tormented 870
them with bow-fire, and a commotion filled the valley as the mounted ones, gaining distance on those on foot, came on a-clattering. The five heroes who waited behind to make their stand got ready to repel them; their rage grew as they prepared to attack the bellowing Qalmaqs, who approached | and 880
then galloped in among them—would the warriors hold their ground now that the Qalmaqs had drawn near?

Once they had mounted their horses, they bound up their tails—"Allah!" they said as they mounted up and galloped off to confront the arriving Qalmaqs. The five heroes, riding knee to knee, each took a shot with their modern muskets, then with lances they knocked down | the Qalmaqs that 890
engaged them. The five heroes rode in among them and brought them low with swords, reckoning not if the enemy were many or few, nor caring for their own lives. The Qalmaqs turned and fled, useless at fighting. The heroes had got in among them, and appeared to have killed a great many. | Unable 900
to withstand their icy blast, the Qalmaqs blew away at the sight of them! Like wolves chasing sheep, the warriors prodded at their girdles; they advanced, smashing them, spattering them with blood. Then they turned around and set off riding after their fighters, and caught up with them.

| The heroes guessed that the Qalmaqs would come the next day. From 910
their midst they ordered thirty men to drive their horses on, and then waited to bar the Qalmaqs' way from the same concave pass where they had been before. Let the heroes wait to block them there at the place where they had looked through the spyglass; what was happening with the Qalmaqs?

Thirty Qalmaqs had died, and forty of them were wounded. | They gath- 920
ered and consulted among themselves, and told one of their number who was unhurt to ride hard with a spare mount to the ruler Dörbööl, to tell him the news. This Dörbööl, it seems, was a youngster, but, it seems, something of a hero; this Qalmaq was, on his own, a tremendous support to them. He exploded upon hearing the news, | shouting as his anger rose. 930
Throughout the night he made them prepare provisions to eat on the way, and while the food was still cooking he had all his fighters mustered. Five hundred fighters assembled, and prostrated themselves before their idols. Dörbööl Khan saw to his business with thoroughness, if you think about it. Affixing the rank-button to his cap, he summoned into his presence | the 940
strongman named Manjum: "You are none other than Manjum the strongman; I am none other than Dörbööl Khan; in what respect are you inferior

qaysı jerde kem eleŋ?!
Qantip čıdap turabız?!
(24r/24v) Tekeske čeyin quuayın |
düŋgürsüp kelgen Muruttu;
bašına qırġın qılayın!
Ne deysiŋ Manju baatırım?
Tapčı munun aqılın!
Birinči baatır joldošum,
joq edi senden jaqınım.”
Süylödü šondo Manjum, “Ey—
qapalanba, qanım—ey,
dušman uzap ketpesin.
Quvalı, qanım, köp turbay;
miŋ de bolso qırayın,
jalġızın qoyboy janın—ey!
Burqandarım jar bolso,
Muruttun sırı maalım—ey!”
Manjum Baatır süylönüp,
ačuu kelip küülönüp,
qara qašqa qačırın
minip aldı süyrölüp.
Üč qulačtay čači bar;
toġuz qarıš qazanday
(24v/25r) bu Qalmaqtın bašı bar; |
uzunduġu dal tört kez;
otuz čamal jašı bar.
On qačırġa qoš artıp,
azıq-tülük mol artıp
askerlerin jönöttü;
dušmandı közdöy jol tartıp,
jayılıp qalġan Qalmaqqa
tün boyunča keledi.
Jaradar menen ölgönün
Dörbööl Xan körödü;
taŋ atqan soŋ Dörbööl Xan
askerlerin jınadı;
“Biriŋ qalbay jürgün” dep
Qalmaqtardı qıynadı;
ölüktü körüp Dörbööl Xan
jaman qatuu ıyladı.

Menmensigen jigitten
tandap aldı tobunan;
tüštü emi Qalmaqtar
baatırlardın soŋunan.
Körgön adam qorqqondoy
Manjum Alptın čoŋunan! | (25r/25v)
Toġuz jüzdöy asker men
jürüp ketip baratat;
bir šoyqondun bolorun
bilip ketip baratat;
köp jılqının soŋunan
quup ketip baratat.
Jürö bersin jol menen,
toġuz jüzdöy qol menen;
endi sözdü ešitkin
tosup jatqan erlerden—
Qalmaqtı alġan jerinen,
Qara-toonun belinen—
arttan kelgen quuġundu—
tüštö kele čeninen—
sayıp quran šerlerin,
tosup qalġan erlerin.
Mingen atın jaydaqtap,
qurġatışıp terlerin,
qaroolčunu qoyušup,
bir semiz tay soyušup,
jan qazanġa salışıp,
etke mıqtap toyušup, | (25v/26r)
esin jıyıp tınışıp,
qarooldošup čalışıp,
emi Qalmaq kelbes dep
qatqırıqtı salışıp
jatqan eken oŋ mıqtı.
Tüškö jaqın bolġondo
buudaq-buudaq čaŋ čıqtı;
qatqırıq salġan baatırlar
körüp čočup qamıqtı.
Baatır Šabdan, Bayake
qayrat ayttı bul öködö:
“Qorqpoġula, balalar!

to the Buruts' heroes?! How can we stand for this? I will pursue the Buruts-who-come-on-with-a-hollow-clopping-sound all the way to the Tekes; I will bring down carnage upon their heads! | What do you say, Manjum, my hero? Please see the sense in this! My comrade, my foremost hero, I have no one closer to me than you."

Then Manjum spoke. "Eh … Don't be sad, my khan—eh! The enemy will certainly not get far away. Let's not wait long, let's chase them, my khan! Let me slaughter them, even if there are a thousand—I won't leave a single soul alive—eh! | If my idols are of help, the Buruts' secret will be known—eh!"— snapped Manjum Baatır, raging as his anger rose. His feet dragged on the ground as he mounted his black mule with a blaze. His hair was some three fathoms long; this Qalmaq's head was nine spans around, like a cauldron; | at about thirty years of age, he was a full four arshins tall. He loaded campaign tents onto ten mules, and a great load of provisions and supplies, and got his fighters moving, and headed off on the trail of the enemy.

Over the course of the night they came upon the Qalmaqs who had been left scattered [by the raid]. Dörbööl Khan saw the wounded and the dead, and after the sun rose, | he assembled his fighters: "March, all of you! No one remain!" he berated them; seeing the corpses, Dörbööl Khan let out a mighty cry. He picked from among a group of jigits vying to be chosen, and the Qalmaqs now fell in behind these heroes. Doubtless one who beheld | Manjum Alp's commander would be fearful of him! They were riding away with about nine hundred fighters, knowing that disgrace had befallen them; they were chasing after a great number of horses. Let them ride along on the road with their force some nine hundred strong; now hear a word | from the warriors who were waiting to block these pursuers coming after them—from the place where they had plundered the Qalmaqs—from the pass at Qara-too, as midday was approaching—[hear a word from] those lions, the lords of the Qurʾan, the warriors who had remained to block the way.

They had unsaddled their horses to let the sweat dry, and had placed guards. | Then they had slaughtered a fat yearling foal, cooked it in the camping-kettle, and dined very well on the meat, resting and collecting their thoughts, while they took turns going out on guard patrols; and now, the worthy stalwarts, thinking the Qalmaqs weren't coming, were having a good, loud laugh. But as it got close to midday, dust rose up in clouds, | and the laughing heroes saw and grew rueful.

Baatır Šabdan and Bayake, these two, exhorted them: "Never fear, boys!

Ar kim özün čamalar
Quday berse bul joonu.
Azın, köbün kim sanar?
Šeyit bolsoq Qapırdan
segiz beyiš ol da bar!
Tuulġan soŋ ölmök bar;
munday ölüm kim tabar?
Ata-baba ilgerten
salıp jürgön jolu ušul!
(26r/26v) Munday neče joolordu |
ala jürgön qol ušul!
Biz qayındap barġanbız
Talas degen jerine,
Qušču, Saruu eline;
ürkün keldi bir talay
keŋ Čatqaldın beline;
tosup čıqtıq betinen
ürkkön eldin četinen.
Beš jüz Sarttın askeri
kelatqan eken artınan.
On eki kiši joldošum—
Alda–Taala oŋdosun!—
kelatqan Sarttın aldınan.
Tosup čıqtıq toŋdoosun;
ürkkön el da toqtodu.
Biz toqtoduq ortoġo;
Bayake, Šabdan egiz er
beš jüz Sarttan qorqobu?!
Sarttar kördü bizderdi,
(26v/27r) bizden udaa seskendi. |
Jekege čıġıp bir Sartı
Bayakege kez keldi.
İrġıta sayıp Bayake
atın qoštop tez keldi.
Boz arġımaq mingeni,
üstünö soot kiygeni,
askerinen bölünüp
bizdi közdöy jürgönü,
dobulbašın baylanıp
čıqtı bir Sart qamdanıp.
Askerinen bölünüp,
bastırıp čıqtı čayqalıp;
mıltıq alıp oqtodu;
atmaq bolup toqtodu.
Mıltıqtı körsö öörčügön
baatır Šabdan qorqobu?!
Oqqo čaptı duuldap;
qarap turat köp Qırġız;
ja Qudaylap čuuldap,
jaqındap Šabdan jetkende
oġu ketti zırpıldap;
nayza tiyip öpkögö | (27r/27v)
janı čıqtı čırıldap.
Artınan jetti Bayake;
tuunu közdöy at qoydu
eki baatır, bul ökö̈.
Eki erdin türün körgön soŋ
Sart ıqtadı jelekke,
joldoġu Sartqa qarabay,
kiši eken dep sanabay.
Tuunu saydı sapırıp,
qoyġo tiygen qaršqırday
Sart askerin qačırıp.
Körgöndön soŋ köp Qırġız
qaptap ketti basınıp.
Sarımsaq datqa bar eken,
altımıš beš da qarı eken;
bašınan sıymıq ketpegen
waliya čalıš jan eken.
Dilde jabdıq arġımaq
Sarttan sayıp alıšıp,
Sarımsaq Datqa aldına
jeteletip barıšıp, | (27v/28r)
Bayake, Šabdan eki er
datqadan bata alıšıp,
ıylap turup Sarımsaq—
‘Qonsun,—dep—baldar, ar
uvaq!’
čındap bergen batasın.
Ušundan kiyin qun qonboy

Everyone will realize his own strength if God brings us this foe. Who would care if there are many or few? If we are martyred by Infidels, then we still have the Eight Paradises! | You are born, and then you die; thus *who* ever finds death [on his own]? This is the way of your forefathers from olden days! *This* is the party that plunders such great numbers of enemies!

"Once, we had gone to our marriage relations in the place known as Talas, to the land of the Qušču and the Saruu, when a multitude came in confusion | toward the pass above the broad Čatqal; we ran into them suddenly head-on at the border of the land they had fled. Five hundred of the Sarts' troops, it turned out, were coming up behind them; but my comrades, twelve men—may God Most High support them!—were coming up to meet them. We cut off the offenders' path, and the fleeing people halted as well. | We stopped between them. Are Bayake and Šabdan, these two warriors, afraid of five hundred Sarts?! The Sarts saw us, and one after another, were startled. One of the Sarts came out to meet Bayake in single combat. Bayake hurled [a spear], hit him, collected his horse, and came back in a moment. Then one Sart tied on his war drum, readied himself, and came out. What he rode was a gray purebred; | what he wore on his frame was a corselet; having separated from his troops, the direction in which he rode was toward us. Separating from his troops, he spurred his horse and came out a-bobbing; then he took his gun, loaded it, and stopped to fire. Does the full-fledged | hero Šabdan fear a gun when he sees one?! He raced into the gunfire, roaring and yelling 'O God!'—the crowd of Kirghiz stood there watching—and just as Šabdan came up close, the ball flew by with a shudder; Šabdan's lance pierced his lung, and his soul escaped with a twitter. Bayake came up from behind, | and the two warriors—these two—spurred their horses for the standard. Once they saw what sort of warriors these two were, the Sarts fell back to the flags, heedless of others in the way, disregarding everyone else. The two heroes planted the fluttering standard, and like wolves attacking sheep, set the Sart troops to flight. Upon seeing this, the crowd of Kirghiz surrounded and overpowered them. | As it happened, Sarımsaq Datqa was there, an old man of sixty-five then, but the bird of happiness had not flown from his head; he was a saintlike man. They had the purebred horse with gilded harness, which they had taken from the Sart who had been lanced, put on a lead-rope and brought before Sarımsaq Datqa, and Bayake and Šabdan, those two warriors, received a blessing from him. | Sarımsaq cried out, 'May all good fortune settle upon you, boys!'—he gave them his sincere blessing. After that, no one sought a blood payment; is your

uluumu, baldar, ubayım?
Aman bolso, qašımda
Baatır Šabdan jubayım,
Qarakesek, Manapbay,
balban Botpay tınarım,
kelatqan batbaq Qalmaqtı
tašın talqan qılarım!
Alda–Taalam jar bolso,
arbaqtar azır qoldoso
buyum emes munday joo,
Xuday išti oŋdoso!"
dep Bayake sayradı;
baldardın köŋülün jayladı.
Qayrattanıp jigitter
joo jaraġın šayladı.
Emi Bakeŋ käp aytat,
bar askerge teŋ aytat:
(28r/28v) "Jaratqanġa sıyınıp; |
qayrat qıl, erler!" dep aytat.
"At quyruġun šüygülö;
Alda dep atqa mingile!
Aralašsaq Qalmaqqa
čoġuŋdu baspay jürgülö!
Beldi bekem buušup
sayıšatuġan kün boldu;
qıyamattın joluna
barıšatuġan kün boldu;
Qalmaq menen qıyrašıp
alıšatuġan kün boldu;
abiyirdüü yigitke
arbaq qonor kün boldu;
ajalımnı jeŋgenge
šeyit bolor kün boldu!
Ölümdön aman qalġanġa,
üygö aman barġanġa,
barča elge salam de!
Bildik dünyö jalġančı;
Quday bilet nooqusun.
Bilgeni Qurʾan oqusun!
Moynumuzġa qarıs qılbay
ötüp kečsin aqısın!"
Körüngön čaŋ jaqındap,
mingen atın taqımdap
aldında oqčun bir qaraan
kele jatır saqımdap. | (28v/29r)
Bulġaarıdan qabı bar,
buramaluu sabı bar,
baatır Šabdan janında
čoŋ dürbüsü dağı bar:
suurup aldı janınan;
aqırın alıp qabınan
salıp qaldı dürbünü
Qalmaqtın keler jağınan.
Čoŋ dürbünü saldı ele,
anıq körüp aldı ele;
baš-ayağın boljoldop
baarı tegiz čaldı ele:
aq asaba, qızıl tuu
aldı, artı ızı-čuu
kele jatır köp Qalmaq.
Ortosunda ülkön döö
taš sayınġan bašına;
Qalmaqtardın ičinen
Dörbööl Qandı taanıdı:
toluqšuġan jašında
özü toluq qan eken,
qanġa layıq bala eken;
qalqan, soot, joyqunu
baarı tegiz šay eken. | (29r/29v)
Bayaqı jalġız qaraanġa,
kele jatqan baraanġa
endi saldı dürbünü
dinsiz betbaq naadanġa:
özü bir čoŋ Qapırıŋ
minip alıp qačırın
kele jatır süyrölüp
Manjum degen baatırıŋ.
"Jaratqan Alda saqtasın
ušul ištin aqırın!"
süylöyt Šabdan baatırıŋ.

fear so great, boys? If they remain unharmed at my side—my partner Baatır Šabdan, Qarakesek, Manapbay, my support, Botpay the strongman—| let me crush the approaching Qalmaq scoundrels! If God Most High will be my friend, and the arbaq support us now, such a foe shall be a trifle—if God has justified this mission!"—Bayake ranted, and eased the boys' hearts. The jigits plucked up their courage, and saw to their weapons and armor.

Now Bayake spoke, | addressing all the fighters as one: "Trust in the Creator and be courageous, men!" he said. "Bind up your horses' tails, and mount up saying 'Allah!' Let's enter into battle with the Qalmaqs! Ride—don't be distressed! The day has come for buckling our belts tightly and exchanging lance-thrusts; | the day has come for traveling together on the road to Judgment Day. The day has come for exchanging blows with the Qalmaqs; the day has come for the arbaq to settle upon honorable jigits. The day has come for me to become a martyr by overcoming my death! Give salutations to everyone—to those who remain alive and well, to those who go home unhurt! | We know this world is false; God knows its true nature. Let those who know the Qurʾan recite it! Let Him lay no debts on our shoulders, and forgive what's coming to us!"

The dust they saw was getting nearer. Out in front, a figure detached from the mass, riding a horse and pursuing them relentlessly, racing ever nearer. Baatır Šabdan had at his side the great spyglass as well, with its case of yuft and | the dial on its grip. He drew it from his side, and gently taking it out of its case, he quickly sighted in the direction of the Qalmaqs' advance. He raised the great glass to his eyes, and saw for himself distinctly; | he scanned their whole company, sizing them up from end to end: white banners, red standards—with a din from front to rear the numerous Qalmaqs were coming on. In their midst was an enormous giant with a rank-button attached to his cap: he recognized Dörbööl Khan among the Qalmaqs, in the prime of life, of khanly person in every way. | The chap had the look of a khan about him, and his shield, corselet, and weapon all had the look of potency about them. Now he trained the glass on that solitary figure, on the silhouette that was approaching—on the faithless, witless scoundrel. An Infidel, exceptionally large in stature, riding his mule, his feet dragging on the ground, was approaching: | your hero named Manjum. Your hero, Šabdan, speaks: "May God the Creator safeguard the end of this undertaking!"

Qašındağı erlerge
tüyšündürüp aqılın;
eč nemeden xoopu joq.
Kelatat Manjum baatırıŋ
tuusun tigip körünöö;
eerdey qayqı beleske
kele jatqan Qalmaqtar.
Tuunu körüp toqtodu;
bar askerin joqtodu;
qarama-qaršı Qalmaqtar
tuusun tigip ornodu.
Qara qızıl atı bar,
(29ᵛ/30ʳ) erge layıq zatı bar |
jekege čıqtı bir Qalmaq;
balbanġa oqšoš parqı bar.
Bašına kiyip tuulġasın
üstünö kiydi sootun;
čıġıp turdu qarqıbar.
Musulmandar šaŋdanıp
bular da turat qamdanıp.
Ruxsat surap askerden
Bayake turat taptanıp;
din jolunda baš bergen
munday ečen joolordu
ala jürgön ar jerden.
Jönödü—Bakeŋ jönödü
Qarqara-toru atı men!
Üč qulačtay sır nayza
Qalmaqtı közdöy jiberdi;
Qalmaq eerdin qašı dep,
qaq jüröktün bašı dep
ölör jeri Qalmaqtın;
ölčü öpkö tušu dep
qoyup öttü Qalmaqtı;
(30ʳ/30ᵛ) ičegisin čubaltıp |
soyup öttü Qalmaqtı.
Qalmaq attan quladı;
Musulmandar Qudaylap,
qubanışıp turadı.
Qalmaqtın atın jetelep
atının bašın buradı;
qalqtın baarı körödü;
qayra jetip keledi.
Sooġa dedi Andaš Qan;
atın uġan beredi.
Körüp Manjum küülönüp,
ačuu kelip süylönüp
men baram dep ordunan
turdu betbaq süyrölüp.
Manjum čıqtı baqırıp,
joldoštorun čaqırıp,
joo jaraġım keltir dep
askerine aqırıp.
Qara qašqa qačırın
mindi Manjum baatırıŋ;
urušar maydan jerine
keldi betbaq Qapırıŋ. | (30ᵛ/31ʳ)
Körüp Botpay qamdanıp,
ja Alda dep attanıp,
alġır qara bürküttöy
ačuu kelip čamdanıp,
čarayna, qalqan, sootun
kiyip aldı saqtanıp;
jönöp qaldı Botakeŋ
joldoštordon bata alıp.
Botpaydı körüp Manjum Er
bir-birine bet alıp
jaqındaštı eki šer;
qačırışıp eki döö
qoyušup öttü qočqordoy;
üzülüp tüštü nayzası
ökömü teŋ qozġolboy.
Qılıčtı qolġo alışıp,
qıya tartıp salışıp,
čaptırıšpay qılıčtı
qalqan tosup qalışıp,
qılıčtı qınġa salışıp
kümüš saptuu aybalta,
jalqını qarıš čoŋ balta, | (31ʳ/31ᵛ)
jarım buttay qurču bar

His wisdom made the men around him glad; there was nothing to fear. Your hero Manjum is coming on and planting his standard conspicuously; | the Qalmaqs are approaching the mountain spur dipped like a saddle. Seeing the standard, [the heroes] halted and counted the fighters who were present; opposite them, the Qalmaqs had planted their standard and formed up. One Qalmaq with the essence of a warrior about him came out to do single combat on a black-dappled gray horse; he had qualities resembling a strongman. Putting his helmet on his head | and donning his corselet, the splendid fellow took the field. The Muslims were flaunting their grandness and equipping themselves as well.

Asking leave from the fighters, Bayake stood with weapon at the ready; he who led the way on the path of religion had conducted raids on such hosts of enemies in all kinds of places. Bayake set off | with his horse Qarqara-toru! He aimed his three-fathom polished lance at the Qalmaq: reckoning that the crest of the Qalmaq's saddle-bow was right at the crown of his heart—that this was the Qalmaq's mortal spot—reckoning it would be fatal head-on, he ran the Qalmaq through; he sliced through him, tearing out his kidney. | The Qalmaq tumbled from his horse; the Muslims, praising God, are rejoicing. Bayake tethers the Qalmaq's horse and turns back for all to see; he returns to them. Andaš Khan proclaimed the horse a gift from out of the booty; he gives it to Bayake.

At the sight of this, Manjum was in a rage; | fussing as his anger rose, the scoundrel planted his feet where they dragged on the ground, and announced he would go. Manjum rode out bellowing, calling to his comrades, and shouting at the fighters to bring his battle gear. Your hero Manjum rode his black mule with a blaze; | your unbelieving scoundrel came onto the arena of battle. Seeing this, Botpay made ready and mounted his horse, saying "O Allah!" His fury rising, like a rapacious steppe eagle he was about to pounce. He protected himself by putting on his breastplate, shield, and corselet, then your dear Botpay received a blessing from his comrades and rode off straightaway. The warrior Manjum saw Botpay, | and they faced off against each other. The two lions drew near; the two giants, falling on one another, pounded together and past each other like rams, their lances cruelly thrusting, but neither one of them budged. Taking swords in their hands, they set themselves broadside, but their swords could not land any blows, because their shields repelled every one, | so they thrust the swords into their scabbards and with their right hands drew silver-handled battle axes—large axes with blades a span wide, axes with heads half a foot wide,

qar'usta qılġan som balta
oŋdop qolġo alışıp,
oŋtoylošup barışıp,
taq töbönü boljošup,
daŋ dedire sališıp,
uŋġusunan üzülüp,
sabı qoldo qališıp,
teminišip barışıp,
jaqalašıp eki döö
at üstünön ališıp,
ökөönün küčü par bolup,
jürgön jeri čaŋ bolup,
qarap turat eki qol.
Eki döögö taŋ bolup
Er Bayake kep aytat,
"Bul askerdin baštıġı
Baatır Šabdan!" dep aytat;
qısılġan jer de qıybaġan,
qısıltıp qarap turbaġan—
(31ᵛ/32ʳ) šaštırıp qoydu Botpaydı. |
"Uruqsat bergin sen maġan;
uruqsat berseŋ barayın!
Baatırsınġan Manjumdu
öpkögö daldap sayayın!
Ölümgö ortoq joldoštu
ajıratıp alayın!
Emi qarap turbaylı;
attın bašın burbaylı;
asıl joldoš Botpaydı
aŋdabay oqus qılbaylı!"
Šabdan Baatır kep aytat;
jüyösün taap ep aytat
saqtay turġan Botpaydı:
"Jaratqan Alda" dep aytat,
"ant ooboy at jügürböyt;
Jaratqan jalġız Aldadan
Musulman mende tüŋülböyt!
Murun Qalmaq qozġolsun;
anan išiŋ oŋolot."
Qarap turat barča jan;
čıqmaq boldu Dörbööl Qan.
Eki döögö qarabay | (32ʳ/32ᵛ)
ireti joq bul ayban.
Sur arġımaq toqunup,
burqanına čoqunup
mindi atqa šaylanıp;
dobulbašın baylanıp,
altın jaa, sır jebe
aldı qolġo qamdanıp,
soot kiyip üstünö,
čarayna baylap beline,
"Biröөŋ qayra qačpa!" dep
aqıl aytıp eline
askerinen bölünüp
baatırıŋ čıqtı körünöö.
Qalmaqtın qanı čıqqan soŋ
Er Šabdan qarap turabı?
Anday joonu körgöndö
baatırıŋ moyun burabı?
Namaz bešin oqudu;
Sur-qulanı toqudu;
jalpı asker qošunu
mindi atqa Alda dep.
"Atake Baatır qoldo!" dep | (32ᵛ/33ʳ)
"Er Taštanbek, Arġınbay,
qoldoġun ušu jolu!" dep
sıyınġanı bir Quday,
tüp atası čoŋ Tınay,
bul janıbar Sur-qula
jügürgönü qoyondoy—
atqa mindi Er Šabdan,
erdigi ašqan tiri jandan;
aldındağı Sur-qula
anıq tulpar aybandan.
Atqa minip toqtodu;
aq baraŋdı oŋdodu;
oŋdop alıp oq salıp,
Qalmaqtı közdöy bir atıp,
Sur-qulanı čuratıp,
qolundağı sır nayza

forged by blacksmiths from whole ingots—and deftly went at each other, aiming for the crown of the head and landing crashing blows that broke the butts off, | the hafts still in their hands. So the two giants spurred their horses and grabbed each other's collars, pulling each other off their horses—the two were equally matched in strength. The ground where they fought turned to dust as the two hosts watched.

Marveling at the two giants, Er Bayake speaks: "The leader of this host | is Baatır Šabdan!" he says; he pities the pounded earth itself, he will not stand by and watch it be pounded. He bluntly goaded Botpay: "Please give me permission. If you permit it, I'll go! I'll pierce Manjum, who acts the hero, right in the lung! I'll part him from our comrade-unto-death! | Let's not stand by watching now, let's not keep our horses reined in; let's not heedlessly bring disaster on our noble comrade!"

Šabdan Baatır speaks; his reasoning gets to the heart of the matter of defending Botpay: "Allah, Creator!" he says, "It takes a low curse to get a horse to gallop! | A Muslim does not deny the Sole Creator, Allah! Let the Qalmaqs rouse first; then your affair will prosper."

Everyone was looking as Dörbööl Khan made to go forth. Aside from the two giants, here was an extraordinary creature. Saddling his blue roan purebred, prostrating himself to his idol, he equipped himself and mounted up. | He tied on his war drum, and to arm himself took in his hands a golden bow and polished arrows; he donned a corselet and tied a breastplate on his middle, then he addressed a wise word to his people: "Not one of you run away!" Emerging from his ranks, your hero made an eye-catching sally.

Now that the Qalmaq khan has sallied forth, | will Er Šabdan stand and watch? Will your hero turn his neck upon seeing such a foe? He said the midday prayer and saddled Sur-qula, and the fighters all in a company mounted their horses, saying "Allah!"

"Support us, Atake Baatır!" said Šabdan, "Er Taštanbek and Argımbay, please support us this time!" | That which he relied upon was God; his ancestor was the great Tınay; Er Šabdan, excelling in manliness among living men, mounted this creature, Sur-qula, that could run so like a hare —Sur-qula, beneath him, a real *tulpar* among beasts. Once mounted, he halted and put his modern musket in order, | then took it in his right hand, loaded a ball, and fired off one shot at the Qalmaq; then he spurred Sur-qula to a gallop. Lowering the polished lance in his hand

Dörbööldü közdöp uzatıp,
ketip barat zırqırap,
etek, jeŋi dırqırap,
tuyaqtan učqan qara taš
tündük boyu čırqırap.
(33r/33v) Tosup turġan Dörbööl Qan |
adam özünčö mıqtı jan;
altın jaa, sır jebe
aldı qolġo bul ayban.
“Baarıŋ jalpı jaa tart!” dep
jaraq qıldı Qapırġa.
Qıya salıp oŋdonup
jaasın tarttı baatırġa;
jaanın oġu dırıldap
ötüp čıqtı baatırdın
oŋ iyninen zırıldap.
Bayake kelet taqımdap;
alışıp jatqan döölörgö
keldi Bakeŋ jaqındap.
Mizi bolot aybalta
jelkesine Manjumdu
salıp ketti maquldap.
Manjum attan quladı;
nayza alıp Dörbööl Qan
qaršı qarap turadı.
(33v/34r) Jamġırday qılıp jaa tartıp |
jabıla Qalmaq qaptadı;
qalıŋ jaanın oġunan
Bakeŋdi Xuday saqtadı.
Šabdan jetti Dörböölgö;
qačırışıp sayıštı
bir-birin körgöngö;
bütkül Qalmaq jabıldı
Manjum Baatır ölgöngö.
Nayzaları mayışıp,
Dörbööl menen Er Šabdan
ayanıšpay sayışıp,
jüröktö bolot čarayna
nayzanın uču tayışıp,
ayanıšpay qoyušup,
qızıl ala bolušup,
ötüšüp ketip eki qan
qayra tartıp turušup,
qayratı kelip Er Šabdan
nayzanı mıqtap qarmadı.
Aldanın bolup jardamı, | (34r/34v)
kekirtekke boljoldop
jazbay baatır sayġanı.
Čalqasınan ketkende
qılıč menen qaysadı;
qara bolot qolġo alıp
üzö čaptı moyunun.
Emi körgün baatırdın
askerge kirgen oyunun;
urdu emi dobuldu;
bütkül Qalmaq jabıldı.
Joldoštor ne qıldı?
Qaptaġan qalıŋ Qalmaqqa
kirgen eken Bayake;
qarsıldašıp ičinde
jürgön eken Bayake.
Qarakesek, Manapbay
jetken eken bul ököö;
esin jıyıp Er Botpay
bu da kirdi četinen.
Jetimiš jigit köyqašqa | (34v/35r)
bular kirdi artınan.
Aralašıp beš baatır
bir-birine qošuldu;
betindegi Qalmaqtın
qanı suuday juušuldu.
Namaz diger maalında
teŋdep Qalmaq tosuldu;
qolu sınıp qoquylap
turup jatqan mundan köp;
butu sınıp öböktöp
oop jatqan mundan köp;
qılıč tiyip moynuna
qıyrap jatqan andan köp;
aybalta tiyip bašına

at Dörbööl, he raced away, his skirts and sleeves flapping to shreds [in the wind], the rocks thrown up by Sur-qula's hooves whistling up to the height of a yurt's smoke-hole cover.

Dörbööl Khan, who stood to meet him, | was a particularly powerful man; this creature took in his hand the golden bow and polished arrows, and ordered the Infidels to arms, saying, "All of you fire bows together!" Aiming and volleying unsparingly, they shot their bows at the hero; a whizzing arrow from their bows hurtled into the hero's right shoulder and passed through.

| Bayake follows with determination; he draws up close to the giants who are wrestling; with [Botpay's] leave, he swiftly landed a blow on the back of Manjum's head with his steel-tipped battle axe, and Manjum toppled from his horse. Dörbööl Khan takes up a lance and watches from his position opposite; shooting their bows in a mass like rain, | the Qalmaqs flooded [the air with arrows] from all sides, but God kept Bayake safe from the thick bow-fire.

Šabdan reached Dörbööl, and the two fell on each other, exchanging thrusts as soon as they met; all the Qalmaqs moved in a mass toward Manjum Baatır, who had died. Dörbööl and Er Šabdan | exchanged thrusts unsparingly, bending their lances, the tips sliding off the steel breastplates over their hearts. Fearlessly landing their blows, they both became splotched with blood. The two khans now went on past each other, and wheeled around and stood. Er Šabdan's fury came on. Gripping his lance tightly, and, with Allah's help, | aiming for Dörbööl's windpipe, the hero pierced him unerringly. When Dörbööl fell over backward, he hacked him through with a sword; taking the black steel in his hand he chopped his neck in two.

Now see what sport the heroes had penetrating the soldiers' ranks! They beat the war drum, and all the Qalmaqs moved off in a mass. | What did the comrades do? Bayake, it seems, went into the thick press of Qalmaqs; he rode crashing about in their midst, it seems. Qarakesek and Manapbay, these two, arrived, it seems. Er Botpay rallied—this one entered from the side as well. Seventy excellent jigits—| these entered from behind. The five heroes got through the thick of it and joined up with one another. The opposing Qalmaqs' blood sloshed together like water. By the time of afternoon prayers, the Qalmaq force had been smashed down to equal size; but more than these were the ones crying despairingly with broken arms, | and more than these were the ones hunched over with broken legs, and more than those were the ones expiring with sword cuts to the neck, and more than those were the ones moaning with axe wounds to the head, and

ıylap jatqan andan köp;
nayza tiyip öpkögö
ölüp jatqan andan köp;
ölmüš bolup amaldap
körüp jatqan andan köp.
Ayanıšpay beš baatır
qatuu uruš qılıštı;
Qačmaq bolup Qalmaqtar
(35r/35v) tömön közdöy jıyılıštı. |
Qarqara-toru, Sur-qula
šamalday učat dırıldap;
küügüm kire kün bata
qačmaq boldu čurqurap.
Tuu qarmaġan Qalmaqtı
Manapbay sayıp ötkönü;
Qarakesek jetkeni,
tuu tübündö Qalmaqtı
eki baatır bettedi;
Qarakesek Qalmaqtın
tuusun aldı qoluna;
Qalmaq qačtı bet alıp
özünün kelgen joluna.
Jetimiš jigit köyqašqa
tüštü Qalmaqtardın soŋuna.
Tize qošup beš baatır
sayıp barat Qalmaqtı;
atı, tonun oljolop
alıp barat Qalmaqtı;
Qalmaq qačtı qayrılbay;
otuz mergen mıltıqtı
(35v/36r) atıp barat jamġırday. |
Közömöldöp köyqašqa
bir-birinen ayrılbay
tün kirgen soŋ toqtodu;
bar askerin joqtodu.
Adašqanı bar bolso
tüškön jeri boljoluu
boljol jerge barġanı,
bar esebin alġanı.
On biri joq askerden
joq bolup kelbey qalġanı.
Al tünü erler tınč jattı;
bir azdan soŋ taŋ attı;
atqa min dep askerge
jarlıq aytıp oyġottu.
Jalpı atqa miništi;
ölüktörgö kelišti;
aralap jürüp ašıqpay
anıqtap abdan körüštü.
Altoo tirüü tabıldı,
jaraluu bolup qalıptır;
bešöö šeyit boluptur;
munday ülkön urušta | (36r/36v)
ančalıq bolboy nağıptır?
Šeyitterin körüštü;
janazalap kömüštü.
Qalmaqtardın at, tonun
oljo qılıp bölüštü;
jüz at boldu bölgönü;
esebi joq ölgönü.
Jügü menen on qačır
köyqašqalar körgönü;
azıq artqan on qačır
munu da aldı oŋ baatır;
tün tünöösü bir bašqa
al oljosu köp jatır.
Baarın jıyıp alıšıp,
aq joltoy belge barıšıp,
düŋgüröp erler jönödü
emi jolġo salıšıp;
tandalıp čıqqan tobunan,
jıldız tuup oŋunan,
šaraqtap erler jönödü
ketken jılqı soŋunan.
Eki kün tınbay jürüštü; | (36v/37r)
üčünčü kün bolġondo
qaraanın emi körüštü.
Süyünčügö čaptırıp
üč kišini bölüštü.
Üčöö ketti jarıšıp—

more than those were the ones dying with lance thrusts to the lungs, and more than those were the ones trying to appear as if dead.

Not sparing themselves, the five heroes | had battled hard; the Qalmaqs began to flee, and gathered together to head down. Qarqara-toru and Surqula flew like a whistling wind; with sunset coming on and twilight falling, the Qalmaqs cried out as they began to flee. Manapbay ran his lance through the Qalmaq who was holding the standard; Qarakesek rode up, and the two heroes confronted | the Qalmaq at the foot of the standard. Qarakesek took it in his hand, and the Qalmaq turned and ran away by the same road he had come. The seventy excellent jigits fell in behind the Qalmaqs; the five heroes went along knee to knee, spearing them; | taking their horses and stripping their clothing, they went along plundering them; the Qalmaqs fled without turning around, and the thirty marksmen went along firing [volleys from] their guns like rain. The excellent ones kept an eye out so as not to become separated from each other; after sunset they halted, and counted the fighters who were present. For any that were found to have strayed, they went to the area | where they guessed they were last seen, and so they tallied up those present. Out of their eleven missing fighters, none yet came.

That night, the warriors slept peacefully. After a little while the sun came up, and the fighers were awakened by the command to mount their horses. They all mounted in a company | and went back to the corpses, and, walking unhurriedly among them, they thoroughly made sure they identified everyone. Six were found alive; they were wounded and had remained behind. Five had been martyred. Could there have been any fewer in such a great battle? They found their martyrs, recited the funeral prayers, and buried them.

They divided up | the horses and clothing of the Qalmaqs as spoils. The horses they divided up amounted to a hundred; an untold number had died. Then the excellent ones saw ten mules with the Qalmaqs' baggage, loaded with provisions. The worthy heroes took these as well. In yet another spot the Qalmaqs had spent the night, and they found much booty there. | They took it all and collected it, and, going back to the pass where they had had their success, the warriors now set off on the road with a roar; the warriors who had been picked out from the crowd, whose stars had risen auspiciously, set off in a tumult on the trail of the horses that had gone ahead.

They rode for two days without resting, and now, on the third day, | they saw the distant outline of the herd. They detached three men and sent them to ride on the gift-for-good-news errand. The three took off, jostling—

oŋoy külük mingeni—
tizginge qolu qarıšıp,
süyünčü dep erlerge
salıp jetip barıšıp,
süyünüšüp otuz er
aq boz bee čalıšıp,
etin abdan bıšırıp,
süyüngöndön Qudaylap
aldınan tosup barıšıp
baatırlardı körüštü.
Eki közdön jaš ağıp,
ıylap salam berišip,
attan tüšüp kelišip,
qučaqtašıp körüšüp,
(37r/37v) baarı birdey quvanıp, |
eki-ekiden bölüšüp,
atqa mindi ayrılıp,
beš ölgöngö qayġırıp,
qalġanı aman qošulup,
köŋüldörün jay qılıp,
jılqıġa baarı kelgeni,
aman esen körgönü.
Qazı-qarta, jayanı
baatırlarġa bergeni;
nečen künü ač jürgön
tamaqtı abdan jegeni;
Qudayġa šükür degeni.
Tamaqtanıp toyušup,
al jerge erüü bolušup,
Qalmaqtın bilip kelbesin
jatıp qaldı qonušup.
Taŋ atqan soŋ jönödü;
ar iške banda könödü.
Segiz künü jol jürüp
(37v/38r) Jıldızġa qaytıp keledi; |
jürüp kelet erleriŋ.
Jolu bolġon šerleriŋ
toqtotup salıp jılqını
ošondo češti belderin.
Jıldız degen tegiz say
baš-ayağı malġa jay;
jatıp qaldı köyqašqa
tilegin berip bir Quday.
Eki kün örüü bolušup
jatıp qaldı oŋušup.
Qoš bašına bir taydan
tandap qarmap soyušup,
qarool qoyup baatırlar
aldı-artın čališıp,
es aldırıp askerdi
eki künü jatqırıp,
Balbayġa jigit jiberip,
süyünčügö čaptırıp,
emi erler jönödü.
Tekeske kirip keledi; | (38r/38v)
Süyünčü barġan azamat
Balbayġa qabar beredi.
Balbay uġup qubanıp,
aqsarbašıl mal čalıp
uqqan soŋ čıdap turalbay
tosup čıqtı qamdanıp,
birin-biri körüšüp,
jaqındašıp kelišip,
qučaqtašıp ıylašıp,
qorġušunday erišip
emi Balbay baštadı;
jılqını artqa taštadı;
baatırlardı eerčitip,
kötörgön üygö tüšürüp
bašına mamıq jastadı.
Tüštügünö tay soyup,
samoorun üzböy čay qoyup
qımızdı čayqap čanačqa
baarın jayıp taštadı.
(38v/39r) Ačıqqan asker qup toyup, |
qonoqtu kütüp jatqırıp,
jaqšı sıylap baqtırıp,
bir jigitin Er Balbay
Qan Jantayġa čaptırıp
parasatın körödü.

their mounts were cunning racers—their hands were clamped on the reins as they rode on, calling, "A gift-for-good-news!" to the warriors as they caught up with them. The thirty warriors rejoiced, slaughtered a light-gray mare, | and cooked the meat well done; shouting to God in their joy, they 1510 went out to meet the heroes and welcome them. Tears flowed from eyes on both sides; they wept and saluted one another, got down from their horses and embraced in greeting, everyone alike happy. They had divided into two groups | and ridden on separate paths; they mourned the five who had died, 1520 but the rest, reuniting safely, calmed their hearts. Then they all came to the horses and saw them safe. The heroes were given cuts of flank, rectum, and rump-meat; having gone hungry for several days, they ate every morsel of food | and gave thanks to God. Having filled their bellies with food, they grew 1530 merry in that place, and camped for the night, realizing that the Qalmaqs weren't coming.

After sunrise they moved on. The band performs every task willingly; traveling for eight days, your warriors ride and return to Jıldız. | Your jour- 1540 neying lions halted the horses and there took their ease. Both of the rivers called Jıldız were a fit place for cattle from sources to mouth; the One God granted the excellent ones their wish, and they stopped there. They rested and recovered, making it their stopping place for two days. The heroes | 1550 picked, caught, and slaughtered a yearling foal for each of the leaders of the company, and placed guards to scout front and rear, and they had the fighters stay and rest for two days. Then the warriors moved on, and sent a jigit ahead, telling him to ride on the gift-for-good-news errand to Balbay. He enters the Tekes valley; the fine fellow on his gift-for-good-news errand | 1560 announces the news to Balbay. Hearing this, Balbay rejoiced and slaughtered a sacrificial beast, but couldn't stand to wait after getting the news, so he made ready and went out to receive them.

They saw one another as they drew closer, and they shouted out and embraced, and melted like fusing lead in their delight. Now Balbay led the way, | leaving the herds of horses behind. He conducted the heroes and 1570 installed them in the yurts he had had erected, laying their heads to rest on down pillows. For their lunch he slaughtered a yearling foal, had the samovars continually brew tea, churned kumiss in smoked goatskins, and spread it all out for them, and the famished fighters ate well until they were full. Having waited on the guests and put them to bed, | he had them looked 1580 after with great favor. Then Er Balbay sent one jigit to ride to Khan Jantay. [In all this] the heroes could see his sagacity.

Oljosun Balbay bolodu;
Balbayġa berip jüz jılqı
emi erler jönödü.
Tınıstam baštıq onuna
jüz jılqı berdi tobuna;
elüü jılqı berišti
suġatčı bašqa Buġuġa;
qırq jılqı artıq berišti
Qalmaqtan ölgön qununa;
segiz yüz jılqı, on qačır
jönödü aydap oŋ baatır.
Tekes menen Čüydün ortosu
bir šıpıra jol jatır;
bet alıp jürdü eline
(39r/39v) eki Kemin jerine |
üč künü tınbay jol jürüp
keldi Tekes beline;
Qaraqoldun janınan
ašıp tüštü kölünö.
Ïsıq-köldü jaqalap
Tor'-ayġırġa kelišti;
Sar'-qamıštı baqalap
Kötmaldıġa kelišti.
Oljolorun bölüštü;
aldınan tosqon Tınaylar
ošo jerde körüštü.
Kiši bašı bir jılqı
kelgenine berišti;
bir jüz jılqı čıġardı,
Qan Jantayġa ıyġardı.
Čaap kelip Qalmaqtı
tarqattı erler qumardı.
Aydap kel dep jılqını
bölünüp erler jönödü.
Bešimde jetip keledi; | (39v/40r)
Jantay Baatır aldına
kelip salam beredi.
Alda tilek bergen soŋ,
aman-esen körgön soŋ
köp mal soyup toy qıldı.
Baldarı aman kelgen soŋ
köyqašqalar taradı;
üylörünö baradı.
Čaap kelip Qalmaqtı
jırġap jatıp qaladı.
Tamam qılıp qoyoyun
beš baatır qısasın.
Adıl bolsoŋ jigitter
aqırında uzaysıŋ;
kontur bolsoŋ balalar
xalq arasın buzasıŋ.
Ešitkeniŋ munu, aġayın,
jašasın dep duba qıl!
—Küntuuġandın Musası

They give Balbay a hundred horses, and he accepts this booty. And now the warriors departed. They gave a hundred horses to the group of ten led by Tınıstam; fifty horses they gave | to some other Buġu who tilled the soil; forty more horses they left as blood-payment for the Qalmaqs' dead. The worthy heroes set off driving eight hundred horses and ten mules.

Between the Tekes and the Ču lies one road only. They turned toward their home, to the land of the two Kemin rivers, and, traveling for three days without resting, | they came to the Tekes pass, crossed it, and descended to the lake on the end by Qaraqol. Following the shore of Issyk Kul, they came to Torʾ-ayġır; then, sticking to Sarı-qamıš, they came to Kötmaldı. They divided their booty, and there they saw the Tınay who were coming ahead to receive them. | One horse to each man they gave for coming, and they drove out a hundred horses and commended them to Khan Jantay. The warriors had satisfied their urge by plundering the Qalmaqs; with a cry of "Move those horses along!" the warriors [got ready to] go off their separate ways. At midday | they arrived in Jantay Baatır's presence and greeted him. Now that Allah had granted their wish, and they had arrived safe and sound, they slaughtered a number of animals, and had a feast. Now that the boys had come back safe, the excellent ones disbanded and went to their homes. Having plundered the Qalmaqs, they were submerged in bliss.

Let me make an end | of this story of the five heroes. If you are upright jigits, you will prosper in the end; if you are contrary boys, you will spoil relations between peoples. Friends, pray that what you have heard here will live on!

—Musa, descendant of Küntuuġan

[II.]

(40r/40v) Bul bütkön soŋ qoyboyun; |
azġına kepke toyboyun!
Aytılbay ketip baratat
baatırları Qırġızdın;
namısımdan tırıštım.
Qazaq, Noġoy, baarı bar;
Qırġızdan qısa körbödüm.
Baarın jazġan Orustun
bilgenimče jazayın—
ar qaysı baatır urušun.
Noġoy eken Manasıŋ;
Qırġızdın jeri Talasıŋ!
Öz baatırıŋ aytalbay
munu da ırdap qalasıŋ!
Manastan Šabdan kem emes;
Šabdandan Manas er emes;
Bayakege Almambet
anıq jeri teŋ emes!
Kenensarı Qazaġıŋ
(40v/41r) baarın tegiz yazamın; |
Qan Ormonum čoŋ tursa,
munu qantip taštaymın?
Beket menen Qoblandı
baarın Qazaq qolġo aldı;
qısa, kitep qılıšıp
qoyġon eken ar jandı.
Törökeldi Baatırım—
munu da oylop jatırmın;
Tökөŋdün ököö kem emes;
körörsüŋ munun aqırın.
Sanbaraqtı sayġanı,
Orġočordun qızıl tuu,
Atake Baatır barġanı,
Qabanbayġa dos bolup
aq baš atan alġanı,
Arġınbay menen Taštanbek—
aytılbay munuŋ qalġanı.
Ïrčıları Qırġızdın
aqılı joq naadanı! | (41r/41v)
Čarbalarġa bee kerek;
köčmön elge töö kerek;
öz baatırım bolġon soŋ
bašqa baatır ne kerek?
Özüm Moldo Musamın;
qanat jazbay sızamın;
Murunqu bizdin ırčılar
aytpaġanġa ızamın.
Arabayef qurdašım
bul qısanı tıŋdasın!
Jayıltıŋız Qırġızġa!
Manastay qılıp ırdasın!
Süt-ičerof Moldosuŋ;
azır jaqšı joldosuŋ.
Basma qılıp čıġarsaŋ,
ökümöt seni qoldosun!
Baydaluu bolso jazayın;
zıyanduu bolso qačayın.
Aqındıq önör bolġon soŋ
jazbay qantip basayın? | (41v/42r)

[II.]

[INFACE]

[The following poem commences without a break or heading in the ms.:]

I'll not stop after this is finished; I'll not be satisfied with only a few words! The heroes of the Kirghiz aren't talked about and are being forgotten, but I've tried to duck the shame of this. There are tales written of the Qazaqs and Noġay and all of them, but I have never seen one about the Kirghiz. I'll write down everything that the Russians have written about, | every sort of fight between heroes, as far as I know.

Your Manas was a Noġay, they say, but your Talas is the land of the Kirghiz! [If you are] unable to speak about your own heroes, you will stop singing their songs too! Šabdan is no less than Manas, Manas was no greater man than Šabdan; and Almambet, it is perfectly plain, was no match for Bayake!

| I'll write down everything about Kenesarı, your Qazaq: if my Khan Ormon ranked as a grandee, how can I ignore Kenesarı? Beket and Qoblandı got all the Qazaqs up in arms; every one of them, it seems, has been written about in tales and books. I'm thinking of my hero Törökeldi as well; he [Ormon] and Törökeldi are no less [than these]; | you will see in the end. The slaying of Sanbaraq with a lance—Orġočor's red standard—how Atake Baatır went and befriended Qabanbay, and took his pale-headed camel gelding—Argımbay, Taštanbek—these stories aren't told anymore. Kirghiz singers are stupid know-nothings! | Herds need mares; a nomadic people needs camels; since I have my own [Kirghiz] heroes, what other heroes do I need?

I am Mulla Musa; I soar without unfurling wings. What our singers of old have not sung—I am their reproach! Let Arabayev, my peer, edit this tale! | Publish it among the Kirghiz! Let him sing it like Manas! You are Mullah Milk-Drinker; you are on a good course now. If you print and publish it, may the state support you! As for what's useful, I'll write it down; as for what's harmful, I'll flee from it! Since I have the gift of poetry, how can I go on without writing?

[III.]

(42ʳ) KENENṢARININ QIṢṢASI

Bir qısanı baštayın;
bilgenim qata jazbayın.
Abılay Xandın baldarı
asılġan bizge ar dayım.
Abılaydın balası
buzuqtuġun qarači!
Qırġızdan tuqum qoyboym dep
buzulġan eken sanaası;
čıqqan eken Kenen Xan.
Uqqan munu qanča jan:
Busulmandı köp joolop
ketken oqšoyt bey ıman.
Arqa degen jerinen,
Arġın, Nayman elinen,
askerin jıyıp Kenen Xan
qolu jetken čeninen,
Qırġızdı čaap almaqqa,
anıq qırġın salmaqqa,
malı, mülkün, jesirin
(42ʳ/42ᵛ) oljo qılıp qalmaqqa |
miŋ jarımday qol menen
Qordoy ašqan jol menen
bet alıp čıqqan Qırġızġa.
Niyeti buzuq bul Kenen
Qordoydon arqı belinen,
jek-jaat Qazaq elinen
Qanaydın uulu Tınaalı
qarmadı Qazaq jerinen.
Kenensarı qarmadı;
Tınaalını bayladı;
Qırġızdı taap bergin dep
aldına salıp aydadı.
Qazaqtı baštap Tınaalı
bilbedi Tıkeŋ qıların,
Qara-suuġa kepteltip
Qazaqtardı qırarın.
Jatqan eken öŋ Tınay
Qara-suunun jeeginde;
Tınaylardın bir četi
Keŋeti, Šamšı čeninde;
Jeti Qašqa Bölökbay
Ïsıq-ata jerinde. | (42ᵛ/43ʳ)
Kelatıp joldo kün battı;
köp askerler tün qattı.
Čoŋ suuġa jetip kelgende
Qazaqqa Tıkeŋ söz ayttı:
“Maŋdayda čıqqan qalıŋ ot
Jantaydın eli šol.—dedi—
Bul azırqı Qırġızda
Tınaydın malı mol.—dedi—
Abılaylap at qoysoŋ
ušundan arı jol.—dedi—
Ošo jerden kečesiŋ;
öyüzgö kečip ötösüŋ;
Abılaylap at qoysoŋ
ayılġa azır jetesiŋ.”
Tınaalı qıldı quuluqtu,
Qazaqtı Quday uruptu;
Mıqandın Qara-suusuna
qırılsın dep turuptu.
Qazaqtar kečip ötkönü
arıq özünö jetkeni;
artında qalıp Tınaalı
araldı közdöy eptedi. | (43ʳ/43ᵛ)
At quyruġun süyüšüp,

[III.]

THE STORY OF KENESARI

Let me begin the tale; let me write what I know without errors. Ablay Khan's descendants always harassed us. Just look at the evil done by Ablay's descendant! Kenen Khan's mind turned evil, and he came out scheming to eradicate the Kirghiz. | No few have heard of this. He antagonized the Muslims so badly that he quite resembled an Infidel. Kenen Khan assembled his troops from the place called [Sarı] Arqa—from the Arġın and Nayman peoples—from every place he could. Then he set off toward the Kirghiz by way of Qurday pass with an army of about fifteen hundred, to plunder the Kirghiz, to wreak formidable slaughter upon them, | and to carry off as booty their livestock, their goods, and their orphans.

With evil intent this Kenen came from the far side of Qurday pass, from the land of our marriage relations the Qazaqs, and laid hold of Tınaalı son of Qanay in Qazaq territory. Kenesarı seized | and bound Tınaalı, and drove him out in front, commanding him to find the Kirghiz for them. As he led the Qazaqs along, your Tınaalı could think of no plan to annihilate them [but to] squeeze them up against the Qara-suu creek. The Tınay [Sarıbaġıš], it seems, were thickly encamped along the banks of the Qara-suu, with one end | towards the Kegeti and Šamšı rivers; and the Jeti Qašqa of the Bölökbay [Solto] were by the Ïsıq-ata.

The sun had set along the way, and the whole host came on under cover of night. When they reached the main [Ču] river, Tınaalı addressed the Qazaqs: "Those teeming fires burning across the river are Jantay's people. Among the Kirghiz now these | Tınay are the wealthiest. Your maneuver from this point should be to spur your horses and shout 'Ablay'. You can ford at that place and cross over to the other side; spur your horses and shout 'Ablay', and you will soon be at their camp." Tınaalı had tricked them, and God punished the Qazaqs—| decreed their annihilation on the Qara-suu at Mıqan. The way the Qazaqs made their crossing brought them right into the channel [of the Qara-suu]; but Tınaalı stayed behind and managed to make for the island.

attarına minišip,
Abılaylap at qoyup,
bet-betinen kirišip,
čurqurap uran tartışıp
Abılayġa süyündü.
Qaraŋġıda kör'albay
Qara-suuġa tıġıldı;
atının oozun tartalbay
qanča Qazaq qırıldı.
"Oyboy!" jaki "Öldüm!" dep
tıġılıp jatqan mundan köp;
qamıštın iči Qara-suu
jıġılıp jatqan andan köp;
suuġa tüšüp čulpuldap
qırılıp jatqan mundan köp.
Dalay Qazaq qırıldı.
Qalġandarı jıyıldı,
bizdi Quday urdu dep.
(43ᵛ/44ʳ) Käri arbaqqa süyündü; |
Qazaqtı Tıkeŋ eptedi;
Qara-suuġa kepteltip
qačıp özü ketkeni.
Qalpaqtın ayıl četine
qalıŋ Qazaq bettedi.
Qazaqtı körüp Er Qalpaq
mıltıqtarın oqtottu;
Qazaq menen atışıp
taŋ atqanča toqtottu.
Jaŋġız ayıl qarmašıp,
taŋ atqanča čaynašıp—
qalıŋ Qazaq qoyuubu?!—
taŋ atqanda Qalpaqtı
qoyġon eken jaylašıp.
Qalpaqtın oġu tosulup,
Qazaqtın baarı qošulup
alqımdı közdöy bet aldı.
Emi Qazaq sozulup,
Nooruzbay Törö baš bolup
(44ʳ/44ᵛ) Ïsıq-ata boylodu; |
Bölökbaydın erler men
sayıšuuġa oylodu;
Erjan Törö baš bolup
Keŋetini bettedi,
köp Tınaydı čettedi;
üč jüz čamal Qazaqtar
Šamšını közdöy ketkeni.
Qırġızġa čabuul salġalı—
sözümdün joq jalġanı—
qoymoču bolup Kenen Xan
šol aralda qalġanı.
Bölökbaydın qol bašı,
aytuuluu Jeti Qašqası
körgön adam qorqqondoy,
urušunun bašqası.
Jamanqara, Kürpük tö
qayra sayıp Qazaqtı.
Qarıšqırday ürküttü;
Jamanqara qayran er
üstünö kiyim kiybegen,
etine nayza tiybegen,
urušqa üč jüz Qazaqtı
üč kišidey bilbegen! | (44ᵛ/45ʳ)
Čıŋġıštın Jeti Qašqası,
sayısının bašqası,
biri jüzgö tatıġan,
ar birinin baš-bašı.
Kegetinin oozuna
Tülööqabıl, Ormonbek
kezikti Qazaq joosuna.
Aldınan tosup barışıp,
ayanışpay salışıp,
aralap kirip Qazaqtı
arġıta sayıp alışıp,
jandı ayanbay qarmašıp,
čettegenin jaylašıp
qayra sayıp Qazaqtı—
Quup kirdi aydašıp!
Emi qulaq salıŋız:
Tököndön qabar alıŋız;
Qızıl-suu, Šamši bettegen

Tying up their horses' tails, mounting up, shouting "Ablay!", plunging in helter-skelter—| they exulted in their loud war-cry of "Ablay." But they were unable to see in the dark, and got stuck in the Qara-suu. So many Qazaqs were killed as they lost control of their horses! And even more than these were the ones that got bogged down, shouting "Ah! Oh!" or "I'm dying!"—and even more than those were the ones who fell down amid the reeds of the Qara-suu, | and even more than those were the ones who were killed sloshing around where they fell in the water. Many Qazaqs were killed. The rest bunched together, afraid that God was punishing them. The old ones [among the Kirghiz] are well pleased with the arbaq: your Tınaalı tricked the Qazaqs, squeezed them into the Qara-suu, and got himself away.

Now the numerous Qazaqs made for the edge of Qalpaq's encampment. | Seeing them, Er Qalpaq ordered his men to load their guns, and they exchanged fire until, with dawn coming, the Qazaqs put an end to it. They were the only camp to engage the enemy, and they battled till dawn—but what a thick mass of Qazaqs there were! So, as dawn broke, Qalpaq [and his men] could be seen lying dead.

With the firing having ceased from Qalpaq's camp, | the Qazaqs all came together and set off for the foot of the mountains. As the Qazaq host began to stretch out in length as they rode, Nooruzbay Törö took the lead, and ranged along the Ïsıq-ata; he was planning for lance-combat with the men of the Bölökbay. Erjan Törö also led a party toward the Kegeti, skirting the numerous Tınay. | Another three hundred or so Qazaqs set off for the Šamšı, to make raids on the Kirghiz—not a word I say is a lie!—and Kenen Khan stayed back on the island to stand guard.

At the head of the Bölökbay forces were the famous Jeti Qašqa. Doubtless one who beheld them would be fearful, for they were exceptional fighters. | Jamanqara, and Kürpük too, struck back at the Qazaqs with lances; like wolves they stampeded them. Poor, dear Jamanqara, though he was not even dressed, avoided every lance-thrust to his person, and fought three hundred Qazaqs as if they were three—for Čıŋġıš's Jeti Qašqa were exceptional lancers, each and every | one of them matching a hundred foes.

Tülööqabıl and Ormonbek engaged the Qazaq enemies at the mouth of the Kegeti. They fought fiercely, cutting off the Qazaqs' advance and driving in among them, sending them careening with their lance-thrusts in a desperate brawl. | Then they felled the stragglers, made another lance-charge, and pursued them until the Qazaqs were driven off.

Now lend an ear and hear about Törökeldi; come along with the Qazaqs who attacked Qızıl-suu and Šamšı.

Qazaqqa taman barıŋız.
Aq qızıl at aldında,
(45r/45v) Ayuke Maytıq janında, |
özü tırday jılaŋač,
Aq-bolotu sanında,
Ay-telkidey barqıldap,
topqo kirse aralap,
Aq-bolot qalat jarqıldap!
Qılıč tiygen Qazaqtar
jıġılıp tüšöt šalqıldap.
Aq jooluqmen baš buuġan,
mingen atı Aq-buudan,
arqırap učat šamalday!
Aldına qaršı kim turġan,
aldına Qazaq turalbay,
arqaġa moynun buralbay,
oyboylop Qazaq jönödü
Tökөŋdün ızġarına čıdalbay.
Ayqırığı Tökөŋdün
at čabım jerge uġulat;
ačuulanıp qıyqırsa,
altı Qazaq jıġılat!
Aylası ketip qačqanı,
(45v/46r) Kenen Xanġa tıġılat. |
Čettep čıġıp sayıšıp,
qızıl ala bolušup,
Jantay menen Kenen Xan
jatqan eken turušup.
Alqımġa barġan Qazaqtı
aydap keldi üč baatır;
bir talayın Qazaqtın
jaylap keldi üč baatır;
Qızıl ala qan qılıp,
Qazaqtın bašın maŋ qılıp,
qamap kirdi üč baatır,
jerdin üstün čaŋ qılıp.
Qırġızdar endi quraldı;
qıyqırıšıp uraandı
qıyrašıp kelet üč baatır!
Körgön Qırġız qubandı,
alqımdan aydap Qazaqtı,
Qazaqqa salıp asaptı.
Jantay eldi čoġultup,
jıyıp kelet jasaqtı; | (46r/46v)
Jıyılġan elge qarabay,
ačuuları tarabay,
aldındağı Qazaqtı
kiši eken dep sanabay,
Törökeldi aqırıp,
öz atın aytıp čaqırıp
Jamanqara kelatat.
Anda-sanda baqırıp,
aralap kirdi üč baatır;
astın-üstün sapırıp
ayqaylatıp baatırlar
aralaštı köp čuuġa,
čurquratıp Qazaqtı.
Aydap kirdi čoŋ suuġa.
Könüüsü jooġo Qırġızġa
qatılġan Qazaq qurusun!
Maalım qılıp qoyoyun
baatırlardın uruusun! | (46v/47r)
Jamanqara Bölökbay,
Tülööqabıl Er Tınay
ülkön suuda kez boldu
Kenensarı, Nooruzbay;
Törökeldi qošulġan;
qanı suuday juulušqan.
Üč baatırdın urušu
teŋdelep Qazaq tosulġan.
Nayza qılıp qanıŋdı
burun Qazaq čaptı, jayıldı;
üč baatırġa kez bolup
čürökkö nayza sayıldı.
Kümbözün buzup Qanaydı
Qazakeŋ qıldı dalaydı:
booz qatın jarıšıp
quurtam dep sanaydı.
Qazaq özü quruġan!
Tay qašqadan utulġan;

Astride his light-gray horse, with Maytıq of the Ayuke at his side, himself stark naked, | with Aq-bolot in its sheath, shouting "Ay-telki!"—he pierced their ranks and got in their midst. And then Aq-bolot gave off a dazzling flash! The Qazaqs who were struck by that blade tottered and fell to the ground. With a white scarf around his head, astride Aq-buudan, he swept and roiled like the wind! Who could stand up against him? | The Qazaqs could not stand before him, nor could they get away to the north. Unable to bear Tökö's [battering like an] icy blast, they retreated amid cries of woe. Tökö's yelling could be heard to the distance of a horse-race course; each of his enraged shouts felled six Qazaqs! Their options gone, they fled, and barely got back to Kenen Khan.

Jantay and Kenen Khan, meanwhile, | had gone off to the side of the fray and were getting splotched with red in an exchange of lance-thrusts. The three heroes drove along the Qazaqs who had ridden toward the foot of the mountains, and felled a great many of them; they unnerved | and surrounded them while giving them a spattering with blood, turning the soil to dust beneath their feet. The Kirghiz now drew together. The three heroes continued battling as they shouted their war-cries, and the Kirghiz who saw them were rejoicing that they had driven the Qazaqs away from the foot of the mountains and given them a sore beating. Jantay marshaled the people and was forming them up into troops. Meanwhile, Törökeldi and Jamanqara, their rage unabated, went on | heedless of the formations and of the Qazaqs before them, heedless even that the Qazaqs were human, yelling and calling out their own names as war-cries. Then, with loud bellows rising from them here and there, the three heroes again set about among the Qazaqs and flung them head over heels; | the heroes penetrated the tumultuous Qazaqs and set them howling and wailing! They drove them right into the big river.

To hell with those bullying Qazaqs who attacked the warlike Kirghiz! I'll set the record straight on the mauling those heroes gave them. Jamanqara of the Bölökbay and Tülööqabıl Er of the Tınay | ran into Kenesarı and Nooruzbay in the middle of the great river; they were joined by Törökeldi, and the two sides made each other's blood flow like water. The Qazaqs had been stopped by the equal strength of the three heroes.

In the past, the Qazaqs took up lances, attacked your khan, and expanded their realm; but when they ran into the three heroes, they took a lance to the heart! Your dear Qazaqs | had defiled Qanay's tomb, and committed many atrocities; they carved up pregnant women as if for roasting. The Qazaqs doomed themselves! They were beaten by their worthy marriage relations,

üč jılaŋač urušu
(47r/47v) aytılıp qalġan buruntan. |
Kenensarı, Nooruzbay
Musulmanġa bolušpay,
Qırġızġa adep kelgende
qırılġan eken oŋušpay!
Jamanqara jılaŋač
ayaġınan kiriptir;
Tülööqabıl jılaŋač
ortosunan tiyiptir;
Törökeldi jılaŋač
bašınan qırıp jürüptür;
üč jılaŋač uruštu,
Qazaqtı jaman qırıštı!
Bešinden diger bolġončo
balqalašıp čiġıštı;
qačtı Qazaq čıdabay
baatırlardın sarpınan;
baatırlar tüštü Qazaqtın
(47v/48r) qačqandan soŋ artınan. |
Üč jılaŋač urušu
beš jüz čamal Qazaqtı
bee saamında qırıštı!
Bešimden diger bolġončo
talqalašıp čıġıštı;
čıdabay Qazaq buzuldu.
Bir nečesi tutuldu;
Kenensarı, Nooruzbay
özdörü qačıp qutuldu.
Qačıp barıp es alıp,
Arġındarġa kep salıp
dağı kelgen Qırġızġa.
Qazaqtan qalıŋ qol alıp,
qozġolup čıqqan ordodon.
Qırġızdı jaman qordoġon;
Qırġızdan tuqum qoyboym
dep
mas bolġon törö boljoġon.
Erjan Törö, Nooruzbay
(48r/48v) baatır kelgen Qırġızġa; |

kögön jibin baylanıp
qatını kelgen Qırġızġa;
oljo alam dep köp Qazaq
saatıŋ kelgen Qırġızġa.
Bir neče Qazaq kelgeni,
törölördün ölgönü!
Köp urušpay qačırġan
Ormon Qandın kerneyi;
qorqo turup kerneyden
Qırġızġa Qazaq ne kelgen?!
Sereŋ degen törönü
jazasın Qırġız köp bergen;
Jantay Baatır jandaġan;
nayzaların qandaġan.
Döökörsüp kelgen törönü
oŋoy Tınay qarmaġan,
ayılġa qarmap keltirgen,
abiyirin jaman ketirgen.
Törölördü bir-birden
oŋoy qatın öltürgön. | (48v/49r)
Özünö payda qılġan joq
törölördün jiligi!
Tekeldirik-seŋirge
jıyılıp qaldı ölügü.
Kögön alġan qatındar
Qırġızġa qaldı küyöögö;
ölüktörün it jegen;
Qırġızdı nege jektegen?
Šol ölüktün ubalı
törögö bolboy kimge eken?
Ajal jetse ölösüŋ;
ölbösöŋ baarın körösüŋ;
qısa, kitep qılıptır
qatından ölgön törösün.
Baarın, bütün jazbadım
bul Qazaqtın urušun;
azıraq boljop körsöttüm
bul uruštun turušun.
Busulmandı jooloġon
ošondoy törö qurusun! | (49r/49v)

the three naked heroes, whose fighting we have heard of from olden times. Kenesarı and Nooruzbay, in discord with the Muslims, failed and wound up slaughtered | the moment they encroached on the Kirghiz. Jamanqara, naked, broke in upon them on the west; Tülööqabıl, naked, struck them in the middle; Törökeldi, naked, slaughtered them in the east. The three of them, fighting naked, annihilated the Qazaqs! | By the time of afternoon prayers, they had utterly pounded them, and the Qazaqs ran away, unable to bear the heroes' blows; so they set out in hot pursuit of the fleeing Qazaqs. The three heroes, fighting naked, slaughtered five hundred Qazaqs, give or take, in the time it takes to milk a mare! By the time of afternoon prayers, | they had utterly pulverized them, and the Qazaqs, at the end of their endurance, were routed.

Many were captured; Kenesarı and Nooruzbay saved themselves by retreating. Having run away, they took their ease, and after deliberations with the Arğın they returned yet again to the Kirghiz; leading a large army they had marshaled among the Qazaqs, they marched out from the khan's headquarters. The prince | acted with wretched perfidy; [senseless as] a drunken man, he plotted to eradicate the Kirghiz. The heroes Erjan Törö and Nooruzbay returned. Their women came as well, to mind the lambs on their tethers, and many Qazaqs came expecting to take away booty—what a nuisance you brought on the Kirghiz! Many were the invading Qazaqs, | and the princes died in numbers proportional to them. Ormon Khan's trumpets dispersed a number of them early in the fight: what business did the Qazaqs have attacking the Kirghiz if they were frightened by trumpets?! The prince named Sereŋ got a harsh punishment from the Kirghiz when Jantay Baatır got in close and bloodied his lance on him. | The Tınay easily captured those princes who invaded with airs of bravery, brought them under restraint to their camp, and cruelly disgraced them: the women killed them, at their ease, one by one. The princes' marrow-bones availed them nothing! Their corpses ended up together on the hill Tekeldirik. The women they had brought along to tend the lambs | fell to the Kirghiz in marriage, and dogs ate the [men's] corpses. Why ever did they show contempt for the Kirghiz? Who, but the princes, is responsible for that [mistreatment of the] corpses?

If death comes, you die, and if you don't die, you see everything; they've even made stories and books about the [Qazaqs'] princes who died at the hands of women. I have not written it all down in its entirety, | this war with the Qazaqs; I described only a bit of how this war was fought. To hell with such a prince who opposes the Muslims!

[IV.]

(49ᵛ) Qırġızdan čıqqan erlerin,
uruš qılġan jerlerin
jazsam jönü kelerbi?
Balalar, munu teŋšergin:
Sarıbağıš, Sayaq uruudan,
Solto menen Buġudan
sayıp quran erlerdi
qarıyalardan uġuudan—
mandat berse joluma,
qarajat berse qoluma—
Qırġızdan čıqqan erlerdi
keltirer Musa oŋuna!
Salsa Quday oŋuna,
qalam alsam qoluma,
kirsek qantet, balalar,
adabiyat joluna?
Ruxsat berseŋ, balalar,
Musa özün čamalar.
Erlerdi bilip jazbasam,
aqırette jaqalar. | (49ᵛ/50ʳ)
Qırġızdan eč kim er emes
jazbay qoyuš kep emes!
Qazaq, Türkmen, Noġoy, Sart
erdikke bizge teŋ emes!
Erdigibizge dalil bar:
sayıštı körgön baarıŋ bar.
Četinen čıġat Qırġızdın;
Qazaqtan čıqpayt qarqıbar.
Eŋišti Qazaq sayıš deyt;
ortosunda parqı bar.

[IV.]

[POSTFACE]

[The following poem continues without a break or heading in the ms.:]

Is there any point if I write about the warriors from among the Kirghiz and the places they fought? Mark my words, children: if I am given a mandate in this pursuit, | and the means are put at my disposal, [I,] Musa will vindicate the lords of the Qurʾan among the Sarıbaġıš and Sayaq tribe, among the Solto and Buġu, whom we have heard about from the old men—the warriors who have sprung from the Kirghiz! How shall it be, children, if God vindicates them—if I take pen in hand, if we embark on the path of literature? Allow me, please, children, and [I,] Musa will estimate myself. If I know of these heroes but do not write about them, | I shall be collared on Judgment Day.

Surely it must no longer be written that the Kirghiz have no warriors among them! The Qazaqs, Türkmens, Noġay, and Sarts are no match for us in valor. There is proof of our valor: all of you who saw the lance-combat! Brave young men range beyond the borders of the Kirghiz, but none emerge from among the Qazaqs. The Qazaqs call a mounted wrestle a joust, | but there is a difference between the two.

[V.]

(51r) SANČI OLUYANIN QAZALI

Baštaymın bir-eki ayat
eskilerden:
ovladı šay Mansur, Qırġız
degen,
önörü kitep bolup artta qalbay
neče bek, nečen er ötkön.
Murunqu Bolot Biy zamanda
Sančı Sınčı bir oluya
jeti qılım zamandı bilip
aytqan;
čın oluya emespi qaraġanda.
Bolot Biy oluya qašına aldı;
Sančı Sınčı moynuna salıq
(51r/51v) saldı: |
sınap jürüp qatın alıp ber dep,
sınčını aralattı janduu
qız–kelindi.
Aralap Sančı Sınčı dalay eldi
jaratpay estep jürdü;
tabalbay Bolot Biyge keldi
sınčı:
“Eliŋiz baarı joġu köčsö,—dedi
eliŋiz baari joġu köčsün;—dedi
el jolmen bara čubap
ötsün,—dedi
jašırınıp qalbasın bir urġaačı.
Eline bir ene jöö
ketsin,”—dedi.
Bolot Biy jarlıq qıldı jurttu jıyıp:
čubap ötsün dep ayttı jarlıq
qılıp.
Bir jolmen čubattırıp köčkön
eldi
ötkördü Sančı Sınčı sınap
turup.
Sına jaqtırbadı eč biröwün
Sančı Sınčı, suu emes uu
ziybegen.
Ïraq qara ögüzgö jügün artqan
keledi köč artında jesir kelin.
Daalage kelindin atı eken;
jesiri Čaġaldaqtın zatı eken.
Jaqtırıp Daalageni Bolot Biyge
jarayt dep Bolot Biyge alıp
bergen.| (51v/52r)
“Sınčı sen alıp berdiŋ jesir
qatın;
aytadı Daalage dep munuŋ
atın.”
Sınčıdan Bolot Biy juuap
surdu,
aytqın dep baštan ayaq bar
ekmeti.
Süylödü Sančı Sınčı elge qarap;
qatındı alıp Bolot Biy qıldı
talap:
“Bir elden tuua turġan
balaların
qatındın, Sančı Sınčı, bir
demeseŋ.”
“Tuuadı adegende jatın
čayqar”—
bul sözdü aqılduu adam anıq
bayqar:
sasıq küzön samančı Salıbek
dep

[v.]

THE POEM OF SAINT SANČI

Let me begin a few lines passed down from the old ones. Those called Mansur and Qırġız, blessed in descendants, and numerous *bek*s and fine men who were not wanting in book-learning, have passed away. Long ago, in the time of Bolot Biy, there was a saint called Sančı Sınčı, who could narrate seven ages—just consider, was he not a true saint?

Bolot Biy summoned Sančı Sınčı into his presence, | and gave the saint the job of going in among the pert maids and ladies, sizing them up, and bringing him a bride. Sančı Sınčı went in among the teeming people, yawning with dissatisfaction as he went, and, finding no one, came to Bolot Biy and said, "If you please, have all your people move camp, and pass by on the road in single file—and make sure that not one woman is hidden! | A Mother of her nation shall be walking on foot."

Bolot Biy assembled the people and commanded them to pass by in single file, and Sančı Sınčı sat and appraised the migrating people on the way as they passed by. He sized up [the women] and found them all wanting, for none of them pissed poison instead of water. Then in the distance, at the end of the migrating troop, came a young woman who had her belongings loaded onto a black bullock. Her name was Daalage; | she was originally the widow of Čaġaldaq, it seems. Sančı Sınčı liked Daalage, and brought her to Bolot Biy with his approval.

[Bolot Biy said,] "Sınčı, you have brought me a widow, and she says her name is Daalage." He commanded Sančı Sınčı to give him an explanation, and tell him all he knew from beginning to end. Sančı Sınčı addressed [his explanation] to all the people. Then, taking his bride, Bolot Biy made another request: | "Sančı Sınčı, tell me, please, what children the woman will bear for this people."

Sančı Sınčı said, "First she will bear one who chews his afterbirth,"—and wise men take careful note of this, for all the old ones speak of the lineage of the one known as "stinking polecat," Salıbek the straw-dealer.

uruġun qarıyalar bar aytar.
“Tuuadı ekinčide
Bašqoyqoŋdu;
Bašqoyqoŋ tiri jandan eč
qorqpoydu.
Suraġı bul Qırġızġa tegiz
jeter”—
aytadı, “Esenġul dep jurt
toqtor.
Bašqoyqoŋdon bir bala
tuuar,”—dedi;
“at qačırbas boz ayġır
čıġar,”—dedi;
“baqtısı köp adamdan artıq
bolor;
Altı Alaš anıq daŋqı
uġar,”—dedi.
“Nıyazbek”—dep aytadı,
“boġon kelseŋ,
onon čiġar qanjıġaluu qara
seŋseŋ,”—| (52r/52v)
qan bolġon Qara Qırġız baarın
surap,
qarıya munun atın Ormon degen.
“Bul sıymıq senden awıp
keter”—dedi;
“Tınaydın tuqumuma ne
bütör”—dedi:
“Tınaydın tuqumunan bir er
čıġar;
suraġı jer üstünö jeter”—dedi.
“Qızılmıš, quysa tolbos, ičse
toybos,
Qırġızda oġon teŋtuš adam
bolbos—
Mal kütpös joomarttın at ma,
tayday?
Ol erge qastıq qılġan aqır
oŋbos”—
Andan arı Sar’ Orusqa
qaraštı—
“Sınım toqtop šu jerden qayra
qaštı
joġorqu Qızılmıštın arbağı.
Bay–bay–bay jer üstünüŋ
baarın bastı!”
Qızılmıš, Baatır Šabdan
birgelepti.
(Keldi’ken aytqanınday bars
söölötü.)
Neče qılım zamandı bilip
aytqan
barakeldi sınčınıŋ kerimeti!
Qarači mana erdin aytqanı-
na;
tım teris naamı čıqpay
jatqanına;
Qaba men burunqu ırčılardı
bilip turup oluya qatqanına! | (52v/53r)
Qarasaq baatırı köp
Qırġızdardan—
Aqqočqor, Qaŋġı, Qaraġul
qanday adam,
ayağı baatırlardın Törökeldi,
bulardı aytpay jürgön ırčı
jaman.

"Second, she will give birth to Bašqoyqoŋ. That one will fear no living soul; his rule will extend over all Kirghiz alike," he says, "and the people of the land will settle on calling him Esenġul."

Sančı Sınčı continued, "There will be born to Bašqoyqoŋ a son—| there will appear a gray stallion that won't stampede the herd! He will be most highly favored among men, and the Six Alaš shall hear of his brilliant glory. Whereas Nıyazbek will be born to this one [Bašqoyqoŋ]," he said, "from him [Nıyazbek] shall arise a fortunate one,"—the old ones call him Ormon by name, who ruled all the Kara Kirghiz as khan.

"But this good fortune of yours shall decline," he said. "And what will arise from my Tınay lineage? A fine man will arise among the Tınay | whose power will spread over the earth," he said, "Qızılmıš—whom pouring won't quench, whom eating won't fill; whom no man among the Kirghiz can match—Is the horse of a rich man, who does no herding, likely to be a yearling foal? No one who bears that warrior enmity shall come to a good end—"

And after that they submitted to the Blond Russians.

"My appraisals have ended; the arbaq of Qızılmıš on high have fled from this place. O, woe! [the Russians] have trampled the whole earth!"

Qızılmıš and Baatır Šabdan, it would appear, have become as one. | (As predicted, he [Šabdan] turned out with the ferocity of a leopard.)

Praise the nobility of the *sınčı* who can recite so many ages by heart! Do heed this fine man's words, and consider how the name he gained is not altogether infamous, for his knowledge of the saints includes Qaba and the singers of old. See here, | it's a bad singer who doesn't tell about those among the Kirghiz abounding-in-heroes, such as Aqqočqor, Qaŋġı, Qaraqul and the rest, and the last of the heroes, Törökeldi!

COMMENTARY

NOTES ON THE TEXT

I. *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*

I.(Title) The text begins with no title; *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* is the conventional title assigned in this edition.

I.1 On Bayake see pp. 257–258 and the note to line I.149; also Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 350, 353–354. The term *er*, with meanings ranging from simply 'man' to 'warrior' and 'hero', was often used as an honorific before and after personal names.

I.3 On the Qalmaqs as subjects of Kirghiz epic poetry see Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, especially "Köz-Kaman"; Hatto, "Kirghiz (Mid-nineteenth Century)"; Hatto, "Mongols in Kirghiz epic"; Zhirmunskii, "Ėpicheskoe tvorchestvo," pp. 218–220; Zhirmunskii, "Vvedenie v izuchenie ėposa 'Manas'," pp. 142–143, 149–150.

I.5 The ancestors Atake and Arġımbay are invoked in this poem as arbaq or protecting spirits.

Atake was the son of Tınay and the father of Qarabek the father of Jantay (q.v.); he was also the father of Taštanbek and the father or grandfather of Jumaš (qq.v.). One of his wives, Aqbaybiče, was a Qalmaq acquired in a raid. After a(nother?) successful raid on the Qalmaqs, Atake betrothed his son Qarabek to the granddaughter of Berdike of the Saruu (Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 5–6; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 89–90, 120, 139–143, vol. 3, pp. 45–46; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 157; cf. Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz* [1914] p. 50/[1990] pp. 41–42).

According to Kirghiz oral accounts noted by early Russian observers, Atake played a leading role in ejecting the remnants of Oirat power from the Tian Shan following the liquidation of the Junghar Empire by the Ch'ing in 1758, after which he moved the Sarıbaġıš to a new home in the Ču valley. The first Kirghiz embassy to St. Petersburg (1784–1789) was sent by Atake (I. Andreev, *Opisanie Srednei ordy*, p. 51; V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*; Ploskikh, *Pervye kirgizsko–russkie posol'skie sviazi*, pp. 32–41; Saparaliev, *Vzaimootnosheniia kyrgyzskogo naroda*, pp. 120–130).

Atake's leadership of the northernmost Kirghiz put him in contest over control of the Čǔ valley with Ablay, khan of the Qazaq Middle Horde. Atake's daughter Begimjan's lament for his death was recorded by Valikhanov in 1855 (Valikhanov, "Ābläy tūrālī jir," pp. 264–265, 271–272); the lament and Valikhanov's comments seem to imply that Atake was killed by Ablay (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 78: as if this was at the disastrous battle of "Jayıl"), but since Ablay died in 1781 and Atake's embassy began in 1784 this cannot be true. The lament does confirm Atake's traditional Kirghiz moniker, *jırıq* 'cleft lip'.

Arġımbay (son of Nusqay) was a Qıpčaq of Ferghana origin living in exile in Talas when his son Küntuuġan (who later fathered Bayake [q.v.]) was born (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 169).

I.16 ms. قوانچ as if *quvanıč* for Standard Kirghiz *qubanıč* has been retained as a notable instance of dialectally meaningful orthography in the poem.

I.19 On Šabdan see pp. 41–44, 57–59, 63–70, 257–259. On Manapbay see pp. 256–258.

I.20 The identity of Qarakesek in this poem is uncertain; the name is not to be confused with the Qazaq ethnonym *Qarakesek*.

Botpay, a prominent figure in the present poem, is difficult to trace in the sources. Soltonoyev gave his genealogical affiliation as Ösük, a subdivision of the Jeti Uruq division of the Sarıbaġıš (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 373 [where the name is misspelled *Botobay*; cf. *Botbay* in the 1993 edition, vol. 2, p. 55]; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5; cf. Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, p. 150). The personal name Botpay must not be confused with the more commonly understood meaning of this term in the vicinity of Pišpek, the Botpay subdivision of the Dulat grouping of the Qazaq Senior Horde.

I.40 The syllables *čaap alıp ke-* have been underlined in the ms.

I.42, 382 The word *aqır* 'lowly' in *aqır bende könörbüz* (I.42) and *aqır bende könödü* (I.382) is not found in modern Kirghiz lexica and must be interpreted with the help of neighboring Central Asian languages. The etymon is Persian/Chaghatay (<< Arabic) *ḥaqīr* 'lowly, contemptible', which gave in Eastern Turki *häqır* 'mean' and in Özbek *häqir* 'wretched'. Kirghiz *aqır bende* is an unexceptionable Turkic rendition of the Persian phrase *banda-i ḥaqīr*, more commonly *faqīr-i ḥaqīr* 'humble servant'.

The ms. form كورورىبوز in *aqır bende körörbüz*, as if 'we [His] humble servants shall see' makes little sense. Lines I.381–382 provide a clue to the

meaning and suggest an emendation: there the verb is *kön-*, with the meaning 'obey'. On the basis of lines I.381–382 *Xuday salġan iš bolso*/ *aqır bende könödü* 'Since it is a mission imposed by God, His humble servants obey', line I.42 is emended to *aqır bende könörbüz*.

I.46, 1337 *tulpar*, in legend a winged, flying steed, is a praising term among Central Asian Turkic peoples for a racer or warhorse.

I.48 The words *qapırġa qazat qılam* have been underlined in the ms.

I.52–101 The catalogue of raiders who arrive in response to Šabdan's summons is an interesting document on various levels. The number of the raiders is nearly 40. This number chimes with formulas in epic and sanjıra that characterize the retinues of famous warriors (*qırq čoro*, the 'Forty Companions' of Manas in epic; usually *qırq jigit* in sanjıra accounts). The very fact that the Forty of tradition is conceived as an appurtenance, as belonging to someone, requires us to ask *whose* Forty these raiders were. This question would appear to be easy to answer: since Šabdan summoned them, they must be his. Indeed Šabdan has the only plausible claim to this Forty summoned by him; the real question consists in the need to integrate Šabdan's role in the poem with the claims of other heroes, particularly Bayake. The following analyses support fuller discussion of Šabdan and Bayake in the context of the entire poem, in the Commentary on *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, below. Three facts should be borne in mind from the outset. The "fortiness" of these raiders is understated—nowhere are they referred to in the traditional manner as *qırq jigit* or the like. Of the raiders named in the catalogue, seven (Janıbek, Andaš, Temir, Qudayqul, Oroz, Sarala, and Miŋ-jašar) are mentioned elsewhere in the poem, all in procedural rather than combat contexts. Finally, aside from the Five Heroes at the head of the undertaking (Bayake and those he summoned: Šabdan, Manapbay, Qarakesek, and Čoŋ Botpay), these seven raiders are the only ones from the original party mentioned by name in subsequent parts of the poem. All of these facts have potential bearing on the question of the importance of this catalogue in the poet's overall composition.

Depending on how to read one ambiguous name (see the notes to lines I.87 and I.88 and nos. 19 and 19′ in the table below), there are 38 or 39 named individuals in the catalogue. Šabdan states in his autobiography that he "undertook a raid with forty jigits on the Qalmaqs inhabiting Suašu" (Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513). The Inner Asian Turkic hero's "Forty Companions" are a verbal commonplace, though rarely amounting to so many in

an explicit listing. None of the catalogues and invocations of Manas's "Forty Companions" in the mid-nineteenth century records of orally performed epics approaches even 30 names (Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, Appendix 3, pp. 255–262). Since the number of heroes catalogued in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* is very nearly 40, the best inference we can draw is that the composition of the poem went through the pen of a literate author who, without the pressure of oral performance, had leisure to catalogue a true Forty.

This is not necessarily a true recollection of reality. As a son of the powerful Jantay Khan, Šabdan would have had the honor of calling up a notional Forty of troops to lead within the raiding party, as Soltonoyev records in his history (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 373: "about forty men"—though this account may be partly based on the present poem); but elsewhere the historian maintains that Šabdan's "forty jigits" did not number more than 10–15 (ibid., p. 27). Since the author of the present poem later states that the total number of raiders who set off from Jantay's camp was 100 (I.278), and maintains that number consistently in subsequent narration, the nearly 40 raiders listed as having come at Šabdan's summons were probably named by the poet for the purpose of confirming Šabdan as the head of the traditional, by then obsolescent, Kirghiz heroic comitatus. If the poet intentionally ended the catalogue one or two names shy of 40, it may have been because the missing men were understood to have been from among the four closer companions of Šabdan named earlier (I.1, 19–20).

Analysis of the list of raiders' names in the order they are given reveals aspects of the catalogue's structure. The names may be tabulated in the following fashion; note that due to uncertainty about the identity of nos. 19 and 19′, the numbered list may represent 38 or 39 individuals. For details on these individuals' identities, see the Notes to the lines where they are mentioned.

	Identity:		
Name:	Secure	Doubtful	Unknown
1. Janıbek	×		
2. Andaš	×		
3. Temir		×	
4. Qudayqul	×		
5. Qıpčaq		×	
6. Saadabay	×		
7. Tanabay	×		
8. Satılġan	×		

		Identity:		
	Name:	Secure	Doubtful	Unknown
9.	Alapay	×		
10.	Oroz		×	
11.	Qabatay			×
12.	Čıŋǧıš	×		
13.	Qalčake		×	
14.	Tülkübay			×
15.	Er Qanay			×
16.	Sarala	×		
17.	Küykö			×
18.	Sazıq			×
19.	Bürgö (Qama?)		×	
19′.	Qama(?)			×
20.	Tüytö			×
21.	Uman			×
22.	Qapsalaŋ		×	
23.	Oruz			×
24.	Er Qaraŋ			×
25.	Keseke			×
26.	Joluman			×
27.	Dıyqanmoldo			×
28.	Nooruzbay			×
29.	Qaraqušman			×
30.	Qonušbay		×	
31.	Miŋ-jašar			×
32.	Keldike		×	
33.	Sarbaš		×	
34.	Berdike			×
35.	Sarıseyit		×	
36.	Dıyqanbay	×		
37.	Tölögön	×		
38.	Mergenbay			×

Of all the men named in the catalogue, only Satılġan is known independently to have been Šabdan's jigit. Another, Andaš, was recorded as a jigit of Šabdan's adopted elder brother Manapbay in the 1860s; in the context of a catalogue of jigits in implied subordination to Šabdan, the discrepancy is significant.

The determination here of "secure," "doubtful," and "unknown" identities of the names is of course no valid reflection of the knowledge of the people who constituted the old audience and readership of the poem; some conclusions, however, may be sketched with confidence. The "unknown" names, if they are real, are surely those of minor personages, according to the general standards of compilation of the sanjıra records from the last century or so that I was able to check. These names are mostly concentrated in the middle of the catalogue. On the other hand, the "secure" and "doubtful" names (the latter meaning that more than one possible identity has been found, but none of them is a strong candidate) cluster around the beginning and end of the catalogue. The sheer quantity of unknown names in the middle challenges probability. The voluminous existing accounts of the Tınay Sarıbağıš line (e.g., Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*) contain a great many names of Šabdan's minor contemporaries, many of whom appear at the beginning and toward the end of this catalogue. As the authors of these sources adhere to no particular "threshold of importance" in including persons in their accounts, the nature of the sources does not provide an intrinsic explanation of the obscurity of the names in the middle. Fabulation by the poet appears to be the simplest explanation. Beginning and ending the catalogue on a more solid footing, he stretched out the middle with some obscure names to increase the total number (though not necessarily all of the ones labeled unknown here are made-up). From this I offer one further conclusion: an assemblage of names with such a structure is more likely to have been created a long time after the fact than to have been the product of fresh, contemporary memories of the raid. In the latter case, there would be less likelihood that "drop-outs" or other oral mutations would cluster together in the middle of the series.

As will be seen through further analysis, the nature of Šabdan's leadership of the raid—sole or joint, original or retrospectively asserted—is a question of great importance to understanding the origin of the poem, and to assessing the dynamics of Šabdan's stature and influence at different points in time. See the section "Who Was Being Praised?" in the Commentary below.

Arthur Hatto has shown for mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epics that Manas's invocations of his Forty Companions in times of need or excite-

ment had clear similarities in form, function, and to some extent content with shamans' invocations of their familiar spirits (Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, pp. 260–262; Hatto, *Shamanism*, pp. 17–18; Hatto, "Köz-Kaman," part II, pp. 266–267; Hatto, "Semetey," part II, p. 18). It is worth noting that one of the unknown names in the present catalogue, Küykö, has the meaning 'kestrel'. It is paired in the same line with the name of a known member of the Tınay Sarıbağış, Sarala, one of the meanings of whose name, lit. 'mottled yellow', is a type of steppe eagle (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 637 s.v. *sarı*). The appeal to a poet of such variation is obvious; the question must remain unanswered whether the surface wordplay has deeper roots in past traditions of invoking helping beings from the natural world. Hatto himself urges caution in interpreting heroes' animal names as survivals of a past function as shamans' familiar spirits: "Some of Manas's Comrades have animal names—Wolf, Bear, Golden Eagle—but they are as little decisive here as Jason's Argonauts with animal names, since such names abound among heroes" (Hatto, *Shamanism*, p. 18).

Although the form and function of the catalogue of heroes summoned by Šabdan differs from a true invocation, it should be noted that the author of the present poem operated in a living verbal tradition of such invocations, as the farewell prayer by Jantay makes clear, albeit in Islamized form (I.241–273).

I.54 With the establishment of Russian authority over the Central Asian nomads and the cessation of their military activities, the *nayza* or lance did not continue in use among the Kirghiz' neighbors the Qazaqs after the 1860s (Semeniuk, "Oruzhie," p. 266).

I.57–64 The first three warriors who arrived after the summons, Janıbek, Andaš, and Temir, incidentally received the three highest appointments in the raiding party: khan over the whole party of a hundred (Andaš) and the two heads of fifties (Janıbek and Temir; see I.292–294).

I.57 In sources from the period after Šabdan became a prominent manap, Janıbek is mentioned as an advisor of Šabdan (Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, p. 241 [quoting Abramzon, "U istokov manapstva," in *Sovetskaia Kirgiziia*, Nov. 1930, nos. 256, 262]). The praise-poem on Šabdan in Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) p. 76/(1990) p. 66 describes Janıbek as Šabdan's equal, and as a hajji. Janıbek's genealogy is uncertain (a Janıbek is found seven generations down from Čerikči in the Sarıbağış lineages in Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 213, 215, but this is probably too

young an individual, since Törökeldi Baatır, a contemporary of the Janıbek in this poem, is only two generations down from Čerikči).

On Janıbek's role in the raiding party, see the preceding note.

I.60 Andaš was a jigit of Manapbay as of 1866 or 1868 (Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," p. 8); in this poem, Manapbay was one of the inner core of four heroes to whom Bayake first told his dream, while Andaš was one of the warriors who responded later to the general call-up. From this we may surmise that the title of khan of the raiding party (I.292) was not so exalted. Andaš may have received the top post by seniority; if he is the same Andaš who took part in negotiations with Kenesarı in 1847 (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 442–444), he would have been among the older fighters in 1864. On the raid, the two acts ascribed to Andaš in his capacity as khan are of a decidedly operational–administrative nature: it was his decision to stop over at Balbay's camp and acquire a guide on the way to Sümbe (I.402–415), and to present Bayake with the gift of a slain Qalmaq warrior's dapple-gray horse (I.1227–1228; presumably as a reward for making the first kill, and to place it off limits in the later division of booty).

I.62–63 ms. دوشمانن *dušmanın* 'their enemy' (accusative) has been emended to *dušmandın* 'of the enemy/enemies' (genitive) on grounds of syntactic necessity.

I.64 Temir, who had a prominent role in the raid as one of two heads of fifties, is not well attested in the sources. He may be the son of Nıyazalı son of Qalča son of Sartay son of Atake (Töröqan uulu, *Qırğızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 186), in which case he would appear to have been rather young at the time of the raid.

I.68 Mullah Qudayqul's identity and family connections can be fixed with the help of evidence relating him to a figure who must have been his son, Raxmanqul Qudayqulov (also spelled Xudayqulov; 1885–?), an ill-fated leader in Kirghiz factional politics in the first decade of the Soviet era. The latter's background has been summarized as follows:

> Raxmaqul Qudayqulov was born in 1885 at Qara-bulaq, in Čoŋ-Kemin, into the family of the mullah Qudayqul Atansartov. He was considered a member of the Tınay clan, Abla subclan. […] R. Xudayqulov was raised by relatives of Šabdan Baatır and was his jigit. Raxmaqul's father wanted to see his son become a religious devotee, so he trained him in Arabic writing and the

Qurʾan. (Maanaev, *Kyrgyzskaia intelligentsiia*, p. 164; I am grateful to Jaŋıl Abdıldabek qızı for making me aware of this information.)

Mullah Qudayqul, mentioned in the present poem as a participant in the raid, is thus probably the son of the Atansart of the Abıla lineage who is mentioned as a Kirghiz hostage freed from the Qazaq camp in the aftermath of the battle with Kenesarı in 1846 (see p. 340). Raxmanqul's patronymic and service to Šabdan are confirmed in a reminiscence by a daughter-in-law of Šabdan, according to which the Qudayqulov who was active in politics in the early Soviet period had a close connection to Šabdan's family and a history of raiding (recorded by Jaŋıl Abdıldabek qızı, great-granddaughter of Šabdan: "Babam Šabdan jönündö," p. 26).

I.70, 72–79 These lines have been crossed out on the ms. with strike-throughs and a large X. Above line I.70, in a different hand, is written اوز باشندا اەر لىكە بار probably for *öz bašında erlik bar* 'possessed of valor in his own right', a blatant laundering of the crossed-out lines.

The original vivid evocation of Mullah Qudayqul's cruelty toward the poor and fellowship with the manaps poses apparent problems of reception. The characterization of religious functionaries as enemies and oppressors of the common people was a stock motif of Soviet atheistic writings, and if this verbiage belongs to that era, then the ms. date accepted earlier, 1909–1910, would be too early. Conversely, the scribal replacement of 'who often gouged the poor' and so on with the line 'possessed of valor in his own right' would have been a serious and possibly dangerous blunder after 1917. Upon closer examination, the negative coloring of the original lines can be distinguished from commonplaces of Soviet anti-religious rhetoric by its engagement with religious dogma. The mullah 'sends no one to hell'—though the syntax is notably loose in this passage, the implied group who are the object of that phrase are probably the *baatırlar* 'heroes' rather than *bütkül Qırğız* 'all the Kirghiz'; he also 'delivered judgments to the people', in a phrase that employs Arabic-derived religious vocabulary (see note I.74); and he is a *khoja* (I.75). The nature of the dignity of *khoja* in Central Asia is a matter of on-going research, but it is often attached to putative descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad's line (DeWeese, "Foreword," pp. 17–33; Muminov, "Die Qožas"; Schwarz, "Khwājas of Eastern Turkestan," pp. 267–268). It is not known on what basis the author of our text asserted this dignity for the Kirghiz mullah Qudayqul, but it seems that the sense here is an assertive one that goes beyond the bounds of recognized Central Asian usage in a direction that might ungenerously be termed exaggeration. In short, the language

used to depict Mullah Qudayqul in this passage is ambiguous. In the context of the whole poem and the otherwise praising character of the cataloguing section of which it forms a part, the passage appears to have been a more ironic than censorious caricature of the greedy, elitist mullah who ministered to the heroes' spiritual needs and (in lines I.296–297) acted in good faith as their bookkeeper. The well-known Russian colonial disapproval of hypocrisy, greed, and corruption among Muslim holy men, against which the administration argued forcefully (Brower, "Islam and Ethnicity," p. 130 and n. 30.) could be an ingredient of this irony.

I.73 On the usage of the ethnonym *Qırġız* see pp. 313–316.

I.74 ms. شارات may correspond to two possible readings in Standard Kirghiz: (1) *šaarat* or *šaraat*, both variants of *išarat*, ultimately from Arabic *išārat* and used here in a religious sense close to the one recorded in Ottmoman Turkish, 'an order or opinion of the Shaykhu'l-Islam' (Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 117; Iudakhin defines it in Standard Kirghiz [s.v.] only in its basic sense, 'sign, hint'); or (2) *šaraat*, 'sharia', Islamic law. The act of communication understood in *šarat aytsa elderge* 'for he proclaimed *šarat* to the people' accords better with the first sense, the dicta that were the province of the authorities in religious law. Nevertheless, once the two etyma were collapsed in Kirghiz pronunucation the semantic distinction would tend, as here, to be a fine one, and it was perhaps finer than the concerns of the poem's author and original readers.

I.78 ms. سازيق *sazıq* (possibly a Ču dialect form) has been rendered as *sasıq* 'stinking': the phrase literally means, 'saying of the poor, "They stink!"'.

I.79 The word *manap* in this line is the earliest firmly dated usage of the term in any narrative source on the Kirghiz yet known (cf. Prior, "High Rank and Power").

The ms. form قولدوچو may reflect in Standard Kirghiz either the agent noun *qoldooču* '[was a] supporter' or the the durative/imperfect verb form *qoldoču* 'used to support'. The syntax of the text accommodates either reading, as does the translation.

I.80 The term Qıpčaq is much more commonly encountered as an ethnonym than as a personal name, and the line *aytıluu qıpčaq saadabay* could be read as 'Saadabay the famous Qıpčaq' or 'the famous Qıpčaq(s) and Saadabay'. However, no such Qıpčaq named Saadabay is found in the sources,

whereas there was a Tınay Sarıbağıš named Saadabay, a great-grandson of Atake and second cousin of Šabdan (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 154–156; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5 [Saadabay uulu]; cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 343). With the second name in the line thus identified as a non-Qıpčaq person, *Qıpčaq* must stand alone. It is probably not the ethnonym, since warriors are never referred to by ethnic labels in lieu of their own names, and the Qıpčaqs as a group did not inhabit the Ču valley. Ṣidiq ūġlī (*Tārīx-i qırġız*, [1914] p. 100/[1990] p. 85) recorded a member of the Talqan Solto named Qıpčaq, great-grandson of Qanay, thus a likely coeval of the raiders. On other possibly Solto names in the raiding party cf. note to line I.87.

I.81 Tanabay was a son of Jumaš and grandson or great-grandson of Atake (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5 and p. 36; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 34; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1., pp. 143, 185, 187). The ms. may read چوماش or جوماش.

I.82 Satılġan may have been either Satılġan Usubalı uulu, a great-grandson of Aya son of Satıbaldı son of Tınay (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 105; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5); or, more likely, an unranked jigit of Šabdan's named Satılġan Toyčubek uulu (of unknown lineage) who appears in Tsarist-era reports on awards made to members of Šabdan's circle (Üsönbayev, "Šabdan Baatır," p. 146; Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, p. 106.).

Alapay was a son of Tınaalı (not to be confused with the Tınaalı mentioned in poem III), third son of Jantay by his first wife Tabrik (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 168, 174 [where the diagram misspells the father's name as Tınanı]). On Tınaalı cf. Abramzon, "Sovremennoe manapstvo," p. 54; Abdıldabek qızı, "Babam Šabdan jönündö," p. 15.

I.83 The identity of the first named individual in this line (ms. ئوروس), and even the form of the name, are not certain. The Arabic letters may encode a range of possible Kirghiz pronunciations; the transcription given in the 2002 partial publication (*Törös*) is not defensible (Čaġatayev, "Šabdan qazalı," pp. 209, 215). The most likely candidate is one Oroz, a boisterous young raider of Qıpčaq descent living under Tınay protection in the 1860s (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 217–218). These associations suggest that it was this Oroz who held the raiding party's heirloom standard at I.355 (spelled ائوروس there). Cf. note to line I.91.

The identity of Qabatay in this poem is also uncertain.

I.84 The Čıŋġıš mentioned here is probably not identical with the Čıŋġıš at line III.128. There was a member of the Tınay lineage, Čıŋġıš son of Soltonoy son of Atake, who may still have been young enough to take part in the raid in 1864, and who was the father of Saadabay (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 144, 153–154; cf. note to line I.80).

There is a figure named Qalčake with a rather long pedigree in the Tınımseyit lineage (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 26; on the Tınımseyit cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 19–22), but it is difficult to determine if he would have been of the appropriate age in 1864; moreover the Tınımseyit inhabited the Narın region, far from the Tınay Sarıbağıš headquarters at Kemin. On the other hand, the *-ke* could be the Kirghiz respectful/endearing ending and not part of the name, in which case we find a Qalča named as son of a biy of the Čečey subdivision of the Jeti uruq Sarıbağıš, which in the 1850s was under the control of Jantay of the Tınay. As this Qalča was said to have "captured Kenesarı" (in 1847), he would have been one of the older members of the raiding party in 1864 (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 87). Another Sarıbağıš named Qalča who may possibly be the person named in this line is Qalča son of Sartay son of Atake (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 186); cf. note to line I.64.

I.85 There was a Solto biy by the name of Tülkübay around the time of the raid narrated in this poem (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 88), but evidence of identity with the present warrior is lacking. On other possibly Solto names in the raiding party cf. note to line I.87. The identity of Qanay in this poem is also uncertain.

I.86 Sarala was a grandson of Qudaymende, himself a grandson of Atake (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 144, 160). The name *Küykö* is not found in sanjıra or other sources, so the spelling is uncertain; cf. Kirghiz *küykö* 'kestrel', and see note to lines I.52–101.

I.87 The identity of Sazıq (a dialect form corresponding to Standard Kirghiz *Sasıq*; the name literally means 'Stinky') is uncertain. Bürgö Baatır was probably either of Solto descent (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 41, 57) or a member of the Azıq (ibid., p. 158; the Azıq were considered to be a subdivision of the Sarıbağıš because they were subject to Sarıbağıš manaps: Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 56–57). Another possibility is that Bürgö was an ally of Ormon Khan's from Talas, of Qušču descent (Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 120, citing

Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası"; see ibid., pp. 411, 423). In any case he would have been one of the older participants in the raid. There are other possible candidates (cf. Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 105/[1990] p. 88: member of Suumurun lineage; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, p. 250: member of Sayaq lineage). The next line seems to indicate that Bürgö was his sobriquet, and his real name was Qama; or, possibly, that there were two individuals named Bürgö, one of whom the poet refers to with the by-name Qama to draw a distinction. Cf. Sarbaš at I.97.

Bürgö's non-Sarıbağıš origin makes him a somewhat unexpected companion on a Sarıbağıš-led raid, but there is some evidence that members of other groups, especially the Solto, took part (cf. Keldike, Miŋ-jašar, Oroz, Qaraqušman, Qıpčaq, Qonušbay, Tülkübay), and the party was clearly not exclusive, since several Buġu were taken on at Balbay's camp.

I.88 *qama* is probably a name, since there are no likely readings of ms. قاماسی as a common noun. See previous note.

I.89 The identity of Tüytö in this poem is uncertain.

I.90 The identity of Uman in this poem is uncertain. Qapsalaŋ ('blizzard') is a name fairly commonly encountered in the sanjıra of the nineteenth and preceding centuries. The most likely candidate for the identity of the warrior mentioned in this line is an Esenġul Sarıbağıš, great-grandnephew of Ormon Khan (Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 43/[1990] p. 35; cf. Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 206), who thus may have been quite young at the time of the raid narrated in the poem. There is also Qapsalaŋ, grandson of Čerikči, also of the Sarıbağıš (Ṣidiq ūġlī, op. cit., [1914] p. 44/[1990] p. 36); by approximate reckoning of generations he would have been much older than the former, and possibly dead at the time of the raid.

I.91 ms. اوروز cannot = *Oroz* at I.83 unless the name has been repeated. The spelling *Oruz* is provisional. Cf. اۇروس at I.355. The identity of Qaraŋ in this poem is uncertain.

I.92 The name Keseke, a 'young lad' in this poem, is not found in available sanjıra or historical sources. The modifier *jaštuu*, as if 'young' (not found in Kirghiz lexica) appears to be a pleonastic suffixal formation upon *jaš* 'young'.

I.93 The identity of Joluman son of Nıyša in this poem is uncertain.

I.94 The identities of Dıyqanmoldo and Nooruzbay in this poem are uncertain.

I.95 The identity of Qaraqušman in this poem is uncertain. In a sanjıra text there is mention of a Qultuu Solto named Qonušbay (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 68), whose life may be dated roughly to the nineteenth century by his genealogical relation to a known relative (namely Osmonqul Bölöbala uulu, 1888–1967: ibid., pp. 65–68; cf. *Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Ėntsiklopediia*, 3rd edn., vol. 3, p. 507). On other possibly Solto names in the raiding party cf. note to line I.87.

I.96 The identity of Miŋ-jašar in this poem is uncertain. There was a Solto by the name of Keldike who lived around the time of the raid narrated in the poem (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 60), but evidence of identity with the present warrior is lacking. On other possibly Solto names in the raiding party cf. note to line I.87.

I.97 A Bölökbay Solto named Sarbaš is mentioned as the son of Bürgö (q.v.; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 57). The identity of Berdike in this poem is uncertain.

I.98 A Sarıseyit is mentioned in the Tınımseyit lineage in ibid., vol. 2, p. 26, but it is a problematic identification (cf. Qalčake). Dıyqanbay was probably a member of the Tınay subdivision of the Sarıbağıš, either a son of Boronbay son of Stambek son of Joobasar son of Satıbaldı (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 91, 104) or a son of Qudayar son of Čıŋġıš son of Soltonoy son of Atake (ibid., vol. 1, p. 154).

I.99 Tölögön son of Alıbek, descendant of Tınay, was a brother of Qalıġul, who left a narrative of his involvement in the battles and negotiations with the Qazaqs under Sultan Kenesarı in the 1840s (see Appendix B).

The identity of Mergenbay in this poem is uncertain.

I.100 *jigit*, in Turkic languages properly any young man, has also the specialized senses of a man in service to another and a member of the comitatus or armed retinue of a warrior, irrespective of age. Where the possessive suffix in the present usage implies service to Šabdan, throughout this poem it is possible to see various gradations in the meaning of the word. See note to lines I.52–101.

I.102–149 The poet refers to the oasis of Uč Turfan in East Turkistan by the Kirghiz label *Turpan*. Uč Turfan (ca. 41°13′N 79°13′E) was one of the eponymous 'six' cities of the region of East Turkistan known as Altışahr. A raid in the vicinity of Uč Turfan had been conducted just a few years before the main events narrated in this poem, in 1858, led by the Buġu (Golubev, "Otryvok iz puteshestviia," p. 105; Soltonoyev dates it to 1856–1857: Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 356).

I.102 Qulansarı and Saparbay are attested figures of sanjıra with connections to places near Uč Turfan in Sinkiang. The poet here analyzes the personal name Qulansarı into two components representing two individuals; this is an imaginative innovation, since other sources including Toġoloq Moldo's sanjıra mention only one ancestor with the compound name Qulansarı(q). The real Qulansarıq and Saparbay oases lie on the north and south banks, respectively, of the Qaqšaal river near 41°N 78°42′E, about 40 km SW of Uč Turfan; Toġoloq Moldo relates how the personal names of the brothers Qulansarıq and Saparbay came to be applied to places around where they lived (Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 152–153, 275–276; and cf. Salk's notes there on the ethnic and toponymic background, based on her research among informants in Sinkiang). The places are traditionally associated with the narrative of Jaŋıl Mırza and her suitors (cf. Toġoloq Moldo, "Jaŋıl Mırza," p. 519; Üsöyün ajı, "Qırġız ulutunun kelip čıġışı," p. 136 [Saparbay only]). The present poet's (Musa's) identification of Saparbay and Qulan/Sarı as members of the Abıla and Jetigen lineages, respectively, does not conform with other accounts that give them as sons of the ancestor of the left wing.

In epic, Qulansarıq and Saparbay are names of descendants of Manas's grandson Seytek (Kenčiev, Dor and Salk, "Dire l'histoire en l'écrivant," p. 496; Sarıpbekov et al., *Manas: Enciklopediya*, vol. 1, pp. 351–352).

I.106 Tülkü, son of Sarseyit (not to be confused with the Sarıseyit mentioned at I.98) and brother of Üčükö, was the father of Tınay (q.v.), whom he abandoned. In the well-known story of the Noyġut warrior-maiden Jaŋıl Mırza, Tülkü was the suitor whom Jaŋıl Mırza killed together with Üčükö and others in the wooing party. The raid by Bayake, Šabdan and others in the present poem, as if to exact *qun* or blood-revenge for the killing of Üčükö and Tülkü, was not the first: tradition holds that the Kirghiz raided the Noyġut in retribution and captured Jaŋıl Mırza and a large amount of *oljo* or booty (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 124–126; Toġoloq Moldo, "Jaŋıl Mırza"; there is also a story that Ormon once conceived of seeking

qun for the killing of Üčükö and Tülkü [Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 119]), and an expedition by Ormon's grandfather Esenġul has also been recorded (Asanov and Turganbayev, *Alımbektin sanjırası*, p. 55.). See also Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) p. 51/(1990) p. 41; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 85–87; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5; Üsöyün ajı, "Qırġız ulutunun kelip čıġıšı," pp. 134–135, 255; Mamırbaev, "Čoŋ tarıxtan bir üzüm," pp. 253–254.

I.107 The intended Kirghiz form and meaning of ms. باندە, as if *bande*, here and at I.1536 require reconstruction. Emendation to *bandi* 'slave, captive' might be warranted here, where the meaning of the line would be 'blamelessly avoiding captivity', but there were no captives on the scene at I.1536, where the identical written form appears. On the other hand, recent Standard Kirghiz *banda* 'band, criminal gang' gives 'blamelessly not part of any raiding band', a forceful assertion of the innocent nature of the expedition, which was a crucial condition of the well-documented grievance against the Moyġut/Noyġut (see previous note). The probem with this reading is that *banda* is a Russian loanword, and the time around 1910 would be rather early to find lexical items of a non-cultural nature borrowed from that language. For the preceding half century or so, Russians had been keen to adopt and adapt the native Central Asian Turkic term *barımta* in the sense of a raid or raiding party (Russian *baranta*); *banda* is not a common term in surviving Russian writings on Central Asian raiding. However, the sense required here and at I.1536 clearly militates for reading the ms. form as an early instance of the borrowed Russian term *banda*. Thorough examination of the appearance of this word ca. 1910 in Kirghiz quasi-epic poetic diction, which had its own rich legacy of Turkic terminology for armed formations, must remain in the future. It should be noted, however, that the opprobrium associated with the Russian word *banda* echoes the sociolinguistic feedback from the term *barımta* described by Virginia Martin, where Qazaqs under late Tsarist rule conformed the meaning of their term *barımta* to fit the Russian conception of robbery, something quite different from the legal force of the practice in pre-Tsarist times (Martin, *Law and Custom*).

I.108 The forms *Moyġut* (not found outside this ms.) and *Oyġut* (once in this ms., at this line) are both variants, reflecting known and possibly dialectal sound alternations, of the now standard *Noyġut*. On the Noyġut/Oyġut see Valikhanov, "O sostaianii Altyshara," p. 158 (with the ethnonym spelled *Niugeit*); Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 107, 110/(1990) pp. 89, 92; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 104–105; Toġoloq Moldo, "Jaŋıl Mırza";

Abramzon, *Kirgizy*; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," p. 87; Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 119 (Ormon Khan was about to attempt a punitive expedition on the Noyġut for the deaths of Üčükö and Tülkü, but was apparently prevented by the approach of Kenesarı); Üsöyün, "Qırġız ulutunun kelip čıġışı," p. 133. Radloff's recording of "The birth of Manas" is the only mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epic text to mention the Noyġut ["Birth of Manas," line 29]; it is perhaps germane that this epic was collected among the Sarıbaġış.

I.110 According to sanjıra accounts, Janıl Mırza was the warrior–huntress–princess of the Noyġut (see notes I.106 and preceding) who killed the brothers Üčükö and Tülkü as they sought her for a bride for Tülkü; she also warred with the Qalmaqs. See Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 124–128; Toġoloq Moldo, "Janıl Mırza"; Üsöyün ajı, "Qırġız ulutunun kelip čıġışı," pp. 133–138; Tınıstan uulu, "Janıl Mırza"; Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 6–7; Abramzon, "Kirgizskoe naselenie," pp. 336–337; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 86–87 (where her ethnicity is given as Oyrot); ibid., vol. 2, pp. 192–193; cf. Abramzon, "Narodnye predaniia," pp. 72–73; Kydyrbaeva, *Narodno-poėticheskie traditsii*.

I.114–116 The mention of Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay, Qarakesek, and Čoŋ Botpay as the heroes who earlier went to extract blood revenge from the Noyġut (albeit as the generations and centuries went on, this conceit had become probably little more than a pretext to go raiding in China) echoes the explicit enumeration of these warriors as the core of the party that is planning to raid the Qalmaqs: the dreamer Bayake and the four major heroes to whom he initially confided his dream.

I.122 On the Čerik Kirghiz, who figure here as neighbors and allies of the (M)oyġut around Uč Turfan (Turpan, q.v.), see Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 89; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 110–112/(1990) pp. 92–93, where the ancestor of Čerik is an Oyġut (sc. Noyġut, q.v.); Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, *passim*; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 49–52; Abramzon, "Kirgizskoe naselenie," p. 335 and the map between pp. 332 and 333.

I.135 According to sanjıra and ethnographic information, Abıla was a Qazaq war captive who was adopted or fostered by Toqo of the Sarıbaġış (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 34–35 and figure 5; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 47–50; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914)

pp. 87–88/(1990) p. 78; another foster son of Toqo was Čaġaldaq, q.v.). In the 1860s the Abıla subdivision under Ümötaalı of the Esenġul Sarıbaġıš numbered 300 tents (Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 109).

I.136–137 On this author's conceit that Qulan and Sarı are two different people rather than one named Qulansarı, see note I.102.

I.136 In the 1860s the Jetigen under Ümötaalı of the Esenġul Sarıbaġıš numbered 400 tents (Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 109). See Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 74–76; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 115–117/(1990) pp. 95–96; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 3, pp. 118–120; cf. Petrov, "Tiurkskie srednevekovye ėtnotoponimy."

I.138 The line written in the ms. as قاتتى وادا قيلشب *qatti uada qil·šb* poses difficulties. *uada* may reflect either of two Standard Kirghiz words, *ubada* (<< Arabic *waʿda*) 'promise' or *bada* (<< Persian *pāda*) 'herd (of horned cattle)'. In the first case, ms. قاتتى would be *qattı*, the form now found as the Qazaq cognate of Standard Kirghiz *qatuu* (southern dialect, *qattıq*) 'strong, hard, severe', as if here in the phrase *qattı* (*u*)*bada qılıšıp* 'making a solemn promise'. It is not clear, however, what promise is being referred to. On the other hand, if *uada* is *bada*, a herd of horned cattle, there is the minor problem that the blood-payment was just reckoned at line I.133 as *miŋ jılqı* 'a thousand horses'. The semantic strain placed on *bada* by the fact that there is no mention of horned cattle is matched by that affecting the adjective *qattı*, whose range of senses affords little to attach to a herd of animals. The secondary sense attested in Özbek *qattiq* 'tight, dense', as if 'teeming', would be appropriate. Özbek and Eastern Turki *katta*, southern Kirghiz *kättä, kette* 'great, large' may also be in play here, although the misrepresentation of initial *k* as *q* would be unusual. In choosing between the two readings, doubts about the nature of the supposed promise made by those making the blood-payment appear to be more serious than the semantic inconsistencies related to the vocabulary used to depict a herd of animals already mentioned.

I.145 The word *naam* is a tentative reading of a group of characters that heavily overwrite some other letters, which are difficult to identify.

I.149 The line *ürküp barġan čaġıŋda*, literally 'at the time you fled in a commotion', taken together with related data, helps to clarify important aspects of the earliest version of this poem, including its dating and the iden-

tity of the person who was its likely first dedicatee. *ürküp barġan čağıŋda* in reference to an experience of the Kirghiz in China gives pause, for it seemingly alludes to the great *ürkün* that befell the Kirghiz in the bloody aftermath of the Turkistan Rebellion during World War I, when they fled across the Tian Shan to escape Russian reprisals, the dates 1916–1917 being etched into Kirghiz memory today as *ürkün jılı* 'the Year of the Headlong Flight'. This event is too late, however, to conform with the other evidence that dates the Šabdan Baatır Codex to 1909–1910. The allusion to an instance when some Kirghiz 'shied, stampeded' (*ürk-*) off to China is more likely to be the one in 1868, when Osmon Taylaq uulu of the (Čekir) Sayaq moved off with his dependents after the Russians arrived in Jumġal and Qočqor. In the early nineteenth century Osmon's father Taylaq and his Čoro division of the Sayaq had feuded with Šabdan's elders of the Tınay Sarıbağıš; as it happened, Šabdan was then cooperating with the Russians in bringing reluctant Kirghiz to heel, and clashed with Osmon, who managed to take Bayake Baatır and other warriors captive before fleeing (*ürk-*) first to the vicinity of Qoqand and then to the protection of Yaʿqūb Beg in Kashghar (Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 327–328; Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 378–380; "Osmon Baatır," pp. 360–399; Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 57–60, the last being the only account based on Russian archival sources). This same Bayake is the companion of Šabdan who looms about our poem. The presence of Bayake as a captive of Osmon during his flight to Kashghar definitely conforms with a sojourn in East Turkistan by an addressee of the line *ürküp barġan čağıŋda*, lit. 'at the time you fled in a commotion', which in context should be understood to mean 'at the time your captors fled in a commotion, taking you with them'. This supports the argument made elsewhere (pp. 255–266) that Bayake had the primary status of subject and honoree of an early version of this poem. Jumġal fell to the Russians in 1865 (Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 130), and Osmon's flight to Kashghar occurred in 1868 (Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 58–59; the date in Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 379 is incorrect), which means that the events we are considering here happened about four years after the narrated raid on the Qalmaqs.

Toġoloq Moldo, Šabdan, and Soltonoyev in their narratives understandably gave slightly different accounts of the fight between Osmon and Šabdan (Toġoloq Moldo, loc. cit.; Dzhantaev, loc.cit.); the unrelated account "Osmon Baatır," with unclear authorship, is different as well. Gundula Salk's identification of Bayake and Keldibek as members of the Sayaq (Salk,

Sanjïra, p. 349, 359; cf. pp. 264 n. 1034, 265 n. 1042) does not stand up to the logic of Toġoloq Moldo's text or the other sources on the skirmish.

I.150 *čuuluq* is not found in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, but is regularly formed from *čuu* 'clamor, noise'.

I.157 On Jantay see pp. 39–43.

I.158–162 It is surely a sign of Šabdan's equivocal status among this company of warriors, and indeed with respect to his own father, that it is not Šabdan but two other baatırs who go in to Jantay to ask for his blessing on the raid.

I.161 The *jük* of *Andaš keldi jügünö* is literally the 'baggage' consisting of bedding ornamentally displayed in stacks opposite the door of the yurt, hence, Jantay's seat located in front of the *jük*. This seat is the most honored place in the yurt, and is properly known as the *tör*.

I.166 The poet has omitted describing how the mare being led in line I.156 has been made into a food offering for Jantay. This was not out of politesse; the tradition abounds in scenes of slaughter, butchering, cooking, and eating of animals.

I.167 *Jol bolsun*, lit. 'may the road be [good]' is idiomatic as both a greeting and farewell to travelers.

I.170 Jantay is addressed as "father" by the young warriors, but he is the actual father of Šabdan and Manapbay only.

I.174 *ruxsat* 'permission, approval' <<Persian *ruxṣat*, < Arabic; cf. Standard Kirghiz (*u*)*ruqsat*.

I.195–197 The features of the two men whom Bayake so clearly saw in his dream were signs which Jantay, in his age and wisdom, could use to judge the accuracy of the vision. Jantay's father Atake was known for his cleft upper lip (*jırıq*: Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 139; Valikhanov, "Āblāy tūrālī jir/Pesnia ob Ablae," p. 264); similarly Arġımbay must have been known for his round-shouldered frame, which, as Iudakhin notes (*Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *eŋčeger*, variant of *eŋčegey*) was considered a sign of strength.

I.210 Only Arġımbay was a literal ancestor of Bayake, but these two men's status as retainers under Atake and Jantay respectively put them in a quasi-familial position with regard to Jantay's Tınay line.

I.229 This line has 11 syllables rather than the usual seven or eight, making it the only metrically over-long line in the poem.

I.233 Qazaq *žılas-* 'to weep together with sb.'.

I.235 The act of hanging one's belt over the back of one's neck (*moyunġa qur sal-*: Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *qur* IV) is an expression of submission or request for mercy seen in supplications to God or to other human beings.

I.247 The verb *sırqıra-* is not found in Kirghiz but does appear in Qazaq, in the sense 'to ache', said particularly of the bones.

I.254 Bayġambar < Persian *payġāmbar* 'messenger', an epithet of the Prophet Muḥammad.

I.259 The Arabo-Persian phrase *ṣāḥib qirān* 'lord of the auspicious conjunction [of planets]' is an epithet used in Islamic literature mainly for the Prophet Muḥammad, God, and Jesus; in Central Asia it was applied to Amir Timur and other historical figures. The *u* of *quran* sometimes occurs in early Kirghiz for the unaccented vowel /ı/, but such orthographic usage is rather rare in this ms. Here it appears to be a distraction away from the unfamiliar (in Kirghiz) *qirān* toward (incorrect, stricto sensu) *qurʾān*, the Qurʾan; this is reflected in the translation. Cf. lines I.1005 and IV.7.

I.261–262 In these lines, Jantay invokes saints and tutelary spirits of Islamic legend, all of which have specially-developed personae in Central Asia. *Azıret Aalı* is Ḥaẓrat ʿAlī, the caliph and imam, who beyond the confines of the Shiite community was venerated as a progenitor of Sufi and heroic lineages (DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, pp. 393, 454; McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia*, pp. 27–28). The name *Qızır-Iliyas* is a Central Asian compounding, common particularly in later Kirghiz epic, of *Qızır, Qıdır* (for [al-]Xiḍr, the saintly and wise mystical helper who appears in the Qurʾan and Sufi legends) and the figure often identified with him, the prophet Ilyās. See Wensinck, "Ilyās," *EI*^{2}, vol. 3, p. 1156; Wensinck, "al-Khaḍir," ibid., vol. 4, pp. 902–905.

On the wisdespread Islamic belief in the saintly beings *Qırq Čilten* (the pleonastic Central Asian combination of Turkic *qirq* 'forty' and Persian *čihil tan* 'forty men'), see M. Andreev, "Chil'tany"; Reichl, "Hero and Saint", pp. 17–20; Basilov, *Shamanstvo*, pp. 246–265; Basilov, "Chiltan Spirits."

Cf. the mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epic poem "Köz-Kaman," lines 978–979, where the Qırq Čilten and Qıdır guard the hero Manas.

I.268 The first half of the ms. line reads ساقتايكوركوڭ for *saqtay körgün*, a suffixal imperative with meaning identical to *saqtay kör* 'try and protect'; the suffix has been crossed out to make metrical room for *dep tileymin* 'I pray'.

I.277 The meaning and origin of the word written as ماندرغالو as if **mandırġaluu* are uncertain. I have translated it on the basis of a possible (though phonologically and morphologically unexplained) relation to *mančırqa-* 'swagger, lord it' and *mančırqoočuluq* 'conceit, swagger'.

I.292–294 See notes to lines I.57–64, I.57, I.60.

I.302 Šaake was a daughter of Qačıke Biy son of Berdike Baatır of the Saruu of Talas; she was acquired by Jantay to be the second wife of his son Šabdan, and was the mother of Šabdan's sons Möküš and Kemel. Bayake (q.v.) was living in Qačıke's camp and entered Jantay's service around the time the wedding arrangements were made. Šaake also completed the hajj. The *bel quda* exchange in marriage of Šabdan's male ancestors with Saruu girls was of several generations' standing, dating at least as far back as the time when the infant Tınay and his mother sojourned among the Saruu; Jantay's grandfather Atake (q.v.) had fathered Qarabek and Taštenbek by a daughter of Berdike (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 170–171, vol. 3, pp. 45–46; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 124). Cf. Abdıldabek qızı, "Babam Šabdan jönündö," p. 15, where Šaake is identified as a Sayaq; and Abramzon's account (quoted from his article "U istokov manapstva," excerpted in Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, p. 242) that gives Šaake as Šabdan's third wife.

I.311–315 On the fabric *taar*, the ethnographer Klavdiia Antipina explains:

> Kirghiz everywhere use the term *taar* for fabric made on a horizontal, narrow-beam loom [...] The Kirghiz sewed men's clothing out of a fabric made from sheep or camel wool. It was woven for this purpose with a relatively loose, airy yarn of brown color. Occasionally boiling water was poured over the fabric after weaving. When the water cooled, the material was mashed

> with the feet and thus became very dense. The coarse but very durable, dense, and water-repellant fabric prepared in this manner, with a width of 28 to 32 centimeters, had the name *basma taar* among the Southern Kirghiz. (Antipina, *Osobennosti material'noi kul'tury*, p. 54).

On *taar* in the general context of Central Asian nomads' woven woolens see also Tomina, "Tkani," p. 234.

I.312 *jayqı jamġır, jaandan* 'from the summer rains and showers' is not a reference to the time of year when the raid took place, which was November or December. Rather, the *taar* material is being praised for keeping its wearer dry even in a heavy downpour in summer, the rainiest time of year (Umurzakov, *Atlas Kirgizskoi SSR*, pp. 68–70; on heavy June and July rains in the Issyk Kul and Tekes regions: Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, pp. 21–51).

I.315 *naar* is tooled ornamentation on leather, so is out of place in reference to an attribute of the warriors' woolen clothing; the poet probably has in mind other parts of the outfits done in leatherwork, such as boots and belts.

I.320 The reading *qalıŋ boz suq* for ms. قالنك بوز سوق and the translation 'stout, untanned waterskins' are tentative. No such word as *suq* 'waterskin' is found in the lexica of Kirghiz or nearby languages. Although it is very rare to find an Islamic Turkic word attested in Kirghiz alone in Central Asia, Osmanlı Turkish (Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1010) offers a pair of possible etyma: *ziqq* 'skin of a beast used as a vessel for fluids' (< Arabic) and *zuqqān* 'skins used as receptacles' (the latter word with the plural suffix and vocalism in *-u-* from Persian; cf. *zuqq* 'wine' and *zuqqān* 'leathern wine-bottles' in Steingass, *Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*, p. 618; the alternation of /*z*/ with /*s*/ in the Ču and other northern dialects of Kirghiz is typical: Abduldayev, *Qırġız govorloru*, pp. 70–71, 80). As for the modifier *boz* (meaning primarily 'gray') the sense 'untanned' was chosen by analogy with such terms as: *boz üy*, lit. 'gray house', the Kirghiz term for a yurt made of plain wool that has not been whitened; *boz jigit*, a young, inexperienced or rough-mannered jigit; and *boz bala* 'young child'. The remaining modifier, *qalıŋ*, when applied to fabric or the like means 'thick', suggesting that the fresh skins were scraped and worked very little before they were made into vessels. It should be remembered that the whole provisioning operation was a rush order for an impromptu raid.

Klavdiia Antipina describes the preparation and uses of skin bags among the southern Kirghiz, though the terminology she records does not include the word *suq*/*zuq*:

> [...] after the skin has been removed and worked, the leg and tail openings are sewn shut and the neck left open. The prepared skin bag is always smoked [this too may be grounds for the modifier *boz* 'gray', either for the color of smoked hide or as 'raw' if they were left unsmoked in haste—D.P.]. Their main purpose is to store and transport kumiss and *airan* [sour milk]. Water is also transported to the summer pastures in them. (Antipina, *Osobennosti material'noi kul'tury*, p. 125; on preparation of hides and leather in general, see pp. 124–129 with illustrations, and Burkovskii, "K voprosu obrabotki")

The route taken by the raiders does not appear to have been far from available water at any point, which raises the question why the men would need waterskins; Antipina's last sentence above suggests the answer that intensive work in unfrequented territory called for provision of backup water supplies.

Another possible meaning of *suq* would be 'wine' (cf. Steingass, above). The Muslim Kirghiz did produce and consume alcohol, not only by the fermentation of mare's milk. Valikhanov noted that Borombay of the Buġu had a vineyard at Zauke (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 43). That the Kirghiz and the Sarıbaġıš in particular drank hard liquor in the form of distilled kumiss is attested by Sievertsov (*Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, pp. 355–356) and Golubev ("Otryvok iz puteshestviia," pp. 111–112). *qalıŋ boz suq* in this reading may be 'thick, unfermented wine', or unfiltered grape juice. Nevertheless, a supply of wine or fruit juice would be an unnecessary and perishable luxury for men going on a raid, unlike the provision of skins for water.

I.355 See note to line I.83.

I.377–379 The two Kemin (Kebin) rivers, flowing westward through the Trans-Ili and Küŋgöy Ala-too mountains northwest of lake Issyk Kul, are the largest right-hand tributaries meeting the Ču after its descent through the narrow Boom gorge that carries it down past the basin of the lake. The confluence of the Čoŋ 'Great' Kemin with the Ču is at 42°41′28″N 75°53′29″E, and that of the Kiči 'Little' Kemin (in pre-irrigation times) was around 42°50′N 75°33′E. Both Kemin valleys were favorite pastures and headquarters of Jantay and then of Šabdan, lords of the Tınay Sarıbaġıš (Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*, p. 99; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] pp. 62, 70/[1990] pp. 48, 60; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 170).

Traveling up the Čoŋ Kemin and turning southward to cross the mountains, the raiders passed at the head of the two streams that are named Tor'-ayġır and that flow down both sides of the crest of the Küŋgöy Alatoo at 42°43′52″N 76°21′43″E (Borbuġulov, *Qırġız jergesi*, p. 287; General'nyi Shtab, 1:200,000 sheets K-43–11, K-43–17). Sar'-qamıš (Sarı-qamıš, lit. 'yellow reeds') is the name of the remains of a small medieval city site near where the southern Tor'-ayġır stream falls into lake Issyk Kul (Borbuġulov, *Qırġız jergesi*, pp. 250–251).

I.380 *qazan asqanı*, lit. 'hung the cauldron'; the raiders make their first campsite.

I.382 the only senses of *kön-* in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'* (s.v.) are transitive: 'agree to, get used to'; but cf. Chaghatay *kön-* 'agree, suffer, obey', Qazaq 'agree, submit, give in'. See note to line I.42.

I.396–399 Qızıl-qıya is the modern name of a pass (ca. 2180 m., 42°43′16″N 78°55′29″E) over the Tasma, a low range of mountains that divides the drainages of the Tüp and Jırġalaŋ rivers (thus on modern maps), the two main eastern feeders of lake Issyk Kul. To reach the Tekes river to the east (the next segment of the itinerary) from the northern shores of Issyk Kul, the raiding party would not logically turn southward to cross the Qızıl-qıya pass. The use of Qızıl-qıya in this itinerary can be explained by its poetic pairing with San-taš, a locality and associated pass in the immediate vicinity of Qızıl-qıya; in epic the two toponyms are frequently mentioned together, amounting to a formula that anchored the eastern end of Manas's realm (cf. Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, line 1312 and note; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, pp. 370–371; Tınıbekov, *Er Tabıldı*, p. 298). San-taš is the appropriate pass to cross in order to get from the northern shore of Issyk Kul to the valley of the Tekes river (via the Qarqara valley). The whole Tasma range itself is labeled *Gory Kyzyl kiia* on a Russian map published in 1873 (included in Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*). In the line *Qızıl-qıya ašqanda* the poet was undoubtedly using the toponym in the sense "having passed alongside from end to end of [the Qızıl-qıya *range*, not pass], and left it behind."

San-taš pass (in this text: Saŋ-taš) is a gentle divide at approximately 2000 meters elevation (42°45′33″N 79°01′18″E) between the drainages of the Qarqara river (Ili river drainage) and the Tüp river (lake Issyk Kul drainage). Until the 1850s when the Buġu withdrew eastward into the Tekes valley to escape the attacks of the Sarıbaġıš, Qızıl-qıya and San-taš of oral

tradition lay close to the actual outposts of Buġu control at the nexus of Kirghiz, Senior Horde Qazaq, Qalmaq, and Kashghari territory. The road traveled in this poem was an important communication route; the salinae and pastures in the Qarqara valley just to the east formed a meeting space for all; the Buddhist monastery at Sümbe lay close by (Valikhanov, "Opisanie karavannykh putei," p. 87; Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," pp. 321–323; Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*, pp. 147–149). Coincidentally, San-taš is the site of the bardic performance observed by Chokan Valikhanov in 1856 that resulted in the first written recording of a part of the *Manas* oral epic cycle (see Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary," pp. 272–276).

I.399–400 On the Tekes valley and setting off on the Tekes road see pp. 267–272, 276, 278.

I.408–465 A relationship between uncle and nephews on the mother's side is asserted in this exchange of speeches between the members of the Sarıbağıš raiding party and Balbay of the Buġu (on whom see the next note): *tay* is the blood relation in the mother's line, which held great significance for Inner Asian nomadic peoples particularly as between a mother's brother and her sons. In Kirghiz, a boy's mother's brother is his *tay ake*; to the uncle the boy is his *jeen*, who enjoys special rights and freedoms with him (Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 203–205, with other Turkic comparative examples; Dzhumagulov, *Sem'ia i brak*, pp. 22–23; Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*; Bekmuratova, "Terminologiia rodstva," pp. 33–34; cf. the Mongolian terminology in Vreeland, *Mongol Community and Kinship Structure*, pp. 63–64). Ethnographic study among the Kirghiz suggests that the terms were easily extended to all members of the two related stocks irrespective of age or sex (Dzhumagulov, *Sem'ia i brak*, p. 26), so that the woman's offspring and all their relatives would tend to call the woman's family *tay*, and vice versa for the woman's family and *jeen*; all the *tay* were considered senior to their *jeen*.

This is the semantic context in which the raiders and Balbay refer to each other as *tay*/*tayake* (and the variant *taġa*) and *jeen*. The historical situation—who had married whom to bring about the use of these terms, and how far the terminology had been extended—is unclear. According to the accepted genealogies of the Kirghiz right wing, the Buġu and Sarıbağıš are related paternally as descendants of Taġay (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 1). At a bare minimum the precondition for the relationship to have been asserted in the present configuration would be for a Buġu woman to have married a Sarıbağıš man sometime prior to December 1864. No such marriages have come to light in the sources. On the other hand, opposite

marriages are known to have taken place: Ormon Khan of the Sarıbağıš had married his daughter to the son of the Buġu manap Borombay, a kinsman of Balbay, and the latter is said to have addressed Ormon, correctly, as *tayake* before killing him (Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," pp. 123; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 209). Balbay himself had a Sarıbağıš mother (ibid., vol. 2, p. 10). All that can be said at present is that there may have been marriages in the other direction as well, although known examples of Sarıbağıš intermarriage patterns suggest that unidirectional marriages with other groups were the norm for them. In any event, the specifics of the asserted relationship seem not to have been recent or very memorable, since in lines I.453–456 Balbay is heard graciously accepting the newcomers' overture without actually confirming it—and with a touch of self-compliment, hinting at the advantages for him of playing along:

> Kimdin-kimdin jeeni eken;
> tayın tartqan er eken.
> Jeendin jaqšı bolġonu
> taġasına bel eken!
>
> It seems these are nephews by some maternal relation or other; indeed they are warriors who take after their maternal uncle [i.e., me]. A nephew who turns out well is a support to his maternal uncle!

Could the idea of the *tay*/*jeen* relationship, broached by Andaš in line I.408, have been made up to get a good reception for the raiding party? (Cf. the possible fictive sense of *jek-jaat* in line III.26, and the note there.) The war between the Buġu under Borombay and the Sarıbağıš under Ormon and Ümötaalı lasted until 1863, and was so bloody that at first it appears strange to find, in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, Sarıbağıš warriors in 1864 paying a friendly call on Balbay of the Buġu and taking on Buġu reinforcements for their raid. The Sarıbağıš raiders may have been playing the *tay*/*jeen* card out of a concern to minimize lingering bad feelings. Other sources, however, suggest that they need not have worried on that score; Balbay had broken abruptly with Borombay, whose house was the focus of Esenġul Sarıbağıš wrath, because unlike Borombay, Balbay did not wish to accept Russian suzerainty (Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 128)—much like Šabdan in the early 1860s. And for their part, Šabdan's Tınay Sarıbağıš had rarely joined with the Esenġul in the latter's feud with the Buġu, one reason being the geographical separation of the Tınay from either group (Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, p. 207). Nevertheless, the member of the Saribağıš raiding party named Saadabay

(I.80) and forty Tınay are recorded as having joined the Esenġul to fight against the Buġu in the war (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 343); and Balbay is remembered to have boasted that he raided the horses of the Tınay Sarıbağıs three times ("Balbay tuuraluu," p. 323). The Tınay warriors may have affected the *tay* relationship as a way to signal their willingness to overlook these past conflicts within a social framework geared to their advantage. After the exchange of greetings, the *tay*/*jeen* relationship is never mentioned again in the poem.

I.408 Balbay of the Buġu (ca. 1791–1867) was the son of Ešqojo (Iš-xoja) by a daughter of Atake (q.v.; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 10). Balbay was a celebrated combatant in the Buġu–Sarıbağıš war of the mid-nineteenth century. He broke with Borombay over the latter's submission to Russia at the head of the Buġu in 1855, and removed his people and herds into the Tekes valley. Later he became cooperative with Russia, but led cross-border raids into China against the Qalmaqs during the Muslim rebellion in the Ili region, in 1864–1865; he was captured by Russian troops in 1865 and died in jail at Vernoe in 1867. Balbay's activities in the Tekes area were reported by Russian military officials and were mentioned in numerous Kirghiz oral-derived poems of an epic-like, historical character, analogous to the present work (see, e.g., "Balbay tuuraluu"; Aytbayev, "Balbay"; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 317–319). Balbay's reputation in oral accounts includes mention of his having in the past raided the Tınay Sarıbağıš ("Balbay tuuraluu," p. 323), and further the assertion that he was the killer of Ormon Khan in the Buġu–Sarıbağıš war, ca. 1854 (Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbağıš urušu," p. 479; though this contradicts Semenov–Tian'-Shanskii's report of Ormon's death at the hands of a son of Borombay in 1854: Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*, p. 173). See also p. 267–268 below, and V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 312–313, 315, 317–320; Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana"; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 289, 292, 330–331, 336–337, 348–349, 382–387; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 208–210, vol. 2, pp. 10–14; Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbağıš urušu".

I.419 ms. جيبار as if *jıbar* 'send!' for Standard Kirghiz *jiber* seems to encode a second-syllable vowel closer to the Chaghatay form.

I.439 *baġana* II 'a while ago; a long time ago' (Syzdykova and Khusain, *Kazakhsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 109).

I.464 The five heroes all address Balbay as *taġa* 'uncle on the mother's side' (see note I.408–465 above). At least one of the five heroes, Bayake, was from outside the Tınay lineage, so his inclusion in the *tay* relationship is based upon his attachment to the house of Jantay.

The Bedouin had specific etiquette for passing through different tribes' territories on raiding missions; see Sweet, "Camel Raiding," p. 1141.

I.466 *paratke* written with the rarely used letter *p* (ms. پاراتکه) must be borrowed from Russian *poriadok* 'order' (though not recorded in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*), probably in prepositional case, as if from the phrase *v poriadke* 'in order'.

I.480 People addressing arbaq or the spirits of departed ancestors generally do so when visiting their tombs or other sacred places connected with them.

I.481 *Qırġız asker bizni deer* is an assertion of ethnic particularity: "One would say we are *Kirghiz* fighters, i.e., not just Sarıbağıš or Buġu." In the context of the recent war fought by the Sarıbağıš and the Buġu (see note I.490), this may imply that the raiders wish to circumvent any possible lingering animosity felt by members of the tribe to which their host, Balbay, belongs. See the General Commentary.

I.486 *čımın jan*, lit. 'fly-soul', was a traditional characterization of the soul as a buzzing fly, especially as it escapes a dying hero's body (Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 327, with reference to Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *jan* II); cf. Usmanov, *Idegei*, p. 132.

I.490 The Buġu, one of the most important tribes of the Kirghiz right wing, whose aristocrats were rivals of the Sarıbağıš (with whom their genealogies shared an ancestor), are named only peripherally in this manuscript. In the earlier events narrated in poem III *The Story of Kenesarı* and in the final battle with the Qazaqs in 1847, the Buġu had taken no part because of their position to the east of the zone of encounter between Kirghiz and Qazaq forces. Balbay Baatır's (q.v.) having acted as Buġu host to this Tınay Sarıbağıš-led raiding party as it headed east into Qalmaq territory in late 1864 is discussed in the note to lines I.408–465.

The period between 1846 and 1864 had been just as momentous for the Buġu as it had been for the Sarıbağıš, as the Buġu manaps mostly preceded the Sarıbağıš in submitting to Russia, and the Buġu under Borombay

fought a war with the Sarıbağıš under Ormon in the 1850s (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*; Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbağıš urušu"). Buġu groups had traditionally included the pastures in the Tekes valley inside the Chinese border in their annual transhumance; after the defeat by the Sarıbağıš many Buġu moved permanently to the Tekes, where they were found in large numbers in the late 1850s (Golubev, "Kratkii otchet," p. 190). See I. Andreev, *Opisanie Srednei ordy*, p. 52; "Sviedeniia o dikokamennykh kirgizakh," p. 144; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh"; Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*; Aristov, "Opyt vyiasneniia ėtnicheskogo sostava," pp. 53–54; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 117, 133–136, 159–160, 172–176, 285–289, 330–357, 360–367; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914)/(1990); Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 15–19 and figs. 1, 2; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 4–24; Prior, "High Rank and Power."

I.495 *sawur*: ms. ساوور = Standard Kirghiz *soor*; cf. Qazaq *sauır* 'rump'. *sawur etiŋdi* 'thy rump-meat' (accusative) in the second person possessive matches Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, line 32 *qartaŋdı* 'thy horse-rectum' (a delicacy); see Hatto's note on the familiar use of the second person (ibid., p. 107).

I.496 MS كوچه is probably *köčö*, a synonym of *oruzdama*, a thick porridge of cracked grain, milk and meat. The written form also fits Russian *kucha* 'pile', which would echo the formulaic "mountains of meat [and lakes of kumiss]" found when these foods are served in epic; but although Russian vocabulary has crept into the poet's diction in other places (cf. notes I.107, I.466, and I.1633), it is unlikely that a simple non-cultural borrowing like *kucha* would replace the wording of an epic formula, in this case *toodoy* ('like a mountain') *et qılıptı* (Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, line 51).

I.502 The identity of the Buġu guide Tınıstam in this poem is uncertain.

I.514–531 On the raiders' itinerary see pp. 267–279.

I.518–521 Stylistic doublings are appreciated in Kirghiz poetry in recounting the passage of time, though as a rule plain repetitions such as this one are avoided.

I.519 On Jıldız (Yulduz) see pp. 277–279.

I.523 On Qunduz see pp. 268–269.

I.532 On the Qara-too mountains see pp. 269–273.

I.552 *ġuftan* (ms. غوفتان), Standard Kirghiz *quptan*, renders Persian *xuftan*, the fifth and last Muslim prayer of the day (Arabic *ṣalāh al-'ishā'*), recited about two hours after sunset. Cf. I.794, where the ms. form is *quptan*.

I.553 Regarding the Kirghiz raids on the monastery of Sümbe that led to its destruction in 1864, see p. 254. The ruins of the monastery lie at 43°00′52″N 80°22′12″E, at a distance of some 10 km NW from the modern town of Sümbe on the Kazakhstan–China border; the exact location was kindly pointed out to me by Boris Rezvantsev, who has examined the site (personal communication, email of 21 May 2007). Three decades after the destruction, Merzbacher (*Central Tian-Shan mountains*, pp. 273–274) found the monastery had been modestly rebuilt, and ten years later he saw it expanded and flourishing again. On Sümbe see also Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 323; Golubev, "Kratkii otchet," pp. 190–191; Golubev, "Otryvok iz puteshestviia," pp. 97–102; Mikhailovskii, "Poiezdka v Sumbe" (translated in Appendix E); Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, p. 25; Bartol'd, "Otchet o poezdke, 1893–1894 gg.," p. 78 (a second-hand report); Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 302, 313; Akishev and Grigor'ev, "Buddiiskii monastyr' Sumbe"; Rezvantsev and Rezvantsev, *Tropami Shambaly*, pp. 95–104, 121–128. The present ruined state of Sümbe must date to after 1903, the year Merzbacher last saw the monastery in operation.

I.576 *ümütüŋ bolso janıŋdan*, lit. 'if you have hope for your soul'.

I.579 It is not clear how this line fits into the reported speech of the raiders or the poet's own narration; sarcasm may be the intent. *baġılan* in the text is written unclearly with an extra minim after the *lam* and a second *alif* with a curiously bent top. Iudakhin (*Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v.) records *baġılan* as a variant of *baġlan* '(rare) weaned lamb', which in Qazaq has the transferred meaning 'an elite person respected by society' (Syzdykova and Khusain, *Kazakhsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v.). This sense was chosen because it refers to human beings, but as applied to an Infidel captive it would have to be ironic.

I.590 The *kelme* 'profession of faith' is the Arabic formula, (*'ašhadu 'an*) *lā ilāha illā-llāh, wa* (*'ašhadu 'anna*) *Muḥammadan rasūlu'l-lāh* '(I testify

that) there is no god but God, and (I testify that) Muḥammad is the messenger of God'.

I.595 The incident of the Qalmaq captive who is converted to Islam by the raiders and given the Muslim name Üsön (<< Arabic Ḥussayn) has an echo in the name preserved in a twentieth-century Manas-epic, of Manas's uncle Üsön, who returned home after many years in the Qalmaq realm and converted to Islam (Orozbaq uulu, *Manas*, vol. 1 [Bishkek, 1995], line 6206; cf. "Köz-Kaman").

I.602–604 These lines suggest either that in the poet's eyes the ethnonym *Qalmaq* covered only a part of the local population around the monastery, or (more likely) that fifteen was the number of able-bodied Qalmaq fighters remaining at Sümbe.

I.607 Although Dörbööl's identity has not been corroborated in other historical sources, the khanly status of the person in the poem accords with a report, obtained by Potanin in 1876–1877, that at the time of the Tungan rebellion in Qarašahr (1863), "the [unnamed] khan of the Xošuts nomadizing along the Yulduz" was the khan of the city of Qarašahr to the southeast (Potanin, *Ocherki sievero-zapadnoi Mongolii*, vol. 2, p. 43; cf. the *wang* or khan of the Chinese-administered Qalmaqs at Qarašahr, in Qurbān ʿAlī, *Tavārīx-i xamsa-i šarqī*, p. 287).

The name *Dörbööl* is not transparently corroborated in other sources; hence the form, origin, and meaning of the name must be reconstructed, all with uncertainty. The fronting (umlaut) of the ambiguous vowel letters (the ms. always shows دوربوول with one *vav* in the first syllable and two in the second) is supported on the basis of Potanin, who cites an ancestor in the Ergenektı lineage of the Nayman (Middle Horde Qazaq) named *Dörbôul'*, evidently the same name (Potanin, *Ocherki sievero-zapadnoi Mongolii*, vol. 2, p. 7); vowel harmony rules in Kirghiz then give the form *Dörbööl* as set in this text. Such a name does not admit a Turkic etymology, but in Mongolian it could be formed with the deverbal suffix *-γul/ -gül* (as in its classical form), which produces such agent and occupational nouns as modern Mongolian *xaruul* 'sentinel' from *qara-* 'to look'. The Qazaq ancestral figure mentioned by Potanin had a name formed in this fashion; a phonetically possible Mongolian verb base would then be *dürbe-* 'to be frightened, panic-stricken; to run or flee in panic', although the change in vowel from *ö* to *ü* requires explanation (see below), and the Mongolian word **dürbegül* > **dürwüül* is apparently unattested, as is the cognate form in Kalmyk; moreover, the

meaning 'fugitive' or 'refugee, one who fled in a panic' appears strange as an attribution.

Knowledgeable Kirghiz readers and hearers of Musa Čaġatayev's text may have understood the enemy's name with the disparaging meaning 'fugitive' or 'he who flees in a panic' (the Kirghiz words *dürbö-* '[of a crowd] be alarmed, stampede in fear', obviously borrowed < Mongolian *dürbe-*, and *dürböön* 'crushing defeat, discomfiture', may have chimed with *Dörbööl* with semantic irony pleasing to Kirghiz ears), but not necessarily. Two heroes' names found elsewhere in Kirghiz oral tradition have phonetic shapes that resemble *Dörbööl*, and which may help to explain the shift in the first syllable vowel from *ü* to *ö* which is otherwise difficult to substantiate (if the Kirghiz and Mongolian words relating to flight are indeed involved here). The mid-nineteenth century Manas epic "Köz-Kaman" has a minor hero named *Dörböljün* or *Dörbüljün* (Radloff recorded both variants), a Qalmaq-born cousin of Manas in the story of the Qalmaqized Közqaman (the name is evidently an appropriation of Kalmyk *dörwᵘldžᵘn* 'quadrangle; name of a small city in Jungharia near Čugučak' [Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 100]; cf. *Dūrbūnjūn* [thus in Arabic script], a town and old kurgan on the upper Emel river 65 *čaqırım*s [ca. 65 km] east of Čugučak, in Qurbān ʿAlī, *Tavārīx-i xamsa-i šarqī*, pp. 285, 303, 335–338 [in which Qurbān ʿAlī cites a legend from "*Šajara-i türk*," evidently not the book of that name by Abū'l-Ghāzī, to the effect that Dūrbūnjūn was founded by a group of Qaraxitay in the twelfth century]; this town is marked as *Durbuldzhin* at approx. 46°30′N 84°E on Voenno-Topograficheskii Otdiel, *Karta iuzhnoi pogranichnoi polosy*, sheet XII ["Karkaraly, Semipalatinsk, Zaisanskii post"]); to these names cf. *Dörböljün*, youngest of the five progenitors of the Beš Qalmaqı subdivision of the Sarıbaġıš (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 66, 69; cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," p. 36), in a story that echoes the plot of the Radlovian epic (cf. also Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 28: description of a small community at Dörböljün of Buddhist "Qalmaq-Kirghiz" descended from Kirghiz captives of the Junghars). Cf. the minor hero's name *Dörböldöy* in later Kirghiz epic (Sarıpbekov et al., *Manas: Enciklopediya*, vol. 1 p. 185).

I.608 The name *Manjum* is evidently from Sanskrit ultimately; cf. the name of the boddhisattva Mañjuśrī (Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*, pp. 529, 1175). On *alp* see note to line I.990.

I.610 ms. قار(ا)لای جه رکه (? – for *Qara-say jerge*?) has been crossed out and جه ز توبونه *Jez-töböwünö* written in above, probably in the same hand. On Jeztöbö see pp. 269, 273.

I.611 It appears that in writing *qal·pi* the scribe intended the third person possessive of *qalıp* 'form' (Standard Kirghiz *qalıbı*), which has the idiomatic sense 'it seems, evidently', and that the pronunciation with *p* was in line with the Qazaq form, *qalpı*; the added minim is a common manual tic of the scribe. A literal rendering of the line would be 'it appears that its being heard exists'.

I.613–614 On the itinerary from Sümbe to Qara-say and the location and topography of the Qara-say valley, see pp. 269–279.

I.629–630 On the great cauldron of Sümbe see Appendix E, and cf. A. Golubev's observation:

> For the preparation of food for guests, at a short distance from the temple there is a kitchen noteworthy for its enormous cauldron, about two arshins [ca. 140 cm] in diameter. In it are cooked the offerings, to be consumed by the donors themselves. Such an enormous cauldron, an accessory of any [monastery], explains several stories of the Kirgiz, the strangest first: Passing through the valley of the Kegen by Orto-tau, the Kirgiz said to me that on one of the very high hills there is a large cauldron. Later, when I went to Qulja, I also heard that in the mountains near the source of the river Khorgos there is an enormous cauldron with twelve lugs. Doubtless there were monasteries in these places, which are now ruined and abandoned.
>
> (Golubev, "Otryvok iz puteshestviia," p. 99)

Fragmentary remains of an iron cauldron's rim or conical base were found in archaeological excavations at Sümbe (Sümbö) in 1992 (Akishev and Grigor'ev, "Buddiiskii monastyr' Sumbe," p. 16).

The lugs (Kirghiz *qulaq*; in Golubev's Russian, *ushko*) were the ear-shaped projections cast on or near the rim; a 'forty-lugged' cauldron as in the poem was formulaic in epic for a huge cauldron (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *qulaqtuu*); in real life it appears to be an exaggeration in the face of Golubev's observation of twelve lugs on the enormous Khorgos cauldron.

Cauldrons in Inner Asia were important possessions, symbolic of the owner's lineage; cf. the chain of ownership of Ablay Khan's cauldron and its restoration to his descendant as narrated in the poem *Abılay Xan*, in Radlov, *El qazınası*, p. 281. Does the possessive nominal ending of *qazanın* 'his/her/its cauldron' here denote its association with Dörbööl, whose headquarters are invoked in the next pair of lines? Cf. Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, p. 109 (note to line 60), with further comparative ethnological and archaeological references; Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, pp. 306–337; Érdy, "Hun and Xiong-nu Type Cauldron Finds."

I.638 *mal*: a sheep or bovine is probably intended.

I.647 On the location of the second Qara-too encountered on the itinerary see p. 270.

I.650–651 The = symbol dividing these two lines has been crossed out with a heavy X in pencil.

I.653 The description of the binocular spyglass, *asıl taštan oozu bar* 'with eyepieces of precious stones' [or: 'with eyepieces set with precious stones'?] and its semi-magical power of magnification (cf. I.1149–1158) is a topos found in numerous Kirghiz epics; see pp. 276–277 and n. 81 there. *ooz* 'eyepiece': not in lexica, but inferred by analogy with the shape of a bottle or other vessel having a narrow neck (*ooz*, lit. 'mouth').

I.654–685 In his autobiography Šabdan tells about the events narrated in this digression, which occurred during the two years he spent based in Tashkent in the service of the Qoqandian commander Qanāʿat Šāh. Šabdan says that it was the *bek* or governor of Pišpek who sent him and a Qazaq chief to the khan "as deputies"; in 1860 when this happened Mallā Khan was still on the throne in Qoqand, so our poet was speaking anachronistically to say that Xudāyār Khan summoned him. During Šabdan's sojourn in Tashkent, in February 1862, Mallā Khan was murdered by a cabal of Qıpčaq and Kirghiz courtiers who recognized Mullā ʿAlīqulī (ʿAlimqul) as regent. Qanāʿat, hearing of this, sent to Bukhara to ask Xudāyār to return from his exile and retake the throne. The siege of Tashkent narrated in this poem occurred in the spring of 1862 when Xudāyār and Qanāʿat defended the city against the Qoqandian army that had been sent on behalf of the rival khan, ʿAlimqul's puppet, the youth Šāh Murād. Šabdan in his autobiography said the siege lasted 53 days, longer than the more poetic 40 days in the poem. The *Tā'rīx-i Šāhruxī* says that Xudāyār Khan's troops made a sortie and inflicted losses on the attackers (Beisembiev, "*Ta'rikh-i Shakhrukhi*," p. 123); Šabdan took credit for leading the timid troops of the khan on the sortie that thus broke the siege (Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], pp. 512–513).

Beisembiev dates the siege from late March to late April 1862 (Muhammad Yunus Djan, *Life of ʿAlimqul*, pp. 44–45, nn. 149, 151). He also says it lasted "approximately 35 days" and gives other sources' reasons for the Qoqandian army's withdrawal, which hinge on the approach of the Bukharan emir with his army.

On Xudāyār Khan's role in the incidents narrated here, see also Niyāz Muḥammad, *Taarikh Shakhrokhi*, pp. 232–238 (cf. Beisembiev, "*Ta'rikh-i Shakhrukhi*," pp. 25, 122–124; Muhammad Yunus Djan, op. cit., pp. 44–45); on Xudāyār Khan cf. Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*; Schuyler, *Turkistan*; V. Ploskikh, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe khanstvo*.

On the Qoqandian official and general Qanāʿat Šāh, see Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*, p. 361; Beisembiev, *Ta'rikh-i Shakhrukhi*; Muhammad Yunus Djan, op. cit.; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*.

I.658 Šabdan in his autobiography also states that he was summoned to attend the Khan of Qoqand (during Mallā's reign, not Xudāyār's), and also that Bayake fought beside him to break the siege of Tashkent; it may be assumed from Šabdan's repeated references in his autobiography to Bayake as "my jigit" that Bayake was with Šabdan from the start of his sojourn.

I.659–660 Šabdan in his autobiography mentions the Qazaq Bayseit Toyčibekov as another member of the party sent from Pišpek to attend the Khan of Qoqand.

I.659 *Sart* in this poem, and probably in the lone occurrence in the Postface (poem IV) as well, is to be understood as the ethnic label of the sedentary population of the Khanate of Qoqand and its regular army. On the Sarts, sedentary Turkic-speaking Central Asians, see Barthold and Subtelny, "Sārt"; Bregel, "Recent Publications on the Sarts."

I.660 On the Qazaqs in relation to the Khanate of Qoqand see p. 38.

I.664 The last two words in this ms. line are uncertain. The last letters of the two apparent written words اەكە نانا as if **eke naa* are emended to *eki nar* 'two camel-bulls'.

I.681 On the Khanate of Qoqand see Holdsworth, *Turkestan in the Nineteenth Century*; V. Ploskikh, *Kirgizy i Kokandskoe khanstvo*; Beisembiev, *Kokandskaia istoriografiia*; Babadzhanov, *Kokandskoe khanstvo*.

I.700–762 The description of Šabdan's spyglass-reconnaissance is very similar to the "praise of the Talas valley" topos of Kirghiz epic, which was probably the origin of the bulk of the material inserted here by the poet; see p. 276 n. 79.

I.707 The reference to a compass direction is quite unlike Older Period and Twilight Age Kirghiz epics, which were preoccupied in their own ways with geography but not with cardinal directions.

I.735 *qulan* is the now endangered Asiatic wild ass, *Equus hemionus kulan* (with populations currently surviving in Kazakhstan), or possibly (for this location in Jungharia) *E. h. hemionus* or *E. h. luteus* (Moehlman, *Equids*, pp. 64–67).

I.740 ms. سوروق as if **soruq*/*suruq*, does not fit with any animal names; the form is probably a scribal error for Kirghiz *soqur*, the northern mole-vole (*Ellobius talpinus*), which is a common burrower in the region (though not under rocks; it creates runs and hills in the soil like moles).

I.748 Something is obviously wrong with this line in the ms.: اوققان آنكدن بار as if *uqqan aŋdın bar* has only five syllables rather than seven, and includes a noun in genitive case (*aŋdın* 'beasts'') with no governing noun; furthermore the = symbol used to divide this line from the next line on the page here crosses out the start of a new word, با with undotted minim, possibly anticipating the first word of the next line, بارى *baarı*. The scribe has apparently omitted something in copying. The word proposed here to fill the gap presupposes that the last syllable of this line, بار *bar*, is also a scribal anticipation of the next line. This clears metrical room for a likely word to conclude the phrase *uqqan aŋdın …* : *baqırıġı* 'roaring, bellowing', the one too many syllables of which is within normal bounds of variation in this Kirghiz meter, though rather rare for this poet.

I.752 *tuyġun* is a goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*); the color specification *belyi* 'white' *iastreb-tetereviatnik* in Iudakhin, *Russko–kirgizskii slovar'* (s.v.) appears to refer to the West Siberian subspecies, *A. g. buteoides*, that is notably pale in color (Dement'ev and Gladkov, *Birds of the Soviet Union*, vol. 1, pp. 178–179, 184–187). *tunjur* is the female of this bird.

I.754 *itelgi* is the saker falcon (*Falco cherrug*); *šumqar* is the gyrfalcon (*F. gyrfalco*); *qırġıy* is the sparrow hawk (*Accipiter nisus*). All these birds and the *tuyġun* and *tunjur* in line 751 are used as hunting birds.

I.783–784 The wording and grammar of the line do not clearly specify whose banner was bloodied, the Qalmaqs' or the Kirghiz'; the translation opts for the latter, assuming that it would have been unnecessary and

inadvisable for a small mounted hunting party of Qalmaqs to carry a battle-standard when in no obvious danger.

I.784–785 The = symbol dividing these two lines is followed by X.

I.791 *čüü* 'gee-up!' (ms. چوو) is registered only with a short vowel in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'* (s.v. *čü*).

I.794 See note to line I.552.

I.799 *qoymoču* (here and at I.810, 812, 815, III.114) is not found in modern Kirghiz lexica; cf. Qazaq *qoymašı* 'storekeeper; warehouse worker'. The derivation from *qoy-* 'set, place' highlights the act of posting a guard.

I.818–819, 1123–1124 Turkic warriors' practice of binding up their steeds' tails before entering combat is depicted as early as the eleventh-century fragments of martial poetry recorded by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī in his *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* (ca. 1075); see al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part 1, p. 353, and Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles," p. 160.

I.820–821 On the *camisado* tactic among the Kirghiz cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 326.

I.831–832 With the lines *qılčaŋdašıp oŋoy er*/ *bir-birine baġıšıp* 'the expert warriors looked over their shoulders to watch out for each other', compare the following lines from one of the eleventh-century historical-panegyric verse cycles recorded by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī: *ärän alpi oqištūlār*/ *qiŋir kōzin baqištūlār*, which Dankoff translates as 'the warriors called out to one another; they looked at one another askance' (Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles," p. 163; cf. Dankoff and Kelly's rendition of Middle Turkic *qiŋir* 'squinting' in al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part 2 p. 157 and part 3 p. 137; for *qiŋir köz* 'a look askance [in suspicion]', see also part 1, p. 179). The sense of the second line in the al-Kāšġarī excerpt is probably not 'looked at one another askance [in suspicion]' but 'squinted [looked hard, through the dust or into the distance] to keep track of one another'.

I.845–846 Lipets remarks generally on the unhappy lot of horse-herds in Turkic and Mongolian epic poetry: "In the event of a raid on the herds, the herdsmen enter into an unequal contest with well-armed *batırs* [...] in these fights the herdsmen, of course, are often killed or mercilessly beaten" (Lipets, *Obrazy batyra*, p. 172).

I.854 *taqaluu* 'shod [beasts]' could scarcely have applied literally to the whole herd of a thousand horses, nor could there have been any effective sorting of shod from unshod on the fly; if 'shod beasts' is anything more than a kenning for 'horses', it probably stands for horses above weaning age, or those old enough to be shod.

I.878–879 The = symbol dividing these two lines is followed by X.

I.879 The word *beš* is written with an Arabic numeral 5, which is preceded by an X mark.

I.880 *dayırdap* is the denominal verb in *-la-*/*–da-* from the word that originated in Arabic as *ṭā'ir*, which is evidently the origin of Türkmen *dayırdamaq* 'to jump (gallop) on horseback' (cf. Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1230: 'flying; volatile; bird'). The change in the initial consonant from *t* to *d* is distinctive in the Oghuz Turkic dialects and suggests such an origin for the Kirghiz word; the verb is not found in other Turkic lexica. Cf. Kirghiz *dayrı-* 'stretch out the wings, learn to fly'.

I.889 *baraŋ* is defined rather narrowly by Iudakhin as '(in epic) hammerlock gun (*pistonnoe ruzh'ë*; as distinct from a flintlock or matchlock)'; further specifications such as *aq* 'white' *baraŋ, kök* 'blue' *baraŋ, qara* 'black' *baraŋ*, etc., "are evidently explained by the gun's external finish" (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 109). In view of the etymology and phraseology of the term, the existing evidence for the adoption of these weapons in Central Asia in the mid-nineteenth century, and lack of corroborating historical documentation about the type of firearms used on this raid, *aq baraŋ* (here and at I.1339) has been translated simply as 'modern musket', leaving open the questions of its finish and what type of lock it had.

Kirghiz *baraŋ* is borrowed ultimately from Persian (*tufang-* or *tufak-i*) *farangī* 'European (musket)', a phrase denoting the place of origin of the high-tech firearms of the time, not the design of the lock. In Turkic languages the designation *faraŋ* dates back at least to Babur (Zahiruddin Muhammad Bâbur, *Bâburnâma*, vol. 2, p. 463); recent Özbek *farang mıltıq* means simply a gun that fired cartridges "as distinct from local matchlocks," which implies nothing more advanced than a flintlock (Borovkov, *Uzbeksko–russkii slovar'*, p. 487; cf. Shaw, "History of the Khōjas," p. 52: "European rifles [*Frang Miltak*]," referring to the mid-eighteenth century in East Turkistan). Thus, what constituted the latest *faraŋ* 'European' gun manufacture varied from era to era and from place to place. The internal evidence

of the poem is sufficient only to distinguish the *aq baraŋ* of the five leading raiders (I.888–889) as newfangled, state-of-the-art, or "high-end" guns with respect to those carried by their companions (cf. I.1453: the 30 marksmen carry only *mıltıq* 'guns, rifles' << Russian *vintovka*).

Rifles that ignited the powder charge with a percussion cap, instead of the less reliable spark from a flint striking steel, were fairly new on both sides in the Crimean War, in the 1850s; to make them, the Russians, like their opponents, modified existing flintlock rifles with special hardware (Mordecai, *Military Commission*, pp. 157–159; Mavrodin, *Iz istorii otechestvennogo oruzhiia*). From Russia and British India the hammerlock or percussion musket had reached Central Asia by the mid-nineteenth century, where local artisans remade Russian and western European percussion muskets to local tastes (Denisova, *Russkoe oruzhie*, plates xxviii–xxix and p. 144; Elgood, *Firearms of the Islamic world*, pp. 126–127, including a color photograph of a mid-nineteenth century Bukharan percussion rifle with an English lock and trigger guard). However, contemporary reports note the relatively recent appearance of even less advanced weapons among Kirghiz: "Sabers and guns are considered rarities. Only after the killing of Kenesarı did *turki* (Qazaq matchlock guns) begin to appear in the yurts of many manaps as expensive decorations" (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 37, written ca. 1856; in the term *turki* note the implied gradation in relative technological advancement with respect to European manufacture). The Qazaqs, too, were slow to acquire more advanced firearms: "In the 1860s, having obtained flintlock muskets from Russia, the Qazaqs, according to Meier, even disdained matchlocks" (Semeniuk, "Oruzhie," p. 267, citing L. Meier, *Kirgizskaia step' Orenburgskogo vedomstva* [SPb. 1865], not seen by present writer). These accounts suggest that, in general, improved types of firearms spread rapidly across Central Asia after their introduction, while the availability of weapons in each new wave would have varied by locality. If the Kirghiz had them before the Qazaqs at any time, it was probably from a source farther south. Finally, if all of this taken together with the poem at hand is evidence that some Kirghiz had percussion muskets at a time in the 1860s when the Qazaqs were still using matchlocks and flintlocks, could it be that the Kirghiz' control of caravan routes between Kashghar and Qoqand in those turbulent years put them in the way of higher-quality armaments than the outdated models that found their way through (Russian-controlled!) trade routes onto the Qazaq steppes?

With Iudakhin's reference to *aq baraŋ* as the color of the weapon's finish (loc. cit.) contrast a passage of epic poetry where *baraŋ* is opposed in a non-color sense to *qara* '(lit.) black': "*qara* … (in epic) simple matchlock

gun: *čın badana torġoy köz*/ *baraŋdın oġu batpaġan*/ *qaranın oġu qaqpaġan* '(folklore) a real forged corselet—a bullet from a percussion musket will not pierce it, a bullet from a matchlock will not penetrate it' " (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 346; poetic line divisions added). The element *aq* '(lit.) white' is commonly used in epic in names of individual weapons such as *Aq-bolot*, often in the sense of the object's preciousness rather than its whiteness or brightness (cf. note to line III.150). Such usages in epic are part of the background against which the phrase *aq baraŋ* in the present poem should be read.

I.896 The Qazaqizing form *qaštı* for Kirghiz *qačtı* has been retained in the text as a probable reflection of the poet's or the scribe's dialect area.

I.903 *qurusuna tıġıštı* 'they prodded at their girdles': the Kirghiz should be pictured barely landing blows with the tips of their lances on the fleeing Qalmaqs' clothing.

I.928 The first word in this ms. line is unclear; most likely it is قلماققا *Qalmaqqa* with the first two letters missing in the page seam. Another possible reading is خلققا *xlqqa* with an alif written in later between *x* and *l*. The velar fricative *x* (the sound that is written خ in the Arabic alphabet) is rare in this ms. as it is in most forms of Kirghiz, where it is replaced by *q*. If the alif was written in later, it would be understandable as an attempt by someone literate in Kirghiz, but not in Chaghatay, Osmanlı or Persian, to make sense of the word, which is خلق in those languages.

I.930 The microfilm image of the ms. shows the first word, beginning on the page gutter, as *čuu*. This has been emended to *ačuu*: *ačuu kel-* is a common idiom denoting the onset of anger, but **čuu kel-*, as if 'become noisy', has little to recommend it here.

I.938 *qıyın'dı*, contraction for *qıyın edi* 'was well done, was formidable'.

I.939 The *taš* 'stone' was a rank-button conferred by the Ch'ing authorities for different grades of civil and military service throughout the empire (Brunnert and Hagelstrom, *Present Day Political Organization*, p. 508); cf. the phrase *taš sayınġan* 'Chinese or Qalmaq official (lit., with a button affixed to oneself)' (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *taš*). On the close familiarity of the Kirghiz with Ch'ing rank-buttons, see Di Cosmo, "Kirghiz Nomads," pp. 357–358, 360, 363 and notes.

I.944 The ms. spelling *murut* for Standard Kirghiz *burut* has been retained as probably reflecting the author's or scribe's speech variety; cf. *Moyġut*.

I.948 Neither **düŋgür*(-) nor a derivative verb **düŋgürsü*- are attested in Kirghiz lexica; cf. the Qazaq noun *düŋgĭr* 'hum, muffled popping sound', from the presumed Kirghiz reflex of which a verb *düŋgürsü*- would be regularly derived with the suffix *-sı-*/*–sü-* (Oruzbaeva, *Söz quramı*, pp. 323–324) with the simulative meaning 'seeming to hum or pop; with a vague humming or popping sound'.

I.965 With Kirghiz *süyröl*- 'dangle, drag' cf. Qazaq *süyrel*- 'barely shuffle the feet'.

I.966–969 The description of the Qalmaq giant Manjum resembles that of the epic hero Joloy Qan of the Qalmaq in the *Manas* epics (e.g., the elaborate passage in Orozbakov, *Manas*, vol. 3 [Moscow, 1990], lines 6842–6906).

I.969 1 *kez* = 1 arshin, itself = approx. 71 cm. Thus a person 4 *kez* tall would be 2.85 meters or over nine feet, surely an epic exaggeration.

I.970 *čamal* (not in lexica of Kirghiz or nearby languages) for *čamaluu* 'approximately'.

I.990 *alp* 'hero, brave fighter' occurs at line I.608 as a common noun apposite to Manjum; here it complements Manjum's name. In mid-nineteenth century epic poetry the term is found as an element in heroes' names; cf. Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, lines 625–628, 806–811.

I.991 The ms. has "يوزده ى 900"—obviously an error to be read *toġuz jüzdöy*.

I.993–996 The poet's keen and even empathetic perception of the Qalmaqs' mood upon starting out in pursuit of the Kirghiz raiders, "They were riding away [...], knowing that disgrace had befallen them; they were chasing after a great number of horses," evinces familiarity with the grinding reality of northern Kirghiz life in the mid-nineteenth century, when major losses of this kind were as well-known as wins.

I.999–1006 The syntax of this passage is scattered. The ablatives in I.1000–1002 and 1004 are subordinate to I.999 *endi sözdü ešitkin* 'now hear a word (from ...)'. However, the accusative at I.1003 *arttan kelgen quuġundu* 'the

pursuers who came from behind' does not readily imply any other verb in the vicinity to govern it; the likeliest candidate is *tosup jatqan* in I.1000 *tosup jatqan erlerden*, which gives 'now hear a word from the warriors who were waiting to block … the pursuers who came from behind', where the ellipsis represents the two intervening lines with ablatives, which are syntactic parallels of 'from the warriors', but which form an unusual intrusion in this syntactic environment. The next two lines with their accusatives add to the difficulties: I.1005–1006 *sayıp quran šerlerin,/ tosup qalġan erlerin*. Here the verb needed to govern the accusatives is even more elusive. If any verb can be proposed at all, it would be I.999 *ešitkin* 'hear!', although since the actual context is *sözdü ešitkin* 'hear a word' with the direct object *sözdü* in the accusative, which is followed by *erlerden* 'from the warriors' in the ablative, the word pattern already set up in this sentence resists construing *šerlerin* and *erlerin* as direct objects of *ešitkin*. The translation glosses over these difficulties. As elsewhere, though nowhere quite as conspicuously as in this passage, the dashes used in punctuating the text and translation are signals that the poet has started and interjected thoughts without finishing them right away.

Lines I.999–1006 are a vivid indication that the poem found here in manuscript existed for some time in oral form, and that the process of textualizing it on paper involved, at some stage, transcription of an oral performance. For an oral poet, epic narration becomes particularly exacting at the boundaries of scenes, where, as here, the point of view explicitly shifts. Documents of Kirghiz oral epics from the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries contain similar passages where the speed or structural complexity of the narration produced seemingly inconsistent logic. See Prior, *Semetey of Kenje Kara*, pp. 107–108 for an example in which the musical form of the bard's performance provides clues for interpreting an apparent "false start" in the narration; see also Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary," pp. 265–267. With these examples in mind, it is easy to hear in this sequence of lines an oral bard in the act of performance.

I.1005 See note to line I.259.

I.1011 ms. جار قازانعا as if *jar qazanġa* has been emended to *jan qazanġa* 'in(to) the camping-kettle' (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *qazan* I).

I.1031 The sense of the rhetorical question is, "Who ever finds a death for himself besides the one prescribed at birth?"

I.1036–1102 The military action described in this digression actually took place. A clash of Qoqandian troops against Talas Kirghiz under Sarımsaq Datqa (see note to line I.1090) with reinforcement by northern Kirghiz formations is mentioned in three sources: in a Russian document from late in the year 1862 (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 250–251); by Šabdan in his autobiography, with an implied date conformable with the Russian report; and by Soltonoyev in *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 367, evidently with facts drawn from the present poem but with a different date supplied independently. In the autobiography, as in this poem, Šabdan and Bayake naturally play decisive roles in the repulse of the Qoqandians. The four sources differ, however, on a number of important circumstances pertaining to the conflict; the allusion in this poem and the autobiography to familial relations between the principals also requires scrutiny.

Šabdan's autobiography says:

> A while after [the fall of Pišpek to the Russians], I got word that the Sarts [Qoqandians] were surrounding our relative Sarımsaq of the Baġış tribe and intending to plunder him, so I assembled a detachment of Kirghiz and went to liberate him. I succeeded in defeating the Sarts, and two of their leaders, Pasim-Qulaq and ʿAlīšir, were killed: the former by me and the latter by my jigit, Bayake. (Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513; no other source mentions the names of the killed Qoqandian officers, and these names are not found in Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*)

Soltonoyev's account, which was probably based on the present poem, runs as follows:

> In about 1857 or 1858, 300 troops of the Qoqandians were trying to attack Sarımsaq Datqa, the feudal lord of the Saruu, Qušču, and Baġış tribes of the Talas Kirghiz, and were about to overtake him, when Šabdan and Bayake with twelve men joined up with the Kirghiz who were drawing themselves up for battle, and fought the Özbeks [Qoqandians]. When Šabdan made an Özbek who was firing a cannon [*zambirek*; cf. *mıltıq* 'gun' in the poem, line I.1067] run away and then knocked him over with his lance, the Özbeks fled, and the Kirghiz killed a great many of them, and took a lot of horses, armor and gear as booty. (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 367; oddly, this is the first bit of text below the heading "The Submission of the Tınay Sarbaġış Tribe to Russia.")

Soltonoyev thus dates the incident differently, but confirms that Bayake accompanied Šabdan with twelve men (I.1045), and adds the Baġış to the Saruu and Qušču, the Kirghiz groups mentioned in the present poem; Baġış tallies with the affiliation of Sarımsaq Datqa mentioned in other reports that identify him as Kirghiz (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 376).

A Russian military report of the incident helps to clarify certain facts. Not too surprisingly the cause of the clash that emerges is quite different

from that purported in our Kirghiz sources: Sarımsaq and other Kirghiz had struck the first blow, around the same time as the Russian siege of Pišpek in late 1862, by investing the Qoqandian fort at Aulie-Ata. Their appeal to neighboring Kirghiz formations was for reinforcements against Qoqandian counterattack; moreover, Šabdan and his band apparently were not the most important northern Kirghiz to answer Sarımsaq's call (Dzhamgerchinov, loc. cit.). Sarımsaq's motivation to attack Aulie-Ata may have appeared to the Russians to have been opportunism in conjunction with the Russian offensive on Pišpek, the most important fort to the east; but a Qoqandian source provides the additional information that there was bad blood between Sarımsaq and Xudāyār Khan, who had regained the Qoqandian throne in March 1862: during his previous reign, in 1858, Xudāyār had publicly humiliated Sarımsaq after the latter was one of the leaders of the failed Qoqandian attempt to recapture Aq Masjid from the Russians (Muhammad Yunus Djan, *Life of ʿAlimqul*, p. 40).

I.1036–1037 It is not entirely clear what the poet Musa meant when he had Šabdan and/or Bayake (the reported speech cues are ambiguous) say *Biz qayındap barġanbız*. The crux is what sort of relationship is implied in the verb *qayında-* with which Musa specified the errand to Talas; the sense is but dimly reflected in Šabdan's autobiography when he refers to Sarımsaq as "our relative (*rodstvennik nash*)" (Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513). Was the Russian phrase *rodstvennik nash* just a vague courtesy form to refer to a Kirghiz aristocrat of another tribe, or was there some actual relationship between the two groups of Kirghiz? Iudakhin defines *qayında-* as 'betroth, offer in marriage, marry off' (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v.); there was no imminent betrothal or wedding mentioned in the sources, however. The denominal verb formed from *qayın* 'in-laws' + *–la-*/*–da-* could also be understood generally in the sense 'be in an in-law relationship/have relations with one's in-laws'. For several generations Šabdan's Tınay lineage of the Sarıbağıš had arranged marriages with daughters of the Saruu of Talas (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1 pp. 85–87, vol. 3, pp. 45–46), and another major subdivision of the Sarıbağıš, the Esenġul, also took brides from the Saruu (ibid., vol. 3, pp. 53–56). Indeed Šabdan's second marriage, arranged by his father Jantay with an eye to political advantages, was to the Talas girl named Šaake, descendant of Berdike Baatır of the Saruu; it was on this very bridal errand that Jantay met Bayake in Talas and arranged for Bayake to enter his service (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 169–170).

The ethnic affiliation of Sarımsaq, however, is uncertain (cf. Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*, p. 232; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 376), and if he

was Kirghiz there is no evidence that he was a Saruu, which would be the quickest route toward explaining 'our marriage relations' (*biz qayındap* …) or 'our relative' (*rodstvennik nash*). Therefore, when *biz* 'we' of the Tınay party *qayındap barġanbız* 'had gone to our marriage relations' who included (by various reports) Qušču, Saruu, and Bağış Kirghiz of Talas under the command of a presumably Bağış leader, the Tınay speaker of those words displays a certain imprecision, but one that is understandable. For a speaker from the Sarıbağış and especially the Tınay, whose people's experience of the Talas valley had for generations been characterized by recurrent political marriages with the Saruu, 'our marriage relations' was a fitting shorthand expression for the Kirghiz of the Talas valley.

I.1037 The Talas valley (around 42°30′N 72°E), situated 130 km due north across the Čatqal and Talas Ala-too ranges from the heart of the Qoqand Khanate in the Ferghana valley, was the part of northern Kirghiz territory that was earliest incorporated and most securely held by Qoqand until the 1860s (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*).

I.1039–1044 The tactical situation is described quite precisely and plausibly in the poem: *ürkün keldi bir talay/ keŋ Čatqaldın beline;/ tosup čıqtıq betinen/ ürkkön eldin četinen./ Beš jüz Sarttın askeri/ kelatqan eken artınan* 'a multitude came in confusion toward the pass above the broad Čatqal; we ran into them suddenly head-on at the border of the land they had fled. Five hundred of the Sarts' troops, it turned out, were coming up behind them'. It is important to read *keŋ Čatqaldın beline* not in the basic sense of the dative, '*to* the pass of the broad Čatqal (river)', as if Sarımsaq was about to reach the mountain pass located several dozen trail kilometers and a thousand vertical meters up a tortuous canyon from the floor of the Talas valley (this Čatqal pass is labeled Qara-buura pass on modern maps, after the stream with which it connects the Čatqal valley; the modern paved route crosses the Talas Ala-too range at 42°12′10″N 71°34′48″E). Rather, the Kirghiz are on an escape route '*toward*' the pass. This description accords well with the actions of the three groups as plotted by other sources (see note to lines I.1036–1102 above): the Qoqandians, probably the formerly besieged garrison of Aulie-Ata going on the offensive, was attempting to run down the Kirghiz under Sarımsaq who were fleeing up the Talas valley, and just as the latter made for the mouth of the canyon of the Qara-buura river with its refuges and convenient access to the Čatqal, they met the small detachment of their fellow Kirghiz under Šabdan and Bayake (and, according to the Russian report, probably more Kirghiz forces as well). Sarımsaq

was observed on another occasion seeking strategic refuge in the defiles on the Čatqal–Talas nexus (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 290–291).

I.1043 The *Sarttın askeri* 'troops of the Sarts' were Qoqandian soldiers; Kirghiz in the mid-nineteenth century referred the Qoqandians broadly with the ethnonym *Sart*. Cf. Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], pp. 512–513.

I.1079, 1082, 1085 The poet barely sketches this incident of battle. Line 1079 depicts the two heroes Bayake and Šabdan rushing the Sarts' standard; already at 1082 the Sarts are shown pressing toward or succumbing before (*ıqtadı*) a flag or flags (*jelek*); at 1085 someone (there is no expressed subject of the verb) plants the standard (*tuu*). The translation reflects the following interpretation of this passage: Bayake and Šabdan rushed the Sarts' standard, the Sarts fell back (*ıqtadı*, combining its main senses of shielding oneself from heavy weather and succumbing to superior force) toward separate, subordinate pieces of battle insignia that they retained—*jelek* or flags, and the two heroes (captured and) planted the standard while repelling the Sarts.

I.1083–1185 These lines are executed in Hand 2; see p. 93 n. 4 and Appendix A. In numerous places in this passage the scribe breaks the usual order of two whole verses per line divided by a = symbol; some verses are written across text line boundaries, or in more than two verses per line, and = is often omitted or occasionally inserted where it does not belong.

I.1089 The required sense of *basın-* is found in Chaghatay: 'oppress' (Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar'*, vol. 1, p. 230b); cf. Qazaq *basın-* 'behave depreciatingly toward sb.'. The object is unexpressed.

I.1090 Sarımsaq Datqa, resident of Talas, was a prominent military leader and *ḥakim* or governor in the Qoqandian regime; *datqa* is the Kirghiz rendition of Persian *dādxʷāh,* his Qoqandian title. According to Beisembiev, information conflicts as to whether he was a Qurama or a Kirghiz (Muhammad Yunus Djan, *The life of ʿAlimqul*, pp. 40–41 and n. 122); he was probably of the Kirghiz Bağıš tribe. See Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," pp. 538–539; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, p. 367, 376; Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*, p. 232; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 251, 290–291; Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, pp. 518, 551–552.

I.1093 Sarımsaq's piety was noted by Russian observers as "religious fanaticism" (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 290).

I.1101 *uvaq* for ms. اواق (cf. Standard Kirghiz *baq* 'fortune, happiness') has been retained as a notable instance of dialectally meaningful orthography in the poem.

I.1103 The first word in ms. قون قونبای is safely understood as *qun* 'wergeld, fine for a killing'. The second word is apparently the negative gerund of a verb, only one phonetic realization of which answers to a Kirghiz verb: *qon-* 'come to rest; (of a bird) perch; stay, camp'. The collocation *qun qon-* (as understood here) 'for a claim of wergeld to settle (upon) or be assessed' is absent from Iudakhin's extensive treatment of phrases with *qun* (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *qun*), but the underlying image harmonizes with other phrases such as *qun quu-* 'seek revenge (lit., chase *qun*)' and *qunu učqan* 'he has suffered a setback (lit., his *qun* has flown)'. The wording of the recollection that no one sought blood payments for killing the Qoqandians (*qun qonboy*) echoes Sarımsaq's benediction just two lines earlier, *Qonsun,—dep—baldar, ar uvaq!* 'May all good fortune settle upon you, boys!'.

I.1123–1124 See note to lines I.818–819.

I.1141 ms. نۇقوسون admits no likely reading in the lexica of Kirghiz or related languages. The textualized form *nooqu+sun* is a Kirghiz-ized rendering of Qazaq *naużı* (its recorded senses are 'sort; clan; origin'), itself harking back to a pronunciation of the Arabic etymon with paragogic final vowel attested in Osmanlı Turkish نوع "*nev'* (vulg. *nev'i*)" (Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 2112).

I.1171 *joyqun* II '(At-bašı) a type of war weapon' (Mukambaev, *Qırğız tilinin dialektologiyalıq sözdügü*, vol. 1, p. 673). I have not been able to determine the exact type.

I.1186 *xoopu* 'fear, dread' for ms. خووپو (<< Arabic *xawf*) is retained in the text in favor of emendation to Standard Kirghiz *qoobu* (*qoop*).

I.1189 *eerdey qayqı beleske*: the 'mountain spur dipped like a saddle' onto which the pursuing Qalmaqs emerge is almost the topographical opposite of the last mentioned thing that was *eerdey qayqı*: the *eerdey qayqı bel* 'pass,

[…] dipped like a saddle' in line I.692. However, these features must be one and the same. The scene-setting lines I.915–916 *Dürbü salǵan jerinen/ tosup jatsın baatırlar* 'Let the heroes wait to block them at the place where they had looked through the spyglass' show that the *eerdey qayqı* feature is being seen for a second time, in hindsight after the raiders' second crossing of it. The spurs of mountain ranges have their passes just as the main spines do, so it is not difficult to visualize a spur whose crest is furnished with a pass of the shape described. Nevertheless the reason the poet chose *beles* instead of *bel* here may have been metrical: he gained a needed syllable for the line.

I.1210 The first element in the name *Qarqara-toru* is written in the ms. once as قارقارا and once as قارقرا showing not uncharacteristic fluctuation in spelling, here implicating the Qazaq form *qarqara* in variation with Kirghiz *qarqıra*, which both denote the demoiselle crane (*Anthropoides virgo*). For the color significance of this horse's name, lit. 'crane-bay', cf. the horse coat color term *grullo* in English (< Spanish, 'crane') denoting a grayish or mousy dun; the dark mane, tail, and legs of the dun type superficially resemble the bay. The overall color of the demoiselle crane is gray.

I.1213–1214 Cf. the lines in a fragment of *Manas* by the bard Čoyuke Ömür uulu: *Qalmaq eer qašına,/ qaq jüröktün bašına*, also describing the thrust of the hero's lance in a mounted charge (Jılqıbayeva, *Qıdır Ake*, p. 85).

I.1243 *qara bürküt* is not a vernacular name for a species of eagle in any reference works available to me; however, the steppe eagle is known as *qara quš* '(lit.) black bird'. To science this bird is either *Aquila nipalensis* (Shukurov, *Ptitsy Kirgizii*, p. 59) or *Aquila rapax nipalensis* (Dement'ev and Gladkov, *Birds of the Soviet Union*, vol. 1, pp. 307 [map], 311–312, where it is noted that this subspecies is dark brown). *bürküt* in Standard Kighiz is the golden eagle, *Aquila chrysaëtus*. Cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, vol. 3, p. 431.

I.1252 ms. *döö* is written above *er*, which is scratched out.

I.1274 *par* is borrowed from Russian *para* 'equal, match, peer'.

I.1283 To "goad" (*šaštırıp*, lit. 'hurry') Botpay, Bayake would utter the following speech loud enough for Botpay to hear that bystanders were talking about intervening in the single combat to save him.

I.1328 Taštanbek (d. 1834), a Kirghiz aristocrat of Tınay Sarıbağış descent, was the second son of Atake (q.v.) by his first wife; he was fostered by his father's brother Satıbaldı's son or grandson Joobasar father of Tülööqabıl (q.v.). Taštanbek took over khanly rule from his late brother Qarabek and ruled cruelly; obtaining Qarabek's wife by the levirate he fathered Ormonbek (q.v.) and Subanbek. At Qarabek's anniversary memorial feast Taštanbek orchestrated the transfer of khanly rule to his nephew Jantay (q.v.). He died in 1834, and Jantay gave his anniversary memorial feast (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 90–91, 165–167, 170; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 274). A watered-steel sword acquired by Atake as a young man in a raid on a trading caravan became known as *Taštanbektin bolotu* 'Taštanbek's damask blade', an heirloom weapon that figured in the 1846 battle with Kenesarı (see Appendix B; cf. Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 318–319, 328; Töröqan uulu, op. cit., p. 113; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 437–438).

I.1331 On Tınay, ancestor of Jantay and Šabdan, see Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 85–89; Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 5–7; Soltonoyev, op. cit., p. 124, 157.

I.1339 See note to line I.889.

I.1341 The syllables *-tı közdöy bir atıp* are underlined in the ms.

I.1350 The ms. form *ada* is clearly in error for *adam*.

I.1359 There is a double-underlined √ or V mark at the end of this line.

I.1373 ms. دوربوولغو, as if *dorboolġo*, must be emended to دوربوولكو *dörböölgö*; see note to line I.607.

I.1416 The "equal" size to which the Qalmaq force has been reduced (*teŋdep Qalmaq tosuldu*) is inferred to be 80, the size of the Kirghiz detachment that met them.

I.1427 ms. اولوموش as if **olumuš*/*ölümüš*/*ulumuš*/*ülümüš* has been emended to *ölmüš* for lack of acceptable resolutions of the trisyllabic reading.

I.1432 A phonetic irregularity in the ms. form جييشلتى as if **jıyıšıltı* adds to the evidence that the ms. is a copy. The morphologically possible but

unattested verb **jıyıšıl-*, as if 'to be congregated' (synonymous with the usual form *jıyılıš-*) would take the finite verb ending in its voiced form, *-di*. The voiceless *-ti* that was written is a clue that the usual word *jıyılıšti* 'congregated' was intended but the scribe reversed the fourth and fifth letters in copying.

I.1477 Several Turkic languages attest similar contracted forms of *ne* + *qıl-*; ناغيبتر *nağıptır* represents *ne* (the variant *na* is Ču dialect) *qılıptır* '(lit.) what would they appear to have done?'

I.1481 Here the *oljo* 'spoils' to be divided do not include the 1,000 horses originally lifted by surprise, but rather the horses and things taken from the Qalmaqs during battle and from their dead after battle—i.e. as a result of taking a stand and fighting. The distinction between these two types of booty based on the methods of their acquisition apparently extended to the protocols of their division; the *oljo* was disposed of immediately after battle.

I.1526 *qazı* 'flank', *qarta* 'rectum', and *jaya* 'rump' were all delicacies (see Kenžeaxmetŭlı, *Qazaqtıŋ darqan dastarqanı*, pp. 64–65, 94, 95, 220, and illuss. pp. 83, 90, 91).

I.1536 The ms. form باندە as if **bande* is emended to *banda*; see note I.107.

I.1537–1538 On Jıldız (Yulduz) see pp. 277–279. *Segiz künü jol jürüp/ Jıldızga kaytıp keledi* reinforces my conclusion that the poet did not understand the proper location of Jıldız; see the next note.

I.1543–1544 *Jıldız degen tegiz say/ baš-ayağı malğa jay* 'both of the rivers called Jıldız were a fit place for cattle from sources to mouth' shows that the poet had some understanding of the basic structure and fame of the Yulduz river system, even while he misplaced it twice.

I.1549–1550 *qoš bašına bir taydan*: it is not clear on the face of it which leaders (*qoš bašı*) are meant. There was the khan of the expedition, Andaš; there were the five heroes—Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay, Karakesek, and Botpay; there were two heads of fifties, Janıbek and Temir; and there were ten unnamed heads of tens (I.284–294). All or some of these may have had a foal slaughtered and cooked, presumably to feed himself and the men under his command or patronage. If the calculations in the next note are

consistent with the running account of animals in the raiders' possession, this line most likely refers either to the five main heroes and thus five slaughtered foals, or to the ten heads of ten men and thus ten slaughtered foals.

I.1585–1593 The numbers of animals have remained quite consistent throughout the narration. The main raid garnered a thousand horses (I.844), plus a hundred horses and ten mules taken as booty after the final battle with the Qalmaqs (I.1482–1485). The allotments of horses distributed to the *qoš bašı* (I.1549–1550, the foals for eating) and at Balbay's camp (these lines) total five or ten and 290-plus respectively, so the final take of eight hundred horses and ten mules (I.1593–1594) tallies.

I.1589–1590 On the *suġatčı* 'agricultural workers' among the Issyk Kul Kirghiz in the mid-nineteenth century, Radloff observed: "Agriculture is but a secondary occupation among the Kirghiz, although they devote themselves to it more than their neighbors the Qazaqs. In the lands of their winter residence (around lake Issyk Kul) they cultivate huge fields; workers or slaves (who are but few in number) remain there while the bulk of the tribe goes into the mountains to the west" (Radloff, "Observations sur les Kirghis," p. 327).

I.1591–1592 Apparently the raiders assessed forty horses as *qun* or blood-payment (to be kept by the Buġu and turned over to the Qalmaqs if requested) for whichever killings were deemed to have occurred outside the rules of military engagement during the raid and its aftermath. The 15 Qalmaq victims of the slaughter at Sümbe (I.626–627) and the 14 hunters killed on Qara-too before the raid commenced (I.781) are possible subsets of the Qalmaq dead to which this may have applied.

I.1601 The Qaraqol river flows past the site of the present-day city of Qaraqol (formerly Przheval'sk) and empties into the southern one of the two bays that make up the eastern end of lake Issyk Kul, at approximately 42°34′20″N 78°18′E. As the party's onward route followed the northern shore of the lake, the mention of Qaraqol as a landmark should not be read too specifically. Passage between the drainages of the Tekes and the Ču runs by San-taš pass into the valley of the Tüp river and onward to the northerly of the two bays of Issyk Kul, so that a route that takes in Qaraqol would require an unnecessary divergence and a crossing of the Tasma mountains, from the Tüp to the Jırġalaŋ river valley and back again. Rather, with *Qaraqoldun*

janınan/ ašıp tüštü kölünö the poet was merely signaling to an audience who resided to the west of Issyk Kul that the group reached the lake via its far end.

I.1603–1606 The returning raiders' arrival in their home territory is marked by a quatrain whose poetic-topographic parallelisms are of a sort well-known from Kirghiz epics of the nineteenth century (for the *jaqalap–baqalap* pairing cf. Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, lines 323–324, 330–332; and for general poetical aspects of itineraries see Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary," pp. 262–272).

The end of the itinerary has a precisely realistic quality that befits the party's return to familiar territory. The difference between the first stage of the outbound itinerary (up the Čoŋ Kemin, over the Tor'-ayġır pass, down to the lake at Sarı-qamıš) and the end of the homebound route (along the lake to the [mouth of the southern] Tor'ayġır stream, then Sarı-qamıš, then Kötmaldı) clearly reflects the consideration of the expedition's leaders at the end of the mission to save tired beasts and men from the unnecessary ascent and crossing of the Tor'-ayġır pass on the way to Tınay headquarters at the two Kemin rivers (I.1598); the mention of Kötmaldı, at the head of the Boom gorge, signifies that the warriors took this downhill, but longer, route to Kemin.

Kötmaldı is the name of the damp area of level ground, watered by a small stream of the same name, that separates the western end of lake Issyk Kul from the Ču river, which at that spot undergoes its great turn from eastward flow to westward before descending into the Boom gorge to the north. This quadrangle of land no more than six kilometers on a side (around 42°26′N 76°10′E), bounded by the two above-mentioned waters east and west with the Küŋgöy Ala-too mountains to the north and the low Boz-barmaq hills to the south, was a strategic location. Ormon of the Esenġul Sarıbaġıš captured and destroyed the Qoqandian fort there in the early 1850s. His son Ümötaalı presided over a large encampment of Sarıbaġıš who were hostile to Russia when Semenov, who referred to Kötmaldı as "the territorial boundary," reached it in 1856. By 1864 Kötmaldı had come under the control of the Tınay Sarıbaġıš under Jantay, whom the Russian authorities trusted to control that spot; it constituted the eastern edge of his territory (Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 540; cf. Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 44, 81; Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 323; Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*, pp. 96–98; Borbuġulov, *Qırġiz jergesi*, p. 167; Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, p. 560).

I.1633 The ms. form كونتور admits no meaningful Turkic, Persian, or Arabic reading; Russian, however, provides an etymon with a good phonetic and semantic match: *kontra, kontr-* 'contra'. These lexical items were used in Russian long before the Bolsheviks brought such words as *kontrrevoliutsioner* 'counter-revolutionary' into common parlance (Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar'* [2nd ed.], vol. 2 [1881], p. 154 s.v. *kóntra*). Google Books Ngram Viewer (http://ngrams.googlelabs.com/) shows that although the incidence of the element *kontr-* 'contra-' in Russian exploded after 1917 (cf. the words in Kirghiz with the element *kontr-* listed in Iudakhin's *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'* [p. 402], which are all certainly post-1917 political borrowings from Russian), usage of the word *kontra* 'against; opposition' in Russian was fairly strong throughout the nineteenth century, and reached a significant peak between 1890 and 1900. Thus Russian *kontra, kontr-* (and *kontry*, the plural form that has gradually taken over unmarked nominal usage) were at least available as sources of borrowing into Kirghiz around the time the Šabdan Codex is said to have been written. Cf. notes to lines I.107 and I.466 for other instances of Russian loanwords used by this poet.

I.1637 On "Küntuuġandın Musası" (Musa Čaġatayev), see Appendix A.

II. The Inface

II.2 *azġına*, cf. Eastern Turki *azγïnæ* 'a little, few' (Jarring, *Eastern Turki–English Dialect Dictionary*, p. 31), for Standard Kirghiz *azġana*.

II.6–7 According to the logic of this expression—*qısa* being something that can be seen (rather than heard), but at that time only among the Qazaqs and Noġay, not the Kirghiz—the meaning of *qısa* must be 'written story'. In view of the poet's later attempt to wrangle with Arabayev about publishing (II.48–50), it is also possible that *qısa* in lines II.7 and II.25 means stories in print.

II.6 On the Noġoy (Noġay) see pp. 314–315.

II.8 The Russian official Nikolai Aristov had in fact already alluded in print, albeit obscurely, to the raid on the Qalmaqs that was narrated above, in an account of Muslim disturbances in Sinkiang published in *Materials for the Statistics of the Turkestan Region* in 1873 (Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam," pp. 171–172; see Appendix F); the fight between the Qazaqs and

Kirghiz that is the subject of the next narrative poem was also dealt with in Russian publications prior to the writing of this ms. (Sereda, "Bunt kirgizskago sultana"; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk"). However, the meaning of *baarın jazġan Orustun* is probably more general, an acknowledgment of the profusion of Tsarist-era Russian publications on Central Asian history and affairs.

II.11–18 These lines have been enclosed in a box in pencil in the ms. Deletions in the ms. are normally effected with strikethroughs and/or X's (lines I.70, 72–79; the mistakenly repeated line at II.40; a partial line at III.116; III.246–250; partial lines at III.259–260; etc.).

II.11 Parts of the word نوغوی *Noġoy* have been heavily overwritten in pencil, giving what appears to be توغون, the intended meaning of which is uncertain.

Manas is the paramount hero of the Kirghiz epic tradition; cf. Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*; discussion at pp. 314–316.

II.15–18 Cf. another occurrence of the oral trope comparing Manas with a present-day warrior: *Ertegi ötkön Er Manas,*/ *ne jerinen kem qaldım* 'In what way am I less than Er Manas of bygone days?' (Balbay speaking; in "Balbay tuuraluu el oozundağı ır" [= A poem about Balbay circulated orally among the people], p. 323).

II.16 In *Šabdandan Manas er emes* the two meanings of *er*, both 'man' and 'warrior', are manifest.

II.17 On the epic hero Almambet, who was born an Oirat prince and became Manas's chief companion, see Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*; Zhirmunskii, "Vvedenie v izuchenie ėposa 'Manas'," pp. 110–111; Hatto, "Almambet."

II.21 Ormon Nıyazbek uulu (ca. 1791–1854 or '55), was a Kirghiz aristocrat of Esenġul Sarıbağıš descent; he was elevated as khan over a coalition of northern Kirghiz tribes amid tensions with Qoqand and the Qazaqs; dates posited for the elevation range from the 1820s to the 1840s (the 1840s, cited by Karypkulov et al. [*Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, p. 510] and the specific year 1842 cited by Toqtonaliyev [*Ormon Xan*, p. 5] both fit a plausible scenario in which perceived threats from Qoqand and Sultan Kenesarı's move-

ment forced the northern Kirghiz to choose a single leader to draw and hold strong borders). Ormon also held the Qoqandian rank and title of *parvanači* (Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 1, p. 510). In the aftermath of the Kenesarı affair Ormon portrayed himself to the Russian military as the leader of the victorious Kirghiz campaign, a claim that was accepted by the Russians in their documents and which mostly coheres with surviving accounts in Kirghiz poems and sanjıra; for his services in the campaign the Russians awarded him a gold medal, a commendation, and a robe with gold trimming (Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 531; cf., however, Jantay's assertion that Ormon was in the rear during the final struggle with Kenesarı: Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, p. 474). In the 1850s Ormon camped mainly in valleys south of lake Issyk Kul (Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, p. 208).

It is safe to say that around the time of the events narrated in poem III, *The Story of Kenesarı*, Ormon was a more powerful and important Sarıbağış leader than Jantay (q.v.), who is celebrated in both main poems in this ms. The relatively muted attention to Ormon as compared with Jantay in *The Story of Kenesarı* is particularly noteworthy, and is clear evidence that the poem originated not among Ormon's Esenġul, but among Jantay's Tınay division of the Sarıbağış (who had received the brunt of Kenesarı's attack in 1846); the fifth and last poem in the ms., *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, brings to a conclusion the gentle rhetorical shift from Esenġul to Tınay interests noted here; see the Commentary on that poem for discussion of Ormon and Jantay (pp. 293–294, 296–299).

In 1854 or 1855 amid an outbreak of hostilities with the Buġu, Ormon was captured and killed—by one account, at the hands of the Buġu warrior Balbay. The Sarıbağış reprisals dealt a disastrous blow to the Buġu and resulted in many deaths and their evacuation of the Issyk Kul basin; thenceforward Balbay had his headquarters in the upper Tekes valley (his location in poem I, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*).

On Ormon see: Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh"; Valikhanov, "Rodopodrazdelenie kirgizskikh plemen"; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 38–42/(1990) pp. 33–35; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 206–211; Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana"; Toqtonaliyev, *Ormon Xan*; Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*; V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*; Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası"; Aytbayev, "Balbay"; "Balbay tuuraluu"; Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbağış urušu"; Ormon qızı, "Ormon".

II.23 Beket Baatır, a Qazaq warrior, participated in an anti-Russian revolt, 1855–1858; his exploits are narrated in traditional poetry (Sobolev, *Pesni stepei*, pp. 259–265; Winner, *Oral Art*, pp. 93–95; Smirnova, *Kazakhskii fol'klor*, pp. 307–310).

One of the exploits of Qoblandı, the hero of the eponymous Qazaq and Qaraqalpaq epics, was a raid on the Qalmaqs; see Zhirmunskii, "Ėpicheskie skazaniia o nogaiskikh batyriakh," pp. 395, 515; Kidaish-Pokrovskaia and Nurmagambetova, *Koblandy-batyr*; Winner, *Oral Art*.

II.29 For reasons of sense, ms. توكونكدون اوكو must be read as *Tökөŋdün ököö* (or the more proper possessive *Tökөŋdün ököwü*, cf. Standard Kirghiz *ekөösü*) 'the two of them including Tökö', i.e., Törökeldi and Ormon (Törökeldi was Ormon's general); "no less" implies comparison with Kenesarı, Beket, and Qoblandı, the Qazaq warriors who were the focus of the preceding lines, II.19–26. On the minus side of this reading, the possessive suffix that *ököö* should carry in relation to the genitive *Tökөŋdün* is either absent or rather sparely encoded in اوكو for *ököwü* (elsewhere in the ms. specially marked *vav*s are used for /w/). But if we read instead *Tökөŋdön ököö kem emes* 'the two of them are no less than Tökö (ablative)', the sense of the poet's rhetoric falls apart: which two? why is a Kirghiz warrior being deprecated?

This line is underlined in the ms.

II.31–36 The incidents alluded to here must have been memorable exploits of past Kirghiz heroes, which Musa upbraids Kirghiz singers for forgetting.

II.31 Sanbaraq, more properly Baraq, was a sultan of the Qazaq Middle Horde active in the late eighteenth century; he was killed in a battle with the Kirghiz after he led a raid that defiled the *mazar* of Qočqor Ata in Kirghiz territory (see p. 35; cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 415, 424–426).

II.32 The reading of this line presents complicated difficulties, especially since it occurs within a run of highly allusive references to events long past, which are difficult to reconstruct with available sources. The words given are provisional, especially the emended form *Orġočor* (for ms. اورچوغور as if *orčoġor* etc.), a personal name. According to legend Orġočor was one of the first Kirghiz migrants from the Yenisei to Issyk Kul, whose name is preserved as a toponym denoting a hill on the southeast shore of the lake (Abramzon,

"Narodnye predaniia," p. 68; the hill is at 42°25′02″N 78°02′40″E). Orġočor was not a direct ancestor of the Sarıbaġıš; a modern sanjıra says he was killed in Joči's invasion and interred on the hill (Kenčiev, Dor and Salk, "Dire l'histoire en l'écrivant," pp. 498, 503).

Possible variant readings of *qızıl tuu*(*wu*) 'red standard' are *qızıl too*(*wu*) 'red mountain' and *qızıl töö*(*wü*) 'red camel'; the reference in this text lacks parallels in other sources, so the reading *qızıl tuu* 'red standard' is tentative.

II.34 The famous Qazaq warrior Qabanbay of the Nayman (Middle Horde) served Ablay Khan (q.v.) in the mid-eighteenth century, roughly contemporary with Atake (q.v.), who "went" to Qabanbay in the text (cf. Qurbān ʿAlī Xālidī, *Tavārīx-i xamsa-i šarqī*, p. 250; Vostrov and Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav kazakhov*, p. 66, citing Tynyshpaev, *Materialy*, pp. 29, 71–72; Valikhanov, "Shuna-Batır," pp. 8, 392).

II.40 This line has been written twice by mistake at the transition between two pages, once in last position at the bottom of f. 41^{r}, and once as the first line at the top of f. 41^{v}. The first instance, at the bottom of f. 41^{r}, has been crossed out.

II.48–55 On Ešenaalı Arabayev see pp. 46–47.

II.52 *Süt-ičerof* (with Russian-style ending) is ironic, hinting that Arabayev is well off materially. But is drinking milk (*süt* I in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*) a metaphor for good living? Or is Musa insinuating that Arabayev is somehow making iniquitous profits (*süt* II, loc. cit. < Arabic *sūd*; and cf. Kirghiz *sütqor* 'pawnbroker, usurer', with *-qor* < Persian equivalent to the native Kirghiz *-ičer* 'drinker')? Cf. Toġoloq Moldo's poem "Manaptardın zalimdigi," where *sütqor* is applied to the greed of manaps (Toġoloq Moldo, "Manaptardın zalimdigi," p. 178); cf. also the reference to Šabdan and Bayake as *qan ičerler* 'bloodsuckers' by Soltonoyev, whose book displays strongly anti-manap views (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 378). It is difficult not to hear in Musa's words some jealousy of Arabayev's professional success, though not enough is known of the historical context to translate *Süt-ičerof* any other way but literally.

II.(Notation at end) The following inscription appears below the last lines of the poem, at the bottom of f. 41^{v}:

[In Cyrillic:]
1600 strok

with the meaning:

1600 lines

III. *The Story of Kenesarı*

III.(Title) In the present poem the sultan is normally referred to as Kenensarı or Kenen (Khan); the spelling *Kenesarı* is usual in modern publications. On Kenesarı Qasım ŭlı (ca. 1802–1847), who died at the hands of Kirghiz captors after his second unsuccesful incursion into the Ču valley, see pp. 38–39, 74–81 and Appenices B–D; also Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 282–287; Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay"; Axmetov, *Kenesarı–Naurızbay*; Sereda, "Bunt kirgizskago sultana"; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk"; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 312–330; Bekmakhanov, "Fol'klornye istochniki"; Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*; Bekmakhanov, *Vosstanie khana Kenesary*; Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*; Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*.

III.3 On Ablay Khan (d. 1781) of the Qazaq Middle Horde, see pp. 34–36; I. Andreev, *Opisanie Srednei ordy*; Valikhanov, "Ablai"; Valikhanov, "Āblāy tūrālī jir/Pesnia ob Ablae"; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 162; "Abılay Xan," in Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 280–282; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 185–192.

III.7–23 The poet's short prologue giving Kenesarı's intentions in launching this attack is similar to the longer poetic passages in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (pp. 409–410, 439–441) that introduce the work and precede the narration of Kenesarı's final incursion a year later, when he lost his life. Among the few exact verbal correspondences between these two texts, the line *Qırġızdan tuqum qoyboym dep* (III.7, 261) is found at Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., p. 445. The *aqın* (poet-songster) Arstanbek Buylaš uulu (1824–1878) was remembered as having faced down a Qazaq competitor in an *aytıš* (contest of improvised jibing songs) in the 1850s with lines impugning Kenesarı: *aram Qalmaq tuqumu* 'of foul Qalmaq descent'; *türü buzuq qapırıŋ* 'thy infidel, rotten by nature'; *Musulman pende qılbaġan* 'did not behave as a Muslim' (Kebekova, *Arstanbek*, p. 47). Arstanbek's forthright "thy infidel" outdoes the more equivocal statement found in our poem, "he quite resembled an infidel," which is in better accord with the sharia injunction against calling a fellow Muslim an infidel.

III.13 (*Sarı-*) *arqa* in modern international toponymy is synonymous with the *Kazakhskii melkosopochnik*, the gently hilly Qazaq Upland consisting of steppe and semidesert areas in central and eastern Kazakhstan. The region coincides fairly well with the home territory of Sultan Kenesarı, with whom the narration is concerned here. However, to Kirghiz in the pre-1917 period, *arqa*, literally 'back side, rear', served as a localized, historically-predicated vernacular term for the north of, and lands farther north of, Kirghiz territory, the sense of rearness dating to the time long past when the Kirghiz fled southward under pressure of Oirat encroachment (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 67; for the sense of *arqa* in Qazaq context cf. Karmysheva and Karmysheva, "Chto takoe Arka-iurt?"; Koichubaev, *Kratkii tolkovyi slovar'*, pp. 38, 191). Line III.13 *Arqa degen jerinen* implies, with *degen* and the Qazaq context, that *arqa* means the Sarı-arqa steppe. Cf. line III.161, where *arqa* is used in the more general sense.

III.14 The Arğın and Nayman were tribes of the Qazaq Middle Horde. On the Arğın see Vostrov and Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav kazakhov*, pp. 67–72; Mukanov, *Ėtnicheskii sostav*, pp. 47–53, 99–106; on the participation of Arğın formations in Kenesarı's army see Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, pp. 170–173, 179–180. On the Nayman see Vostrov and Mukanov, op. cit., pp. 60–67; Mukanov, *Ėtnicheskii sostav*, pp. 38–46, 93–99.

III.21 The size of Kenesarı's force given here, one and a half thousand, is different from the figure of one thousand given in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası" (p. 435), and the five thousand reported in Qalığul *R* (Appendix C).

III.22, 25 The Qordoy (Qurday) pass (43°20′58″N 74°59′00″E, at 1,237 m) communicates between the Ču river valley in the south and the Qopa valley in the Ili basin and the Sarı-arqa steppe on its north side, and thus formed a gateway between the territories of the Senior Horde Qazaqs and the northern (right-wing) Kirghiz in the nineteenth century.

III.26 *jek-jaat* means 'relatives by the *tayake–jeen* relationship; marriage relations; friends'. In oral-derived sources on the conflict between the Kirghiz and Qazaqs there are allusions to marriage relations between the two sides (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 442; "Bala Ayılčı sanjırası," p. 196 ["Supatay Baatır had become *jek-jaat* with the Kirghiz": Supatay was one of the betrayers of the Qazaqs]; see next note). As distinct from poem I, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, where the *tay* relation appears to have

been successfully used as a metaphor for alliance and goodwill with only an arguable kinship element (on *tayake–jeen* see note to lines I.408–465), here a real marriage relation was insufficient to avert a savage battle. A citation adduced by Iudakhin is evocative of the assertive, even fictive quality that such relationships might have: *jek-jaat bolup sıylašıp, qadırdı bekem saqtašsaq* (folklore) '[it would be well] if we respected each other as relatives and consolidated [our] authority' (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *jek* I); in this quotation *jek-jaat bolup* may mean '(really) being in a *tayake–jeen* relationship' or 'becoming as *jek-jaat*; asserting a *tayake–jeen* relationship'. The relationship is referred to again at line III.225.

III.27–87 The episode of Tınaalı's misleading Kenesarı's forces at the dangerous crossing of the Ču river (given muted treatment in Qalıġul *Q*; see Appendix B) is used twice with artless repetition by Abdıraxmanov in "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," first leading up to the clash of 1846 as here, and second, a year later, as an implied hindrance contributing to Kenesarı's final capture (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 433–436). Some sort of repeat incident at the river in 1847 finds corroboration in a Qazaq oral account used by Bekmakhanov (*Kazakhstan*, pp. 335–336; the river is referred to as "*Mykan Suy*" and "*Kara-Suk*" [see note to line III.35]; the Qazaqs are tricked not by Tınaalı but by two Qazaq turncoats, Sultan Rustem and Sıpatay Biy).

III.27 The Tınaalı named here, and in other accounts of the fight with the Qazaqs in 1846, was a Solto; Abdıraxmanov states this in his poem on the war with Kenesarı: *Solto uruġu,*/ *Tınaalı bolġon* 'Tınaalı was of Solto lineage' (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 434). Tınaalı's stated father, Qanay, was of the Talqan–Qošoy–Jamansart subdivision of the Solto (in the genealogies, Talqan was a brother of Bölökbay, to whose division most of the Solto defenders who fought against Kenesarı belonged). Although *The Story of Kenesarı* states that Qanay was Tınaalı's father, according to other sources, Tına(a)lı was the son of Qanay's brother, Čını (Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 99/[1990] p. 84; "Bala Ayılčı sanjırası," p. 195; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 45; cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 4). Cf. Appendix C (with an unnamed Bölökbay envoy).

Despite the good evidence that Tınaalı was a Solto, Qalıġul's narrative of the encounter (Qalıġul *Q*, Appendix B) mentions in passing that Tınaalı was a Tınay (Sarıbaġıš). There was indeed a Tınay of that name alive at the time who is better known and attested in the sources, the third son of Jantay (see Alapay), and this is probably the basis of Qalıġul's confusion.

Three other narratives of this encounter (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası"; Qalıġul *Q* and *R*) state not that Tınaalı was captured by the advancing Kenesarı but that he was detained when he went to Kenesarı's camp (then stationary) on an embassy.

Qanay was the father or uncle of Tınaalı and father of the famous manap Baytik. He died ca. 1838–1840; his tomb near Pišpek was opened and his body exposed by the advancing Qazaqs in 1847 (cf. line III.220; and see Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 192, 224–225, 251–255, 322).

Here and at line III.33 the name Tınaalı is supplemented with the suffix *-ge*, which spoils the meter and appears to have been written in later. Cf. the use of the respectful/endearing suffix *-ke* in this man's abbreviated name *Tıke* at III.34, 46, 85.

III.35, 59 The hydronyms Qara-suu and Mıqandın Qara-suu are not found on maps, but the stream is easy to identify as the one that flows today past the village of Mıqan to the NE of Bishkek. The bed of this stream has been partially engineered in modern times, but in origin it appears to be a side-stream of the Alamedin river that branched off in one of the numerous fan-deltas that characterize the tributaries of the Ču. The confluence of the Qara-suu with the Ču at 42°59′34″N 74°46′6″E, about a kilometer upstream from the Čumıš dam (1934), is marked by remnants of old meanders and an artificial pond, evidence that in the past the courses of both the Qara-suu and the Ču at this point were swampy and confused. Cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 435, 455; and Appendices B and C.

III.37–42 The given markers—Kegeti, Šamšı, and Ïsıq-ata, are all left-hand tributaries of the Ču; the poet's implied location of the Tınay encampments on the left (south) side of the Ču agrees with other sources. The encampments thus delimited would have stretched for possibly up to 40 km, from the Ïsıq-ata in the west (debouching from the Ala-too around 42°42′N 75°03′E) to the Kegeti (emerging around 42°41′N 75°10′E) to the Šamšı in the east (emerging around 42°41′N 75°22′E); cf. Radloff's observation of the typical Kirghiz encampment style: "The Kirghiz in winter live not in *auls* but as whole tribes, erecting their yurts along the banks of rivers in an unbroken chain that will often stretch 20 versts [about 20 km] or more in length" (Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 348; Valikhanov notes the Kirghiz' gregarious migration pattern without distinguishing it seasonally, and identifies the Kegeti and Šamšı as areas of Esenġul Sarıbaġış pastures [Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 83 f.]). The fact that the poem shows the Kirghiz staying together

in winter configuration until early spring may reflect their foreknowledge of Kenesarı's approach; the sultan had already received (and executed) envoys from the Kirghiz and vowed to eradicate them from the Tian Shan (Sereda, "Bunt kirgizskago sultana," p. 689).

III.41 Bölökbay is the name applied to the line of the Solto descended from Qaraqčı (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 30–31 and figure 4; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 39, 48; cf. Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 88).

In order to examine the underlying meaning of the term *jeti qašqa*, two things must be borne in mind. First, all three instances of the term in the ms. are written as two words, *jeti qašqa*, and as so often in Arabic script the question of whether or not to capitalize the transliteration as a proper name is an open one. Second, no matter how precisely we may seek to identify the personage or personages in question, the fact remains that the author of the poem, Musa Čaġatayev, was writing the lines in question about members of the Solto, a tribe different from his own, who had lived some sixty years in the past. His grasp of the content of the term is thus not completely assured; some of the surviving information bearing on the meaning of the term likewise is burdened by obscurities.

jeti qašqa (hedging on the capitalization of the term for a moment) may be translated from Kirghiz literally as 'seven preeminent (or excellent) ones'. This is the name applied to the seven sons of Tülööqabıl (Bölökbay division of the Solto; not the Tülööqabıl of the Tınay Sarıbağıš named in this poem: according to Töröqan uulu [op. cit., vol. 2, p. 60] they are Ayta, Bayastan, Čotqara, Arbas, Baysarı, Köböy, and Čıŋġıš; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 4 has Arboz for Arbas). Among these Jeti Qašqa was one hero named in the present poem: Čıŋġıš. At line I.41 the Jeti Qašqa are conceived generally as the encampments consisting of these seven brothers and all their dependants. At line III.128 the brothers themselves, as warriors, are meant. However, it is not clear why they should be identified there as *Čıŋġıštın*, since genitive constructions of this kind as a rule refer to the father, not to a brother and member of the named group. Unfortunately this is the least of the difficulties surrounding the term. Besides the seven sons of Tülööqabıl known collectively as *Jeti Qašqa*, according to Töröqan uulu (loc. cit.) there appears to have been an individual member of the Bölökbay lineage named *Jetiqašqa*. He and the Jeti Qašqa are said to have been first cousins, sons of the brothers Jaqıp and Tülööqabıl, respectively. (Cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 422: [Ormon summoned from the Solto the heroes] "Janqarač, Tınaalı, Kürpük, Jetiqašqa, Čıŋġıš," as read by the editors of that

published text; on an alternative reading, see below. To add to the uncertainty, Jetiqašqa son of Jaqıp had a brother named Čıŋġız [Töröqan uulu, loc. cit.; cf. Čıŋġıš the member of the Jeti Qašqa]. Abramzon ["Ėtnicheskii sostav"] is silent on the individual Jetiqašqa son of Jaqıp, using the term only for the group of seven sons of Tülööqabıl.)

It is possible that the instance of *jeti qašqa* at line III.117 is a reference to the named individual Jetiqašqa, since the relevant epithet is *Bölökbaydın qol bašı* (III.116), where *qol bašı* is 'commander of the forces', usually in the sense of one or two men. But there is no grammatical construction in lines III.116–118 that must be read in the singular, so it is conceivable on the bare testimony of the text that there were seven *Bölökbaydın qol bašı* 'commanders of the Bölökbay', not one; if ever it were possible to imagine a situation in which a group of seven men acted as *qol bašı*, it would perhaps be in a desperate rally of scattered fighters under pressure of a surprise attack. This interpretation was followed in the translation, purely in the interest of semantic economy with regard to the present text.

It must be emphasized that the account of the Bölökbay genealogy given by Töröqan uulu in *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası* (loc. cit.) does not match the one depicted by Abramzon. According to the latter author ("Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 4), Jaqıp has no son named Jetiqašqa, but the seven sons of Tülööqabıl (brother of Jaqıp, son of Bütöš) are collectively called "Jeti qašqa" (the modern pastures of this group are located on the lower Ala-arča: ibid., p. 31). One might suppose that Abramzon, whose field research was exhaustive, garnered information that clarifies and supersedes the reports reflected in *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*—as if *jeti qašqa* had been revealed under careful questioning by Abramzon to be the label for an entire generation of brothers, rather than the name of a single person. This conjecture is somewhat weakened, however, by the fact that Abramzon identified *Jeti qašqa* as seven sons of Tülööqabıl, not of Jaqıp, where the personal name Jetiqašqa is found in Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası* (loc. cit.).

There is another avenue of interpretation that suggests a resolution of these obscurities: *jeti qašqa* is also attested as a common noun phrase, albeit one whose possible meaning in the present context is not entirely certain. Belek Soltnoyev, in narrating the events of the conflict between Kenesarı and the Kirghiz, used the term *jeti qašqa* three times not as a name but as an appositive epithet of various members of the Bölökbay Solto, such as "Jamanqaranın aġası aytıluu jeti qašqa Čıŋġıš baatır" 'Jamanqara's elder brother, the famous *jeti qašqa* Čıŋġıš Baatır' (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 320, 325). To these usages may be compared the instance of *Jetiqašqa* found in the work by Ïbırayım Abdıraxmanov: "Soltodon: Janqarač, Tınaalı,

Kürpük, Jetiqašqa, Čıŋġıš baatırlar" 'the baatırs Janqarač, Tınaalı, Kürpük, Jetiqašqa, and Čıŋġıš of the Solto' (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," loc. cit.). If we allow for Abdıraxmanov's (or the editor's) misapprehension of *jeti qašqa Čıŋġıš* in this presumably orally reported passage as two names rather than a single one with an appositive epithet, we may return to Toroqan uulu's account in *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası* (loc. cit.) and emend *Jetiqašqa, Jamanqara baatır, Čıŋġız* to *jeti qašqa Jamanqara baatır, Čıŋġız* 'the *jeti qašqa*(s) Jamanqara Baatır and Čıŋġız'—which eliminates the obscure figure of a supposed individual named Jetiqašqa, first cousin of the Jeti Qašqa brothers.

We may now return to lines 128–130 in the present poem equipped with the appositive common noun phrase *jeti qašqa*, which we have seen or surmised in reference to members of the Bölökbay Solto in works by two Kirghiz scholars of the early twentieth century. At first glance the ms. line *čıŋġıštın jeti qašqası* 'the *jeti qašqa* of Čıŋġıš' appears unsusceptible to revised reading in accord with the common noun phrase. But since it makes little sense as it stands (see above), it may be preferable to perceive in *Čıŋġıštın jeti qašqası* a misapprehension, either by the present poet or by a forerunner equally unfamiliar with the mid-nineteenth century Solto, of the phrase *jeti qašqa Čıŋġıš* in the sense in which it was clearly used by Soltonoyev. The poet signaled that he understood the term in plural sense with his line III.130: *biri jüzgö tatıġan* 'each of them matching a hundred foes'.

The meaning of the noun phrase *jeti qašqa* is not certain. The Kirghiz word *qašqa* is found in a number of single and compound usages, including *köyqašqa*, a term for excellent "picked" heroes that is attested in the epic tradition from the mid-nineteenth century onward (see note to line I.54 in the present edition and A.T. Hatto's note at *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*, p. 491 [note to "Bok-Murun," line 154]). Iudakhin (*Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *jeti*) registers the phrase *jeti qašqa* in the sense 'semigrannaia plet'', or a seven-ply horse-lash. Antipina (*Osobennosti material'noi kul'tury*, p. 130) explains the techniques of braiding different numbers of rawhide strips to produce lashes of different polygonal cross-sections, though the traditional methods described result only in even numbers of sides (cf., however, *beš* ['five'] *qašqa*, 'one of the methods of braiding leather harness' [Iudakhin, op. cit., s.v. *qašqa*]). A seven-sided lash may connote a particularly rare or robust article, hence a person of uncommon quality or strength (cf. the description of Manas's *on ekiden örgön buldursun* 'great lash plaited from twelve thongs' in Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, lines 1557–1576).

Besides the above senses attested closest in space and time to the creation of our text, several remoter but relevant forms—such as the eth-

notoponym *Yeti qašqa*, located according to the *Majmūʿ at-Tavārīx* somewhere in the lower Ili region, and the name *Ity-Kashkà* or *Jeti Qašqa* for a powerful Qıpčaq subdivision in Ferghana in the nineteenth century, with which Kirghiz legend connected the epic hero Manas—should be studied when analyzing the present term (Tagirdzhanov, "*Sobranie istorii*," ff. 56b, 57b, 59b, 60a; V. Ploskikh, *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, p. 352; Nalivkin, *Kratkaia istoriia*, p. 155; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 198; Bartol'd, "Kirgizy," p. 517 and note 12; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 44, 46; Petrov, "Tiurkskie srednevekovye ėtnotoponimy," especially pp. 159–160; Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices*, p. 872; cf. Soltonoyev, op. cit., p. 198]). A full study of the etymology and semantics of the term *qašqa* and its phrasal usages in the relevant languages (including the common meaning 'horse with a blaze' and associations with the South Siberian Turkic ethnonym element *xašxa, xasxa* [Butanaev, "Proiskhozhdenie khakasskikh sëokov"]), though desirable, is outside the scope of this work.

In summary, for the sake of clarity and economy within the text at hand this edition interprets *jeti qašqa* as the epithet of a generation of seven brothers, sons of Tülööqabıl of the Bölökbay division of the Solto (Töröqan uulu, loc. cit.; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 4), despite some inconsistency in the genealogical accounts, and even though Soltonoyev and Abdıraxmanov, working roughly contemporary with Musa Čaġatayev, apparently (so far as their later editors understood) used *jeti qašqa* as an appositive epithet of individual Kirghiz persons, some of them even members of the Bölökbay Solto. A matter with so many provisos attached to it can scarcely be considered closed; Kirghiz scholars can no doubt help to provide clarification of the local prosopographical significance of the term as found in this text.

III.42 Ïsıq-ata: See note to lines III.37–42

III.45 *čoŋ suu* 'big river' clearly means the main channel of theČu.

III.53 ms. *kečesin* is ungrammatical and must be an error for *kečsin* 'let them ford!' or *kečesiŋ* 'you shall ford' or *kečseŋ* 'if you ford'; 'please ford'. The standard seven-syllable meter of the line favors the three-syllable solution *kečesiŋ*, as do the syntactic, semantic, and poetic contexts.

III.61–64, 72 *araldı*, conventionally translated as 'the island'; the Turkic word denotes a range of features present at the confluence of two meandering rivers with marshy banks, as the Ču and its tributary the Qara-suu

were before undergoing engineered improvements in the twentieth century. Tınaalı is to be pictured directing the Qazaqs into the confusing, maze-like mouth of the Qara-suu, then heading for the acute angle of land (a feature called in Kirghiz *čat* if on higher and drier ground) at the juncture of the two streams and on the same side of the Ču as the Kirghiz encampments.

The foundering of the Qazaq army in the swampy waters of the Mıqandın Qara-suu (thus here and in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 435; called "Mazarluu Qara-suu" in Qalıġul's account *Q* [see Appendix B]) constitutes a key moment of the battle of 1846 narrated here. The historian Bekmakhanov did not use Qalıġul *Q*, though he knew and used other parts of Soltonoyev's historical work in which it appears; he did use Qalıġul *R* (calling the author "a participant in the rebellion," i.e., Kenesarı's enterprise), and concluded that the foundering in the Ču occurred at the climax of Kenesarı's final battle against the Kirghiz in 1847, as he was struggling to break free of the surrounding Kirghiz forces (Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, pp. 336–337; see Appendices B and C). A further reference by Bekmakhanov to a Qazaq oral account of the foundering of the Qazaq deserters Sultan Rustem and Sıpatay Biy in "Mykan Suy," clearly Mıqandın Qara-suu, in 1847 (again!: ibid., pp. 335–336) strongly suggests that this occurrence rapidly entered oral circulation as a topos of the Qazaqs' doom. On the face of the available evidence there is little to support a judgment one way or another about the factual truth of any of the given instances of foundering in the Qara-suu as against any others; together they pose an interesting problem of "oral historiography." My sense is that Qalıġul *Q* and the Bala Ayılčı narrative (Appendices B and D) are the most reliable: the former records only the location (but not the swampy hazard) of the crossing and Tınaalı's canny attempt to save the Kirghiz, and the latter mentions only Tınaalı's managing to get away to warn Jamanqara. By comparison with the versions featuring engulfed Qazaqs recorded by Bekmakhanov, the version in *The Story of Kenesarı* takes on the appearance of an embellishment of the truth along the lines of a burgeoning tradition that associated the Qazaqs' crossing(s) of the Ču with aquatic mishaps at the mouth of the Mıqandın Qara-suu.

III.84 Cf. Qazaq *käri* 'old; ancient'; cognate **keri* is not found in Standard Kirghiz, where the form is *qarı*.

III.88 On Qalpaq of the Tınay Sarıbağıš see Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 434–436; and Appendix B, n. 21. Abramzon ("Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5) shows him as a brother of Tülööqabıl and son of Joobasar

son of Satıbaldı brother of Atake; contrast Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1., p. 91, which gives Qalpaq's and Tülööqabıl's father as Stambek son of Joobasar.

III.101 The Qazaqs who pushed farther onward to the foot of the mountains would have threatened the noncombatant members of the Kirghiz encampments who had withdrawn to the safety of the Kegeti, Šamši, and Ïsıq-ata gorges; cf. Appendix B and lines III.174, 186 below.

III.103 The spelling *Naurızbay* is usual in modern publications, following Qazaq pronunciation; *Nooruzbay* reflects Kirghiz convention; in the ms. the name is consistently spelled نوروزبای. Naurızbay Qasım ŭlı (ca. 1820–1847), the younger brother of Kenesarı, was captured by the Kirghiz and executed with Kenesarı and others after the final battle on the Ču; see Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 282–287; Axmetov, *Kenesarı–Naurızbay*; Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay"; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası"; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk"; Bekmakhanov, "Fol'klornye istochniki"; Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*; Bekmakhanov, *Vosstanie khana Kenesary*; Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*; Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*.

III.107 Erjan was the son of Kenesarı's brother Sar(ı)jan. He was captured by the Kirghiz and executed with Kenesarı and others after the final battle on the Ču in 1847. See Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay" (1875), pp. 370–375; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 453–456; Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 121, 125–126; Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*.

III.110, 247 *čamal* (not in lexica of Kirghiz or nearby languages) for *čamaluu* 'approximately'.

III.114 On *qoymoču* see note to line I.799.

III.117 See note to line III.41.

III.120, 196, etc. Jamanqara, one of the *üč jılaŋač* 'three naked heroes' in this poem, was a son of Jaqıp of the Bölökbay Solto and brother of Čıŋġıš (q.v.; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 60–62 [~ *baatır*]). Cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 420–422; Appendix B, p. 341. The Bölökbay genealogy depicted by Abramzon ("Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 4)

does not match the sanjıra account in Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, nor does it mention Jamanqara.

The depiction in this poem of Jamanqara's participation in the counter-offensive against Kenesarı's attack is in agreement with Qalıġul's narrative *Q* that Jamanqara was alive at the time, but contradicts Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (loc. cit.), where the murder of Jamanqara was adduced as one of the causes of the present hostilities. It is more likely that Jamanqara was alive during the battle and was killed afterward; see the Commentary and Appendix B.

ms. كورپوكتو cannot be read logically as an inflected form of the name Kürpük; the final تو only makes sense as the particle *da*/*ta* 'and; even' with vowel harmony. Kürpük was a member of the Bölökbay division of the Solto. According to other oral-derived sources about the conflict, Kürpük was (one of) the killer(s) of Šooruq, a baatır in Kenesarı's service, in revenge for Kenesarı's murder of Jamanqara (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 320–321; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 420, 431–433; cf. Appendix B).

III.123 *Jamanqara qayran er* 'poor, dear Jamanqara' refers to a subsequent incident not narrated in this text, Kenesarı's execution of Jamanqara after the present battle, when the latter was sent on an embassy to Kenesarı; on chronology see the preceding note.

III.128 Čıŋġıš was a Solto, son of Jaqıp and brother of Jamanqara (q.v.). He is probably not identical with the Čıŋġıš at line I.84. See Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 422, 431–433; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 60 (as Čıŋġız). For possible confusion with another Bölökbay Solto named Čıŋġiz, see note to line III.41 (*jeti qašqa*); according to Valikhanov ("Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 88), the latter "Chingis Tulegabulov" is listed as the late manap of the Bölökbay Solto.

III.133 Tülööqabıl, one of the *üč jılaŋač* 'three naked heroes' in this poem, was of Tınay Sarıbaġıš descent, the son Stambek son of Joobasar and the brother of Qalpaq (q.v.; cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5, which gives Tülööqabıl and Qalpaq as sons of Joobasar; Qalıġul *Q* [Appendix B]; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 324, 367; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 91). As of September 1861 Tülööqabıl was seeking friendly relations with the Russians (V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, p. 254). He is not to be confused with Tülööqabıl the father of the Jeti Qašqa brothers (q.v.) of the Bölökbay Solto lineage.

Other sources indicate that Ormonbek son of Taštanbek (q.v.) was killed along with his elder brother Subanbek in this engagement (Appendix B; cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 422, 437–439).

III.144 Törökeldi (here: Tökö) is mentioned in more separate poems in the Codex than any other figure: in the Inface, in *The Story of Kenesarı*, and in *The Poem of Saint Sančı*. Törökeldi (here styled one of the *üč jılaŋač* 'three naked heroes'), a son of Abayılda, was a famous biy and baatır of the Čerikči division of the Sarıbağıš. Qaliġul's narrative *Q* (Appendix B) confirms that he played a leading role in the 1846 engagement with Kenesarı's Qazaqs. In 1847 he was taken captive by the Qazaqs, and attempts to secure his release appear to have been one of the causes of Kenesarı's killing and decapitation. See Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, p. 472; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 87; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 327–328, 333–334; Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," pp. 127–128; Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 109; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 213; "Törögeldi" (a lament). See note to line II.29.

III.145 The Qızıl-suu river is a left-hand tributary of the Ču that emerges from the Ala-too mountains around 42°42′N 75°28′E. Valikhanov ("Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 84) mentions the Qızıl-suu as an area of Esenġul Sarıbağıš pastures. See also the note to III.37–42, above.

III.148 Maytıq is mentioned in a narrative poem about the Buġu–Sarıbağıš war in the middle of the nineteenth century as *Ayuke Maytıq*, explained as *baatır, sarbağıštın ayuke uruusunan* 'a baatır of the Ayuke lineage of the Sarıbağıš' (Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbağıš urušu," pp. 497–498). Soltonoyev mentions that Maytıq was a baatır of low status in Jantay's retinue, and narrates his exploits during raids on the Qazaqs and in the Buġu–Sarıbağıš war (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 301–304, 333, 335–337).

Ayuke is a division of the Sarıbağıš descended from Jantay, a senior ancestor some eight generations anterior to the Jantay mentioned in this poem (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5 and p. 37); in the 1860s the Ayuke, politically under the control of Ümötaalı of the Esenġul Sarıbağıš, numbered 150 tents (Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 109). Cf. Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, 65; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) p. 85/(1990) p. 76; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 84.

III.149 ms. سردای, as if *sırday*, has been emended to *tırday* (*tırday jılaŋač* 'stark naked': Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *tır*). See note to lines III.226–248.

III.150 *Aq-bolot* '(lit.) bright watered-steel blade' belongs to a class of names of weapons, armor, and steeds in Kirghiz oral tradition that occupy indistinct and even situation-determined positions on a continuum between common nouns and gently particularized proper names. Designations of weapons and items of armor often attract the specifier *aq* 'white, bright'; cf. *aq baraŋ* (I.889) and the weapon and armor terms indexed as personal names in Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*.

III.151 It is not clear why Törökeldi would be shouting another horse's name as he spurs on his own steed Aq-buudan (so identified in line III.157). It is possible that Ay-telki was the name of the steed of an illustrious ancestor. Horse names with the second element *-telki* 'nanny-ibex' are known (*Qaq-telki, Sar'-telki, Sur-telki, Kök-telki* [in Prior, *Twilight Age*, pp. 301–329 *passim*, citing Borzu uulu, *Qıṣṣa-i Semetey* and Japıy uulu, *Semeteyden bir bölüm*]; *Ker-telki* [Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'* s.v. *telki* I]), but most of these names have as their first elements the terms for horse coat colors; *ay* 'moon' here does not fit the pattern. The scribe may have been unsure of the meaning of the line, since the word *barqıldap* 'shouting' (of people) has been executed by writing over a word that appears to be *barqırap* 'roaring, bellowing' (primarily of animals).

III.161 See note to line III.13.

III.172 etc. Although Jantay plays a prominent role in this poem as a defender, neither Abdıraxmanov in his narrative poem nor Qalığul in his oral account *Q* (Appendix B) mentions Jantay as having taken part in the fight. Abdıraxmanov ("Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 439) explicitly states that the news of the battle reached Jantay afterward; Qalığul *Q* recalls that it was Jantay who sent him on the embassy to Kenesarı later. Here the poet may be exaggerating Jantay's part in the battle for the pleasure of a Tınay audience, chief among whom was Šabdan, Jantay's son and the dedicatee of the Codex. Cf. Qalığul *R* (Appendix C), probably corrupt, with its unprecedented claim that Jantay was one of the initial envoys to Kenesarı.

III.174, 186 See note to line III.101.

III.178–245 These lines are executed in Hand 3; see p. 93 n. 4 and Appendix A.

III.187 ms. اساب *asap* for Standard Kirghiz *azap* 'torment, misery'.

III.189 The sense of *jasaq* here is closer to that in Standard Qazaq, 'armed detachment, army, host' (Syzdykova and Khusain, *Kazakhsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v.) than in Standard Kirghiz, 'comitatus of a great military leader' (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v.).

III.213 ms. يوشولغان implies a Kirghiz verb **juušul-* 'be washed together', which is not found in relevant lexica and represents an unusual rearrangement of verbal derivation suffixes. The word in the text has been emended to read the suffixes in normal order, *juu+l+uš+qan*.

III.217 This is a rare long line with nine rather than the usual seven or eight syllables. *burun* is Ču dialect for Standard Kirghiz *murun* 'before'.

III.220–224 The incident at the tomb of Qanay (q.v.) and the butchering of women were recorded (in consecutive written clauses, as here) by Soltonoyev in his prose narrative of the final conflict between Kenesarı and the Kirghiz in 1847 (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 322); thus in his striving for polemics the poet here is anticipating events from the standpoint of the previous year. Cf. the heinous treatment of women in Qalığul *Q* (Appendix B).

III.220 *Kümbözün buzup Qanaydı* would make better grammatical sense if *Qanaydı* 'Qanay (accusative)' were emended to *Qanaydın* 'Qanay's', but the rhyme with *dalaydı* in the subsequent line militates against the emendation. The existence of the Chaghatay genitive suffix in *-ni* (variant of *-ning*) suggests that literate contemporaries of this ms. may have been able to overlook the odd construction.

III.221 *Qazakeŋ* 'thy dear Qazaqs' is clearly ironic.

III.222–223 See note to lines III.279–294 below.

III.225 The single word تايقاشقا in the ms. has been resolved into two words, *tay* (on the relationship denoted by this term see notes to lines I.408–465, III.26) and *qašqa*, here translated as 'excellent' (on this term see note to line III.41).

III.226–248 *üč jılaŋač* 'the three naked heroes' as a collective epithet for Jamanqara, Tülööqabıl, and Törökeldi (qq.v.) refers to the warriors' having met the surprise attack straight from bed without getting dressed.

III.232–237 This recitation of the names and positions where the "three naked heroes" had their exploits in battle exactly matches the information narrated in other passages. The spatial context is the usual Kirghiz orientation to the direction of flow of a nearby water, in this case the Ču river, which descends from southeast to northwest through the valley where the fighting took place. Jamanqara fought near the Ïsıq-ata (*ayaġınan*, the downstream position, with the Bölökbay Solto, III.41–42), Tülööqabıl at Kegeti (*ortosunan*, in the middle, with the Tınay Sarıbaġıš, III.132–133), and Törökeldi at Qızıl-suu and Šamšı (*bašınan*, upstream, with the Čerikči Sarıbaġıš, III.144–145).

III.236 ms. تولوقابل *Tülööqabıl* is clearly a mistake for *Törökeldi*, the third member of the *üč jılaŋač*.

III.241 ms. يالقالاشب as if *yalqalašıp* is emended to *balqalašıp* (the initial letter having only one less subscript dot than the ms. form) by virtue of parallelism between the triplets III.240–242 and III.249–251, the latter with *talqalašıp* 'to pulverize, crush; rout, defeat'. *balqalaš-* '(lit.) to hammer' is regularly formed from *balqa* 'hammer' (a war hammer is *ay balqa*).

III.242–245 Cf. Nısanbay's poem treating these events from the Qazaq perspective, where similar diction is used to depict the Kirghiz fleeing from the Qazaqs: *Qırġızdar šıdap tŭra almay,*/ *qaša berdi alaqtap.*/ *Naurızbay kettĭ soŋınan,*/ *nayzamenen šabaqtap* 'The Kirghiz were timidly running away, unable to bear it; Nooruzbay went after them with whipping lance' (Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay" [1996], p. 29a).

III.243 *sarp* (ms. سارف), Ču dialect for Standard Kirghiz *zarp* 'blow; hardship' (<< Arabic).

III.246–250 These lines are crossed out with an X, perhaps because they nearly repeat lines III.238–241. On the basis of that parallelism, III.246 ms. اوروشو *urušu* has been emended to *uruštu* (III.238).

III.247 See note to line III.110.

III.255–292 The last offensive by the Qazaqs took place one year later, in the spring of 1847 (see pp. 80–81).

III.261–262 The imputation that Kenesarı was behaving as a drunken man

apparently makes a rhetorical connection with III.7, where he first said the words *Qırġızdan tuqum qoyboym dep*, lit. 'saying, "I'll eradicate the Kirghiz",' and thus underlines the insanity of trying it again. See note to lines III.7–21.

III.265, 289 The season of tethering lambs correctly dates Kenesarı's second incursion to the early spring, as Russian documents confirm (see Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, pp. 472–473). (*kögön* 'sheep-tether' in the text is an emendation of ms. III.265, 289 كو گوون as if *kögöön*, which means 'horsefly'.) The tethers consisted of a long cord fastened to the ground between two stakes, to which the lambs were secured by numerous short leashes. See Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 76–77 on the role of the nursery tent and tethers in the lambing regime. The reference by Abramzon's twentieth-century informant to a female member "who did not have direct responsibilities" in the otherwise all-male lambing team (p. 89) suggests that this gender role may have been held over from a time when women took a more active part, just as our text implies that women were brought along on the campaign specifically to mind the tethered lambs. Cf. Appendix B. Transhumances of the kind Kenesarı was undertaking on his campaign to the Ču were normally not possible when nomads had many newborn lambs to care for (cf. Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary," p. 260); evidence from other sources confirms that Kenesarı was moving toward the Kirghiz in desperation.

III.269–270 These lines may also be translated literally as 'the coming of a number of Qazaqs was the death of the princes'.

III.275 The identity of the Qazaq prince (*törö*) Sereŋ is uncertain.

III.279–294 The torment and execution of the vanquished Qazaq sultans and the mistreatment of their corpses were pieces of information that passed quickly from eyewitnesses' reports into Russian records of the events, whence they took their place in conventional historical sources alongside the on-going oral traditions of both Kirghiz and Qazaqs. Ormon Khan, in his letter to Steppe Governor-General Prince P.D. Gorchakov of 10 Sept. 1848, stated that Kenesarı was beheaded (V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, p. 131); the skull was later made a present to the Russian authorities (see p. 39 n. 130 and p. 343 n. 46). In their letter to Senior Horde district superintendent lieutenant colonel Peremyshl'skii of 18 June 1855, the Buġu biys Borombay and others (who had not been present) said that Kenesarı was killed by Kirghiz women—a grave insult for any warrior, all the more so for those of khanly lineage (Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*,

p. 478). Maev in 1873 cited differing "Kirgiz" oral reports (whether Kirghiz or Qazaq he did not specify) to the effect that Kenesarı was hacked to death with battle axes, or boiled alive (Maev, "Ot Tashkenta," p. 347), though these reports are doubtful (Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 163). Soltonoyev in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 323–330) recorded oral-derived accounts of the deaths of Kenesarı and other *töre* leaders, which included drinking of the vanquished men's blood. Abdıraxmanov records that the sultans' hearts were removed (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 456). (On other reports of such cruelty in Russian archival documents see Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*, pp. 140–141; however, this work is basically an encomium to and apologia for Kenesarı, and it should be noted that Kasymbaev's quotation of Valikhanov's mention "*o 'zverskom ubiistve'*" 'of the "brutal killing"' of the sultans [with Kasymbaev's punctuation indicating he is claiming to quote Valikhanov's use of the phrase *zverskoe ubiistvo*] is *not found* in Valikhanov's work as cited by Kasymbaev.)

Prior to Kenesarı's disastrous incursion, grievances and atrocities had been traded by the two sides for several decades (cf. III.222–223; Soltonoyev, op. cit.; Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası"), and the manner in which the sultans were killed had precedents in recent history, although without any known connections to the events narrated here. Aleksei Levshin records that in 1785 a Kirghiz prisoner had been killed by Qazaq women using their bare hands; this act was in revenge for the earlier dismemberment of a Qazaq victim by Kirghiz, itself an act of blood-revenge; a revenge killing in 1821 among Qazaqs was accompanied by drinking of the victims' blood (Levshin, *Opisanie*, pp. 259, 329).

The killings of Kenesarı and the sultans have ritual undertones reflecting ancient motifs of battle in Inner Asian oral, literary and representational art (Ermolenko, *Izobrazitel'nye pamiatniki*, pp. 168–195). These motifs are also found in mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz Manas-epics; dismemberment and blood-drinking figure in the revenge killings of usurpers by the women of Manas's family after his death and that of his son, Semetey. Hatto related these acts of butchery to the implied obligation to put on the ritually-prescribed *aš* or memorial feast for Manas, which his usurpers had ignored ("Birth of Semetey," lines 1041–1078 [pp. 334–337] and note to lines 1047–1050 [p. 575]; "Semetey," lines 1900–1912 [pp. 394–395]).

Finally, in the background of such grisly acts in Muslim context may persist literary traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad's notorious enemy, Hind bt. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa (*EI*^{2}, s.v.), who mutilated the corpse of her father's killer, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, after the battle of Uḥud.

III.286 *törölördün jiligi* '(lit.) the princes' marrow-bones' clearly alludes to the "white bone" or noble blood of these Činggisid Qazaq princes: they were slaughtered despite their noble origin or rank.

The ms.'s clearly written جه ليگى **jeligi* is emended to *jiligi*, possessive form of *jilik*, denoting in Kirghiz primarily the long marrow-bones of ruminants. Various Turkic languages attest senses of this word's cognates ranging from 'marrow-bone' to 'marrow', but do not admit a first syllable vocalized as *e*. An exception is the form جليك, transliterated *dželik*, 'bone marrow', in Kazan Tatar and Qazaq (the latter under the old-fashioned label "Kirgiz," in Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar'*, vol. 2, p. 364). However, the fact that the modern Tatar form is *jilek* 'spinal cord' (*Tatarsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 762) and the modern Qazaq form is *žílík* 'shin-bone of small ruminants' (Syzdykova and Khusain, *Kazakhsko–russkii slovar'*, p. 334), combined with the absence of **jelik* as a Kirghiz dialectal form (Muqambaev, *Qırğız tilinin dialektologiyalıq sözdügü*), all militate for emendation of the text to *jiligi*.

jilik, lit. 'marrow-bone', among the Kirghiz stands for ancestry; cf. *ilik-jilik* 'kin' and the derivative verb *jilikte-*, the primary sense of which is 'to butcher a carcass', but which also has the figurative meaning of dividing one's ancestry into *jilik*, joints or bones, hence 'to recount one's ancestors'. In field work Svetlana Jacquesson has elucidated the importance of the sheep as the sole animal upon whose carcass the metaphorical–ritual operations of relationship are carried out (Jacquesson, *Pastoréalismes*, pp. 77–78); cf. the ovine reference in the vow of revenge by Manas's widow Qanıkey, in the mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epic "The birth of Semetey": "I swear I shall cut off your heads like a sheep's and spill your blood like water!" where the ulterior threat is to cancel the enemies' inheritance in favor of Semetey ("Birth of Semetey," lines 373–374 [pp. 316–317]).

III.287 With his spelling of the place-name *Tekeldirik-seŋir* the poet mangled the name of a range of hills, known with certainty as *Kekilik-seŋir*, the place where Kenesarı and several other Qazaq sultans were executed (the specific eminence where they made their last stand being called in other sources May-töbe/May-töbö). The word *seŋir* literally means 'grassy mountain crest' and is correctly transmitted in the text; the group of letters preceding it, كه لديريك, affords no meaningful resolution in a Central Asian language. *kekilik* is the rock partridge (*Alectoris chukar*) common in the Tian Shan and its foothills.

The place *Kekilik-seŋir* is difficult to locate using the literature. It was mentioned already in the nineteenth-century account of the battle by Kenesarı's son, and the contemporary editor of that work provides the informa-

tion: "The place and hill Kiklik-Singir is located 4 versts from the city of Tokmak … on the left [south] side of the r. Ču, a verst from the riverbank" (Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," p. 126); this location has contemporary Russian documentary support (Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*, p. 134 n. 53). However, Bekmakhanov gives a highly circumstantial description of the location of Kekilik-seŋir, apparently based on field research, which locates it on the opposite (north) bank of the Ču (Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, p. 335; Bekmakhanov, *Vosstanie khana Kenesary*, p. 36). The former position seems to answer to some point along the low, crooked escarpment to the east of Tokmak around 42°49′30″N 75°11′30″E; the latter would be in the low hills around 42°52′N 75°19′E. Kasymbaev mentions a recent unsuccessful archaeological search for the remains of the executed sultans at Kekilik-seŋir (Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*, p. 139) but does not specify the exact location.

Nısanbay calls the place *Kekiliktin tau* in Qazaq (*tau* 'mountain'; Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay" [1996], pp. 27b, 39b); phonetic deformations of the name occur in Abdıraxmanov's Kirghiz narrative: *Tekeliktin seŋir* (Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 409, 448, 458). Beisembiev's reading of Mulla Muhammad Yunus Jan's Chaghatay form كيكليك سينكرى as "Kiyiklik Singiri" (*kiyiklik*, as if 'abundance of game'?) is simply a misreading of the ambiguous Arabic letters (Muhammad Yunus Djan, *Life of ʿAlimqul*, folio 18a; trans., p. 32).

Owing to the syllabic requirements of this poetic line, it is not justified to emend the form here to either the well-attested *Kekilik-seŋir* or the known Kirghiz misapprehended form *Tekelik-seŋir*, so the poet's own idiosyncratic and obviously erroneous *Tekeldirik-seŋir* is retained in the text as a necessary component of the meter.

III.289 See note to line III.265.

III.291 On the poetic topos of corpse-eating animals cf. in mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epic "Do leave enough of the Khan my Master to sate the ravens that peck, do leave enough for the foxes that nibble!" (Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, lines 3065–3066); a thematic parallel can be drawn with the "Beasts of Battle" topos in medieval Germanic poetry, such as the Old English *Brunanburh* (Reichl, *Singing the Past*, pp. 47–48; Lipp, "Contrast and Point of View").

III.(Notations at end) The following inscriptions appear in the empty space after the last lines of the poem:

[In Arabic script:]
~~bütkön~~
[In Cyrillic:]
320 strok
Belek Soltonoyevdın
qolu: Miftaxov
1/IV-47-j.

with the meaning:

~~complete~~
320 lines
Belek Soltonoev's
handwriting: Miftaxov
1 April 1947

(See Appendix A.)

IV. The Postface

IV.5–6 On the Sarıbağıš see pp. 23, 35–37, 39–44. On the Sayaq see Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 40–49 and figs. 6, 7; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*. On the Solto see pp. 35, 39, 41.

IV.7 See note to line I.259.

IV.9 *mandat* < Russian *mandat* 'mandate'.

IV.10 Money is clearly implied: *qarajat* means both 'costs, expenses' and 'means'.

IV.26 If read literally, the accusative case ending of *sayıštı* 'the lance-combat' indicates that a specific instance or instances of combat are being referred to rather than such combat in general. However, few people could still have been alive when the poem was written down ca. 1910 who had witnessed the battles just narrated, which took place over 60 years before.

IV.29–30 The poet is making a jingoistic rather than a linguistic assertion. Kirghiz *eŋiš* 'wrestling on horseback' is much less lethal than *sayıš* 'mounted single combat with lances', so that the phrase imputes pusillanimity to the Qazaqs. The verbal noun *eŋ-* + *–iš*/ *–is* appears to be restricted to Kirghiz usage in the sense 'wrestling on horseback', as is the base verb *eŋ-* '(of a rider or bird of prey) to bend or drop down and touch the ground'.

Qazaq *sayıs* means the same thing as *sayıš* 'jousting; single combat with lances' in Kirghiz.

V. *The Poem of Saint Sančı*

V.1–80 It should be remembered that owing to its highly eclectic orthography the text of this poem was normalized mainly to Standard Kirghiz, an artificial transcription principle different from that used in the previous four poems. See the explanation at p. 95.

V.2 The two words *mansur qırġız* could be resolved into one personal name or two. It is not likely to be one, as if *Mansur Qırġız*, since this would be anticipatory: the Mansur of legend predated the offspring of the *qırq qız* 'forty maidens' who became the Kirghiz. Setting a comma between the names gives Mansur and Qırġız, the latter of the two corresponding to the supposed progenitor of the Kirghiz and grandson of Oġuz Khan in some genealogies (Abū'l-Ġāzī, *Šajara-i türk*, pp. 27–28, 42). This figure's name is usually given in the augmented forms *Qırġızbay* 'rich man Kirghiz' or *Qırġız qan* 'Kirghiz Khan' (Sooronov, *Nasab-naama*, pp. 19 [as paginated in the introduction], 42 [as paginated in the edition]; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 40, 48 [simply as *Kirgiz*], 55; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 27/[1990] p. 26; Kenčiev, Dor and Salk, "Dire l'histoire en l'écrivant," pp. 494, 499; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 269–270 and trans.).

The widespread *qırq qız* 'forty maidens' legend of the origin of the Kirghiz typically involves a progenitor identifiable remotely (by name and motto) with the Muslim mystic Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj. In the legend, *Qırġız* is first used as the name of the offspring of a girl whose womb was (or, of the forty girls whose wombs were) fertilized indirectly by the ashes of the dead Manṣūr. (For the legend see Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 46–47; Sydykov, "Rodovoe delenie," p. 275; on the text of a Kirghiz literary sanjıra roughly contemporary with the present poem, which traces the genealogy of a nineteenth-century Esenġul Sarıbaġıš baatır back to Šeyx Mansur Xallaj, see V. Ploskikh, *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, pp. 455–458, and cf. p. 301 below. On the appropriation of the historical figure in legend see Massignon, "al-Ḥallādj," and Massignon, "La legende de Hallâcé Mansûr"; on the folkloric background in Inner Asia see the thematic analyses and generous note with further references in DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, pp. 504–506; cf. also Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennoi sostav," p. 140; Dor, *Contribution*, pp. 64–69.)

V.5 Bolot Biy was the son of Mamatqul(u) the son of Üčükö, and father of Bašqoyqoŋ (q.v., known as Esenġul). He was a famous warrior; his active years seem to have occurred during the hard times in flight from the Oirats when *Qazaq qayıŋ saap, Qırġız Ïsar Kölöpkö kirdi* 'the Qazaqs milked birches and the Kirghiz went to Hissar and Kulab'. An incident of his touchy pride amid poverty was traditionally linked with the origin of the conflict that eventually broke out between the Sarıbağıš and Buġu in the mid-nineteenth century (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 76–77). Cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 159; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 203–205; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 286–287 and trans.; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5.

V.6 On Sančı Sınčı see pp. 89–90; on his prognostication for Bolot Biy cf. fuller versions in Soltonoyev, op. cit., p. 159; Töröqan uulu, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 203–204; Jılqıbaeva, *Qıdır Ake*, pp. 42–46; Mamırbaev, "Čoŋ tarıxtan bir üzüm," pp. 253–254; a brief allusion in Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 286 and trans.; and Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5. See also note to lines V.16–20.

V.14 This metrically short line could be sensibly completed with the words written above it, *qız–kelindi* 'maids and ladies', but these are clearly marked for insertion at the end of line V.12 above, and there is no duplicate insertion mark for this line.

V.16–20 The story of the women made to go by in single file for Bolot to choose a wife is found in Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204, and echoes a story recorded by Valikhanov ("Zapiski o kirgizakh,", pp. 76–77): Bulat (*sic* Valikhanov) of the Sarıbagıš was very poor and once asked the wife of Belek of the Buġu for a sheep to eat. When she refused, the insulted Bulat attacked a nomadizing party of Buġu and forced them to pass by him in single file, whence he chose nine beautiful girls for his wives. This, says Valikhanov (who probably had a Buġu source), was the original cause of the bad blood between the Sarıbağıš and Buġu that led to war in the 1850s, and of the numerical and military superiority of the Sarıbağıš. But this version looks like an exaggeration and legendarization of a much more circumstantial and prosaic telling of the falling out, not between Bolot and Belek but between Bolot's father Mamatqul and Belek, that is recorded by Soltonoyev (*Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 159–161; the patronage of Belek over Mamatqul is corroborated in oral legends collected by Abramzon: "Narodnye predaniia," p. 77).

V.26 The unusual enjambement at the beginning of this line gives the false impression that Sančı Sınčı "pissed poison instead of water," when in fact he is the subject of the verb *jaqtırbadı* (lit.) 'did not like' in the previous line. The underlying meaning of the notion expressed in this line, as if Sančı Sınčı was seeking a woman who urinated poison instead of water, is understandable with the help of two other recorded versions of the story. The version given here awkwardly anticipates the more natural progression of narrated events given in the other two versions. These share their basic situation with the present narrative: Sančı Sınčı is appraising the women in Bolot Biy's migrating encampment in order to find him a bride by whom he can rear up a nation, and the unlikely choice turns out to be a poor widow dawdling along at the end of the line. In Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204, Sančı Sınčı convinces the skeptical Bolot by having Bolot's jigits ride out and report what they see at the spot where the woman Taalake has just squatted to urinate. They report that the earth there has been rent to the depth of a span; Sančı Sınčı is vindicated in his assessment that the woman will be an exceptional child-bearer. In the version recorded by Soltonoyev (*Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 159), Sančı Sınčı provides the additional explanation that the woman's urine is poison (*uu*) as the reason the ground under her is penetrated so deeply; in another version of uncertain date, the woman's womb is even said to be poisonous (*jatını uu*, Jılqıbayeva, *Qıdır Ake*, p. 44). This can hardly have been part of the original story, which clearly hinged on Sančı Sınčı's "gynecological" skill at assessing a woman's child-bearing potential as if by hydraulics, by measuring the ejective power of her loins. Thus the version in Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası* is closest to the original; the one recorded by Soltonoyev in *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı* already shows a certain degree of breakdown in transmission as the powerful urine-stream is "rationalized" as (caustic) poison; the version we have in *The Poem of Saint Sančı* is further reduced, to the point that Sančı Sınčı is represented in a lone surviving line rejecting all the women with ordinary, non-poisonous urine (*suu emes uu siybegen*, with rhyming of 'water' and 'poison'), as if he had inspected them all. This kind of decay of narrative detail is of course quite common.

The association of a woman's act of urination with signs of her extraordinary fertility is widespread in Eurasia. Closest to the Kirghiz, there is the story of Yisügei and the woman Ögelen (Hö'elün) whom he abducted from her migrating camp and who bore him Temüjin, the future Činggis Khan, as recorded in the Mongolian *Altan Tobči*: "He took his two younger brothers Daritai and Očoqon hunting. Then, saying: 'Is that a white mare?' They

surrounded it on all sides, but it was (the place where) a woman had pissed. Thereupon, going along the tracks of the carts, Yisügei said to his younger brothers: 'From that woman good sons will be born' [...]" (Bawden, *Mongol Chronicle*, pp. 117–118 trans.; 39–40 text). There the supposed "white mare" is the storyteller's exaggerated image of a mass of foam on the ground. Cf. the Yakut origin legends of Ellei (many versions of this narrative share with the Sančı Sınčı stories in Kirghiz the detail that the right girl is superficially undesirable):

> He wanted to marry one of Omogoi's two daughters and hid himself to watch them urinate. He noticed that the younger daughter passed her urine with foam and that the older did not. The older daughter was pretty; the younger ugly. He thought, the one who urinated with foam will be a fertile wife, the other will be childless. So he asked Omogoi for his younger daughter. She bore him many children, while the older one remained childless. (Jochelson, *Yakut*, pp. 45, 57, citing published narratives collected by Pekarsky; cf. Ėrgis and Popov, *Istoricheskie predaniia*, part 1, pp. 58, 67, 74; Ksenofontov, *Ėlleiada*.)

Herodotus recorded two dreams by the Median king Astyages involving his daughter Mandane urinating and flooding all of Asia, and a vine growing out of her pudenda and covering all of Asia; as wife of Cambyses I she became the mother of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenian Empire (Herodotus 1.107–108; Pelling, "Urine and the Vine"). Medb, masterful and all-around potent queen of Connacht according to the attested Irish versions of the Ulster heroic cycle, but with older connections to the goddess of the same name (with fertility attributes stemming from Indo-European myth) made three large dikes at one sitting while being protected by a shield-wall at the rear of her army as they were being pursued by the Ulstermen ("dikes" evidently for foam or trenches cut by the urine with piles of ejecta; *Ancient Irish Epic Tale*, p. 360). It is noteworthy that three of these stories—of Daalage (see next note), Ögelen, and Medb—involve the rear of or the tracking of a moving camp or host.

V.29 The woman named Daalage in this poem is known from similar sanjıra accounts as Bolot Biy's second wife Ta(a)lake, or Taanake, whose epithet is *tarqıldaq* 'thrush' (cf. Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 204; Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, pp. 286–287; Jılqıbayeva, *Qıdır Ake*, pp. 43–44; Soltonoyev records a similar prose version of the story about Bolot Biy and Sančı Sınčı, but the ancestress corresponding to Daalage is not named [Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 159]).

V.30 Čaġaldaq/Čıqıldaq was a foster son of Toqo, son of Döölös, with descendants scattered among the Sayaq, Sarıbaġıš, Solto, and Buġu (Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 88/[1990] pp. 78–77). Abramzon identifies him as a Qazaq war captive adopted into the Sarıbaġıš lineage, and classifies his descendants as part of the Jeti uruq subdivision of the Sarıbaġıš (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 34–35 and fig. 5; cf. Abıla). On the later history of the line see Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, p. 109; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 47–50, 52; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 194, 335; Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 125.

zatı for the ms. form ساتی represents *zat* 'material, substance, essence'; in Qazaq a related sense 'clan, tribe, genealogical origin' is also attested. Daalage is well-known in sanjıra accounts (where her name is usually spelled *Taalake*) as the widow of Čaġaldaq; thus Čaġaldaq was not her genealogical affiliation. See Syzdykova and Khusain, *Kazakhsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *zat* II; Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *zat*; and cf. *ayalzat* 'woman(kind)'.

V.35 The closest languages attesting the verb *sur-* 'inquire, ask' (cf. Kirghiz *sura-*) are Chaghatay and Eastern Turki ("Uyghur"); see Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, pp. 843–844.

V.39 The ms. forms بٔر *bir* and یلٔ *el* appear nearly identical and are distinguished on the basis of analogies with similar written forms at lines V. 19 (بٔر *bir*), V.20 (یلٔ *el*), and V.25 (بٔر *bir*).

V.41 The image of a newborn future roughneck biting his afterbirth while descending from the womb is ascribed to Temüjin and his brother Qasar as well, in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (de Rachewiltz edn., vol. 1, pp. 21, 169); similarly, the Kirghiz epic heroes Manas and Qan-čoro were said to have emerged at birth grasping clots of gore in their fists (Orozbaq uulu, *Manas*, vol. 1 [Bishkek, 1995], lines 1608–1609; "Semetey," lines 194, 226–227; cf. Hatto, "Birth of Manas," pp. 236–228; Hatto, "Semetey," part 2, p. 9).

V.43 Salıbek is the sobriquet of Qojomšükür, the first son of Bolot Biy and Daalage, and elder brother of Bašqoyqoŋ (Esenġul), whose descendants are recounted in this poem. The epithets *sasıq küzön samančı* 'stinking polecat, straw-dealer' are not found in other sources; there is a sanjıra account that relates how Sancı Sınčı berated the people for naming the child Qojomšükür in his absence, and predicted that he would be not a leader of the people but

a "khoja" (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 204–205; cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5).

V.45, 48 Bašqoyqoŋ (who received the sobriquet Esenġul from his father Bolot Biy) is reported to have been born in 1730 or 1731 and to have lived for 73 years; he was a celebrated warrior and ancestor of a major subdivision of the Sarıbaġıš (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 159, 172; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 204–205; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] pp. 37–39/[1990] pp. 31–33; Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5; and cf. note to line V.5). The sobriquet refers to an incident when he was a child and his mother Taalage left him alone on the steppe when moving camp, and Bolot Biy went back and found him safe and sound (*aman-esen*). This is apparently the basis of the highly elliptical wording of line V.48, although it is not possible to say so with complete certainty, because the written form of the last word in that line is abnormal and the reading as *toqtor* 'stopping, remaining' is provisional.

V.50 Nıyazbek's traditional epithet *at qačırbas boz ayġır* 'gray stallion that won't stampede the herd', apparently in reference to his easy-going nature, is found in sanjıra as well (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 205; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 159), and is also found applied to Šabdan (Töröqan uulu, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 202–203).

V.52 On the historical meaning of the terms *Alaš* and *Altı* 'Six' *Alaš*, broad ethnic labels encompassing the Qazaqs, Kirghiz, and others, see Tynyshpaev, *Materialy*, pp. 54–58; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 182.

V.53 Nıyazbek, father of Ormon Khan, was the son of Esenġul by his first wife Anar. When Nıyazbek sought to expand Sarıbaġıš control over the Qočqor and Jumġal valleys in the 1830s and 1840s, his forces fought with the Sayaq; the affair ended in the Sayaqs' favor when they raided a large number of Nıyazbek's cattle and then defeated the punitive party he sent in pursuit (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 93; this is a military scenario incidentally similar to that in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*). According to Soltonoyev, his *aš* or anniversary memorial feast took place in the spring of 1843 (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 275–276; largely repeated in Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 211). See note to line V.50, above.

Neither the reading nor the interpretation of the graphically ambiguous ms. form بووغون (or يووغون) as *boġon* 'to this one' (as if a variant of *buġa*) are

entirely satisfying. The pairing with the pronoun form in the next line, *onon* 'from him' (variant of *anan*) provides partial justification in syntactic sound patterning, but in the absence of *boġon* in Kirghiz lexica it is necessary to resort to the pair in Qazaq, *bŭġan* (variant of *bŭġa*) and *oġan*, for support. The Qazaq forms provide an analogy and support for the phonologically regular reflex of the wanted Kirghiz form *boġon*. The sentence *Nıyazbek … boġon kelseŋ* means 'whereas Nıyazbek will be born to this one'; the descriptions in the previous lines V.50–52 apply to Nıyazbek, and *boġon* refers back to Bašqoyqoŋ.

V.54 Ormon's epithet *qanjıġaluu qara seŋsek* 'fortunate one' (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *qanjıġaluu*) is found in Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı* (p. 159), in a parallel account of Sančı Sınčı's prognostication of the descendants of Bolot Biy.

V.56 The presence of the Russianizing ethnonym *Qara Qırġız*, not native to Central Asia as a designation of the Kirghiz, is evidence that the poem in its present form was composed in the Tsarist era.

V.57 The Qazaqizing disyllabic form *awıp* 'declining' for ms. اۋاب (incidentally with emended second vowel here) is retained instead of the Kirghiz monosyllabic reflex, *oop*, in consideration of the metrical requirements of the already scanty line.

V.61–69 The name *Qızılmıš*, as if 'Rusty', with the base *qızıl* 'red', is not present in available sources, including records of Tınay genealogy. The suffix *-mıš*/*–miš*, etc. is known though not common in the formation of Turkic personal names; *Qızılmıš* as such does not appear in Turkic anthroponymic indexes (e.g. Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*).

The two persons most likely to have borne the name are Atake and Šabdan. At line I.195 Atake is referred to as *erdi jırıq sarı adam* 'a cleft-lipped, red-haired man'. Šabdan's son Kemel recollected his father as having been *qızıl* 'ruddy-complexioned' as a youth, and having been called *Jantaydın qızıl balası* 'Jantay's ruddy child' (Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," pp. 8–9, 13); one of Šabdan's nicknames among close friends was *qızıl dubana* 'ruddy fool' (Jaqıpbekov, "Šabdandın tarıxtağı ordu," p. 153). Even though there is more evidence of Šabdan's having borne nicknames referring to his red hair and complexion than of Atake's, the requirements of chronology in this passage strongly favor Atake as the bearer of the sobriquet *Qızılmıš*; it is at least confirmed at I.195 that he had the same coloring,

though the normal Kirghiz color-word *sarı* 'red-haired; tawny, (lit.) yellow' masks this somewhat.

There is very little in the passage to help determine whether Šabdan was alive or already dead when the words were written, but the elegiac tone of the last part of the poem is notable in that none of it accretes to Šabdan himself; it is the withdrawal of the arbaq of Qızılmıš that is lamented in lines V.66–67. Line 69, *Qızılmıš, Baatır Šabdan birgelepti* 'Qızılmıš and Baatır Šabdan, it would appear, have become one' gives some impression that Šabdan's arbaq have merged with those of his ancestor Qızılmıš/Atake, as would occur in death; but the line could just as easily mean that Šabdan is "a chip off the old block." By this reading, the inherited coloration trait was a symbol of the Tınay heroes' connection on the genealogical–spiritual plane of the arbaq.

V.65–68 This brief, plaintive evocation of the effects of the Russian expansion into Kirghiz territory (starting in the 1850s) shares thematic elements with the works of the *zar zaman* 'time of sorrows' poets of late nineteenth-century Central Asia. The passage of the poem "Tar zaman" ('Hard Times', by one "Aristanbek uulu"; cf. Kebekova, *Arstanbek*, p. 35) quoted and translated in Allworth, "Focus of Literature," p. 407, contains a reference to blond- or red-haired (*sarı*) Russians. *Sar'Orus* was an epithet used in the nineteenth century; cf. Kebekova, loc. cit. On Kirghiz *zar zaman* literature and its background see Hu and Imart, *Kirghiz Reader*, pp. 75–77.

V.70 This line was inserted onto the ms. page in what appears to be a different hand. Its uniqueness, depriving the reader of graphic analogies elsewhere, and the clumsiness of the handwriting present challenges to deciphering the line. Only the word *aytqanınday* 'as he said' is textualized with high confidence. The word *söölöt*, in Kirghiz 'pomp, lordliness, importance; portliness; ceremoniousness' (<< Arabic) is related to words in nearby Central Asian languages whose range of senses is more appropriate to the present context, e.g. Özbek *savlat* (rare) 'having a certain appearance or bearing' (with the example *šer savlat* 'leonine': Borovkov, *Uzbeksko–russkii slovar'*, p. 349); Chaghatay *ṣävlät* 'pride, ferocity' (Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar'*, vol. 1, p. 713); cf. Persian *ṣaulat* 'fury, violence, ferocity, impetuosity' (Steingass, *Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*, p. 796).

If this line was indeed inserted into the ms. after composition, it suggests that someone besides the poet desired to emphasize the praise for Šabdan that was encoded rather laconically in the main text.

V.74 Cf. Qazaq *tım* 'completely, very, exceedingly'.

V.75–76 The Qaba grouping was specified as a division of the Sayaq by Abramzon ("Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 7 and p. 47; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, pp. 66, 286) and Vinnikov ("Rodo-plemennoi sostav," figure 3), but Aristov ("Opyt vyiasneniia ėtnicheskogo sostava", pp. 62–64) generalizes Qaba as a distinct *kost'* or lineage (Russian, lit. 'bone') the branches of which are found under the Sarıbağış and other tribes (cf. Valikhanov: "Independently of the general tribal divisions, there also exist in some tribes [...] special subdivisions whose origin is unknown," and which occur in multiple tribes ["Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 41]). Soltonoyev mentions *Qaba uruġu* without any further specification of the larger group to which it belonged (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 207). Sanjıra accounts give Qaba as a member of the Sayaq (ibid., pp. 186–187, 191; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 103–104, 174–175, 186), but relations between Qaba's descendants and the Sarıbağış are also mentioned, such as one of them being appointed commander of troop levies by Ormon Khan (Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 271, 285; Töröqan uulu, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 207), and another becoming a daughter-in-law of Šabdan Baatır (ibid., vol. 1, p. 173). There was also a powerful Qaba Sayaq khan named Sadır who harshly ruled all of the northern Kirghiz in the late eighteenth century and who played a significant role in the Kirghiz conflict with Ablay Khan (q.v.), and after whose death at Ablay's hands the Esenġul Sarıbağış migrated to Ferghana to escape Ablay (Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 186–187, 191). Such circumstances may explain why Qaba was felt to be relevant by the creator of the present genealogical poem, which focuses on the Sarıbağış. See also p. 35.

As for why Qaba should be remembered as an *oluya* 'saint', Qaba is named in sanjıra as one of the "wise and mighty rulers" of the Sayaq (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 179), and he is said to have had a mark on his body that garnered him such high favor among the Özbek shaykhs (*šayıq*) that they gave him a daughter to wed (Toġoloq Moldo, *Sanjıra*, p. 284 and trans.; cf. Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 286)—but he is apparently nowhere else specifically referred to as an *oluya*.

V.78 In published sanjıra, the first two heroes mentioned in this line, Aqqočqor and Qaŋġı, have only a tangential relation with the third, Qaraġul; the relation of all three to the Sarıbağış interests that dominate this genealogical poem is remote as well. In one account, Aqqočqor and Qaŋġı (Qaŋqı) were two brothers, warriors of the Bağış tribe, who took part in the punitive raid against the Noyġut after Jaŋıl Mırza killed Üčükö and Tülkü, the

ancestors of the Esenġul and Tınay Sarıbaġıs, respectively; in another account, it was Aqqočqor who abducted Jaŋıl Mırza in this raid (qq.v. all; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 110, 123, 126, 133; cf. Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, p. 193; cf. also Toġoloq Moldo, *Izbrannoe*, p. 134 [his poem *Jaŋıl Mırza*]). Some time later, Aqqočqor and Qaŋġı were killed in battle with the Qalmaqs; Qaraġul was the maternal nephew of two other casualties of that fight, and was himself killed by the Qalmaq army when he went seeking revenge; a lament for the three is preserved in folk memory (Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 133–134). The main pretext for these three heroes' mention in the present poem seems to be the example of their valor in a bygone age, ca. the second half of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. (None of them is mentioned in Vinnikov, "Rodo-plemennoi sostav," Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," or Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii*.)

V.79 On Törökeldi, the biy and baatır of the Čerikči division of the Sarıbaġıš who was apparently a favorite of Musa Čaġatayev and of the author of the present poem, see the note to line III.144.

Chronology of the Raid

Comparison of the notice of the raid on the Qalmaqs that Aristov published in 1873[1] with the events narrated in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* provides an opportunity to clear up some inconsistent and dubious aspects of the latter. Most importantly, Aristov indicates that this was not an isolated raid but rather one episode in a period of repeated attacks that lasted a year or longer. The bulk of the raids was undertaken by the Senior Horde Qazaq and (less numerous) Kirghiz groups whose pastures lay closest to the Chinese frontier; the famous warrior Balbay of the Buġu was heavily involved. Thus beyond simply corroborating the poet's account of the participation of a small number of Buġu in the Sarıbaġıš-led raid, Aristov's account mentions more instances of Buġu raiding than of Sarıbaġıš; when he mentions the latter, they are "even" the distant Sarıbaġıš. This makes sense given the positions of the two tribes' home pastures in relation to the Chinese border. When our poet says of the Buġu guide that the party took on at Balbay's camp, "Tınıstam knew very well the Qalmaqs of Sümbe" (I.510–511), we may infer with the help of Aristov's report that Tınıstam had already done to the Qalmaqs what the Sarıbaġıš were setting out to do.[2] The account by Belek Soltonoyev in his history also provides information not contained in the poem about specific advice and guidance given by Buġu who were experienced in raiding the Qalmaqs.[3]

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[1] Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam", pp. 171–172; see the Introduction and the translaton of this account in Appendix F.

[2] In addition, Chokan Valikhanov noted in a report from the border zone to Colonel Gerasim Kolpakovskii, dated 14 December 1864, that "The Karakirgiz and our Qzıl-börik [a subdivision of the Alban of the Qazaq Senior Horde] have completely annihilated the Qalmaqs nomadizing on the Tekes" (Valikhanov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 5, p. 168). Schuyler (*Turkistan*, vol. 2, p. 181) mentions the Kirghiz (Kara-Kirghiz) attack on the Tekes Qalmaqs in the same time period. Already by 1859 there had been reliable reports of Buġu raids on Qalmaqs in the Tekes valley (i.e., just a few years after the Buġu arrived there under pressure from the Sarıbaġıš), and even of a Buġu raid on a settled village near Uč Turfan, far to the south (Golubev, "Otryvok iz puteshestviia," p. 105).

[3] See Appendix G.

It emerges from Aristov's account that the monastery at Sümbe ultimately suffered a more destructive attack than the one narrated in the poem: "At the beginning of December 1864, the Buġu, Segiz-sarı,[4] and Sarıbağıš" sacked and burned the monastery and carried off the idols made of gold, silver and brass.[5] The raiders in our poem (and in Soltonoyev's history, probably via information taken from the poem) smashed the monastery's cauldron and slaughtered the handful of inhabitants they found, but they appear to have been too lightly equipped to have managed to make off with heavy loads of treasure, an act in any event not mentioned in the poem or in Soltonoyev's history. The attackers' objective was rather the herds of horses that the Qalmaq khan had driven into hiding in a remote defile—a defensive strategy at this time explicitly mentioned by Aristov. Since the raiders in the poem encountered the monastery when it was still standing, their raid must have taken place before the burning in early December 1864. Attracted by the easy pickings and having got a glimpse of the treasures stored inside the monastery, the Buġu and others apparently returned after a very short time to sack it and burn it down.[6] Šabdan may have participated in more than one of these raids on the Tekes Qalmaqs: a praise-poem on Šabdan written by ʿUthmān ʿAlī Ṣidiq ūġlī (Osmonaalı Sıdıqov) and published in 1914 contains the lines:

> Xıtay birlän Qalmaqtı
> nečen neče köp čaptı;
> qırq jigitti eerčitip
> qılıp jürdü söölöttü
>
> He attacked the Chinese and the Qalmaqs many times; he cut a magnificent figure in company with his forty jigits.[7]

Information given by Aristov also provides a clue to the earliest possible date for the raid in the poem, which is not much earlier than December 1864. Sarıbağıš participation in raids, he said, began "as soon as the Muslims of Čugučak and Qulja rebelled."[8] Only one of those rebellions happened before the destruction of Sümbe: Qulja fell to the Muslims on 10 November 1864

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[4] Segiz-sarı, a subdivision of the Alban (Qazaq Senior Horde; Vostrov and Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav kazakhov*, p. 47).

[5] Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam," p. 171; cf. Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 312–313.

[6] Balbay boasts that he sacked an unnamed Qalmaq monastery in "Balbay tuuraluu," p. 310.

[7] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 68–69/(1990) p. 58.

[8] Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam," p. 171; cf. Appendix F.

after a very brief uprising.[9] Thus the raid narrated in our poem can be dated to the month following 10 November 1864 (Old Style), and most likely to the last half of November.

Who Was Being Praised? The Origin and Development of the Poem

> While recording for his successors and, indeed, for posterity Činggis' wisdom and organizational skill and foresight, the *Secret History* also sings the praise of the other (and perhaps the true) heroes in the saga—the valiant companions from early days [...][10]

The question of what relationship existed between the poem entitled *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* and the manap Šabdan Baatır is an important one, which can be divided into two parts: how the poet Musa Čaġatayev appropriated earlier oral and literary material to create a poem befitting his famous patron, and how the finished manuscript fit into Šabdan's cultural orbit and operated as an expression of his reputation. This section deals with the first part of the question; the second part will be treated fully in the General Commentary. It will be seen here through textual analysis of the poem itself that Musa attempted to fashion a narrative to bring glory to Šabdan using materials that focused on a different person: his father's retainer Bayake. This circumstance recalls the observation by the Chadwicks on the power that the plunder-hungry comitatus had over the decisions of its leader, as in "historical records of Teutonic kings who were forced into aggressive warfare against their will by their followers,"[11] and suggests possibilities for deeper analysis of the links between the history of Šabdan's early years and the evidence of this poem's structure. We may begin with the hypothesis that the poem under examination here existed in some different form, undoubtedly oral, long before Šabdan rose to preeminence in northern Kirghiz society.

The conventional title of the poem written by an archivist in Cyrillic in the front of the Codex, *Šabdan jomaġı* 'The Epic of Šabdan', is problematic. No such title appears at the head of the page of the manuscript where the poem begins, unlike "The Story of Kenesarı" or *Kenenṣarının qıṣṣası*, the title

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[9] Kim, *Holy War in China*, pp. 54, 56.

[10] de Rachewiltz, *Secret History of the Mongols*, vol. 1, p. lxiii; the words are those of the editor, Igor de Rachewiltz.

[11] Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*, vol. 1, p. 92.

found in place at the top of the first page of the third poem (f. 42r; the poem referred to in this study as *The Story of Kenesarı*). There is, however, another notation in the manuscript in Cyrillic script that associates the first poem with Šabdan, a note written on the last leaf: *Qırġız batırları degen poemanı 1909–1910-jılı Musa Čaġatayev Šabdanġa arnap jazġan* 'Musa Čaġatayev wrote and dedicated the poem called "Kirghiz Heroes" to Šabdan in 1909–1910'.[12]

Musa's own rhetoric in his Inface echoes the widespread acclaim that Šabdan enjoyed both among the Kirghiz and in the multiethnic colonial society of Russian Turkistan in the early twentieth century. It is this rhetoric and the later notations in the manuscript, not the contents of the "Šabdan" poem, that establish Šabdan as the lead character in that narrative. Despite Šabdan's fame in the later pre-revolutionary period (or, one may envisage, partly because of it), the raid poem as written bears unmistakable signs of having been repurposed for inclusion in the manuscript. What originated as a poem that celebrated the heroism of an illustrious company instigated by Bayake, of which Šabdan was a prominent member, has been reworked, with the help of the Inface, into a poem fit for dedication to Šabdan alone. Circumstantial proof of this claim will be given below. Much hinges on the biographies of the elder members of Šabdan's circle: his father Jantay, his adopted brother Manapbay, and Bayake himself. According to Musa's poem about the raid on the Qalmaqs, Šabdan, Manapbay, and Bayake were among the handful of warriors at the core of the undertaking.

The career of Jantay Baatır Qarabek uulu, of the Tınay line of the Sarıbaġıš, coincided with the most momentous years in the modern (i.e., post-Junghar Empire) political history of the northern Kirghiz. Oral tradition maintains that the title of khan had been conferred upon Jantay at his father Qarabek's memorial feast on the initiative of his uncle, Taštanbek.[13]

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[12] See Appendix A.

[13] Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 170; the elevation apparently took place before 1834, since Taštanbek died in that year (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 274). Cf. Töröqan uulu, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 165, where khanly rule descends from Qarabek to Taštanbek. Tınay sanjıra accounts in the cited collection attest to a longer tradition of khanship among the Tınay than among the Esenġul, whose Ormon Nıyazbek uulu has become modern historians' touchstone for northern Kirghiz khanly status in the nineteenth century. On the basis of the sanjıra accounts, it is difficult to accept the common claim that Jantay's elevation as khan was conditioned by Ormon's having claimed khanly status around 1840, a move that the sanjıra accounts clearly indicate was a bold act of arrogation, since Ormon's father Nıyazbek never held the title. Ormon's elevation in turn is usually explained as a result of military and political pressure caused by Kenesarı's campaigns in Turkistan and Semirech'e. See the Commentary to poem V.

Jantay was among the three or four most powerful northern chiefs in the period immediately preceding submission to Russia, largely owing to his ties of diplomacy and intermarriage with Kirghiz, Qazaq, and Qoqandian counterparts. As fruits of his tireless efforts to create and maintain these political ties, Jantay had in his intimate circle of supporters several persons from key positions outside his bloodline.[14] Two of the most important of these outsiders were Manapbay and Bayake. The former was said to have been a son of Ormon Khan and adopted as a son by Jantay; after Jantay's death he became well-known as the chief advisor of Jantay's younger son Šabdan Baatır in the latter's dealings with the Tsarist administration, in which Manapbay also served.[15]

Bayake Küntuuġan uulu was a Tınay Sarıbaġıš by initiative, not by birth. Descended from a Qıpčaq Kirghiz from the Qara-darya region (Ferghana) who had gone into exile in the north after killing a man, Bayake was raised among the Saruu and Qušču Kirghiz of the Talas valley, where his grandfather had gained the stature of a biy or ruler. The available sanjıra account of Bayake's move from Talas to Jantay's camp is doubly significant for its linking of Bayake with Šabdan early in their careers, and for its reflection of the heroic comitatus relationship that is also vividly expressed in the *Manas* epic poems of nearly the same date. Like his Tınay ancestors before him, Jantay was visiting the Saruu to obtain a bride for his son Šabdan. Bayake stood out from the other Saruu jigits in attendance by virtue of his quick,

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[14] Šabdan, in his time, operated in similar fashion (Abramzon, "U istokov manapstva," quoted in Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, p. 243).

[15] Abramzon, "U istokov manapstva," quoted in Abdyldabek kyzy, op. cit., p. 241; Abramzon, "Sovremennoe manapstvo," p. 49: "Šabdan's chief advisor"; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 351–355, 380–382; cf. V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*, p. 286, a document from 1864 listing Manapbay (but not Šabdan) as recipient of a silver medal "for bravery." Manapbay's origin is not entirely clear. Neither Ṣidiq ūġlī (*Tārīx-i qırġız*, [1914] p. 53/[1990] p. 42) nor Abdıldabek qızı ("Babam Šabdan jönündö," p. 15) mentions Manapbay as a son of Jantay, but Ṣidiq ūġlī never mentions Manapbay at all, and Abdıldabek qızı listed as Jantay's heirs only the natural-born sons of his named wives (both omissions reserving by implication the possibility that Manapbay was adopted). Indeed Jantay's grandson records an oral-derived account in which Jantay refers to Manapbay as his son (Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," p. 8). Saparaliev has made an attempt to identify Manapbay as one of Jantay's eldest natural-born sons, without success (Saparaliev, "Qırġız mamleket bašqaruučularının eŋ joġorqu tituldarı"). The statements by Abramzon's informants identifying Manapbay as Jantay's adopted son cannot be disproved with available evidence. Analogous cases of outright adoption of a living rival chief's son are difficult to find; a more likely scenario would be that Manapbay appeared at Jantay's camp as an envoy or even a hostage, whereupon the relationship between the two men strengthened to the point where Jantay's patronage became more important than Ormon's parentage.

efficient service to Jantay, who then arranged for Bayake to come home with him and join his retinue. Bayake agreed, on the condition that he would not have to travel with the bridal party—for that would give the appearance that he was one of the bride's slaves. He entered Jantay's camp alone, in his own good time, with undiminished status. Subsequently he became Jantay's close comrade (*jan joldošu*, 'his soul companion'); when Jantay divided the lands under his control into appanages for his sons, it is said that Bayake received a portion.[16]

At his death in 1867 Jantay had been far from anointing the young Šabdan as heir to his power; it was Manapbay whom Jantay chose to represent his interests with the Russian authorities after his submission to the Tsar. For a couple of years after Jantay's death, Šabdan continued his exciting life of campaigning, crossing and re-crossing the thin line between submission and opposition to Russian rule; through it all Šabdan managed to inherit the loyalty of his father's trusted companion Bayake, who had already accompanied him on numerous armed expeditions, including the raid on the Qalmaqs narrated in our poem. Long after raiding days were over, Bayake's service continued to be a significant asset to Šabdan as well as to the Russian administration.[17] A praise-poem composed for Šabdan on the occasion of his hajj in 1881 refers to Bayake, who accompanied him, as *aq saqalıŋ* 'thy white-beard', in the honorific sense 'thy elder'.[18] But Bayake's earlier uneasiness about maintaining his status in others' eyes proved to be well-founded: unlike Jantay, Šabdan saw Bayake not as a "soul-companion" but simply as "my jigit".[19] This was the status Bayake held in the eyes of the Russians as well; an official report in 1896 noted that he had no independent influence apart from Šabdan, and he acted solely in the latter's name; his adherents numbered only 30 yurts.[20] Yet Šabdan's reliance on Bayake and Manapbay, with their filial prerogatives granted by Jantay, was a constant reminder to

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[16] Töröqan uulu, *Qırğızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 169–170. Soltonoyev (*Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, p. 294) records the information, somewhat difficult to reconcile with the above, that Bayake killed one of Jantay's wives, but no date or circumstances are given. There is another account of Bayake killing a woman, though with no connection to Jantay (ibid., pp. 373–374).

[17] Bayake is mentioned several times as a leading comrade of Šabdan in sanjıra and in published documents from the late 1860s to the mid-1890s: see ibid., pp. 350–354, 380; Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, pp. 41, 43, 95. Bayake was among the Kirghiz "manaps" [*sic*] enlisted by the Russian authorities to help put down the Andijan uprising of 1898 (Soltonoyev, op. cit., p. 421).

[18] Šabdan uulu, "Šabdan jönündö," p. 154, quoting a poem by Qalmırza.

[19] In 1885; Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 513.

[20] Abdyldabek kyzy, op. cit., p. 95.

him throughout his adult life that his father had chosen to augment the generation of natural-born sons with exceptionally able outsiders.[21] Even in death Šabdan could not escape uncomfortable comparisons: a funeral lament composed for Šabdan's memorial feast contains the claim, surprising if only in its context, that Bayake and Manapbay were "greater than you [Šabdan] in valor".[22]

Jantay was truly the leader of a comitatus in the sense understood by ancient historians and students of heroic poetry;[23] his ability to form fictive kinship relationships with the members of his company was a common feature of Inner Asian nomad aristocracies. Bayake's punctilious sense of dignity at the moment he joined his new lord's retinue and his high status thereafter mirror the plot of the epic *How Almambet Came to Manas*, recorded by Wilhelm Radloff among the northern Kirghiz in 1862, in which the bard developed these very aspects of the heroic ethos in elaborate detail.[24] Jantay undoubtedly had heard bards sing of how Almambet came from very far away (outside the Dar al-Islam) and became Manas's sworn brother in a symbolic act,[25] and how thenceforward he was the foremost of Manas's companions.

It is against this background that we must view Musa Čaġatayev's claims about Šabdan's status, which are pretentious yet central to the proper interpretation of his entire work. The full import of the lines, "Šabdan is no less than Manas, Manas was no greater man than Šabdan; and Almambet, it is perfectly plain, was no match for Bayake!" (in the Inface, II.15–18), rests on two distinct appropriations. On the surface, Musa asserts that Šabdan and Bayake have superseded Manas and Almambet as preeminent heroes (it is around this appropriation that the discussion of Musa's rhetorical achievement will center, in the General Commentary). On a deeper and narrower level, Musa used these lines to amplify the raid poem's somewhat diffuse

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[21] Jantay was not alone among the elite of northern Kirghiz society in attracting followers from diverse lineages; cf. Balbay's retinue in Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbaġıš urušu," pp. 484–486.

[22] Šaybekov, "Šabdan Baatır qošoġu," p. 120. The lines as set in the 1992 Cyrillic edition are clearly misconstrued: *Bayake, ajı, manap, bay,/ ülkön boldu demiŋden*. They should read: *Bayake Ajı, Manapbay/ ülkön boldu demiŋden*. Bayake had accompanied Šabdan on the hajj, hence *Bayake Ajı*.

[23] Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*; Chadwick and Chadwick, *Growth of Literature*; Tacitus, *Germania*, chapter 13.

[24] "Almambet, Er Kökčö and Ak-Erkeč." The plot consists of the bard's comparative calibration of the two heroes Manas and Almambet on several levels (Prior, *Twilight Age*, pp. 97–122); see also Hatto, "Almambet."

[25] "Almambet, Er Kökčö and Ak-Erkeč," lines 1861–1862.

praise of Šabdan, which in many places is overshadowed by the achievements of Bayake. He seems to have done this because the narrative material he had available to celebrate the heroism of his patron bore the stamp of the bygone era when Šabdan was just starting out and Bayake enjoyed fame in his own right. Musa's being a relative of Bayake[26] would explain his having access to and relying on an earlier poem about a raid initiated by Bayake. Such a poem, in either oral or literary form, was the framework upon which "The Epic of Šabdan" took shape. Nevertheless, Čaġatayev or his forerunners possessed notable poetic skill and experience in handling the figure of Šabdan, at times in traditional heroic style. Šabdan apparently had some visibility as a hero of poetry, but was not the paramount hero of this poem until Čaġatayev attempted to present him as such in the Inface.

There are several kinds of poetic evidence of the Bayake-to-Šabdan switch. The poem begins with the line "Er Bayake had a dream", and there can be little doubt that Bayake's dream-inspiration, elaborated over the first 42 lines, was the original motivation in the raid narrative. Yet even in the dream and its immediate results Šabdan cannot be ignored. The two departed spirits who exhort Bayake to raid the Qalmaqs are Atake Baatır (Šabdan's ancestor) and Arġımbay (Bayake's)—named in that order.[27] Then Šabdan is the first named among the four heroes (with Manapbay, Qarakesek, and Botpay) whom Bayake calls to hear about his dream,[28] and upon hearing it related he is the first person to speak, albeit just a single line of direct speech, "I'll make a raid on the Infidel!"[29] after which he summons the other warriors from far and wide. Šabdan's speech is introduced by three appositive lines that describe him in the manner of a brief heroic epithet involving his horse; no other hero in the poem is accorded this distinction.[30] The catalogue of raiders who arrive at Šabdan's summons, numbering nearly 40, are implied by the poet to be Šabdan's jigits; there is evidence, however, that this catalogue was a later addition.[31] The focus on Bayake is reestablished when the heroes go to Jantay to relate the dream and ask for his blessing to go on the raid; Šabdan does not even enter his father Jantay's

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[26] This fact is deduced on the basis of line I.1637 *Küntuuġandın Musası* (the poet's "signature" to the first poem) and a notation by Abramzon ("Sovremennoe manapstvo," p. 55) that one "Akhmat Chagataev" was a "nephew of Bayake Kuntuganov"; see Appendix A.

[27] I.5.

[28] I.19–20.

[29] I.48.

[30] I.44–46. Cf. another hippic epithet of Šabdan's at I.1332–1337, and see Hatto, "Zyklische Anspielungen"; Hatto, "Kirghiz. Epithets."

[31] See the note to lines I.52–101, above.

yurt, and Jantay refers by name only to Bayake in his response and blessing.[32] Later Bayake is referred to, in an aside before he charges a Qalmaq foe, as "he who led the way on the path of religion" on numerous raids in the past.[33] Yet there is a tinge of deference to his Tınay patrons in this passage: he asks for their permission to engage the foe, the first single combat of the day.[34] In another instance, Šabdan's words seem to go against the social grain: apostrophizing before engaging in single combat, he includes Arğımbay, Bayake's ancestor, with two Tınay ancestors in his invocation of protecting arbaq.[35] It would be not at all noteworthy for Bayake to name the arbaq of his Tınay patrons in his invocations; on the other hand, Šabdan's appeal to the ancestor of a family retainer, whose only status came from association with the Tınay lineage, is extraordinary. It reinforces the significance of Bayake's dream-vision of arbaq from his own and the Tınay lineage, and underlines Bayake's importance in the poem.

A rough statistical picture of the relative importance of the characters can be seen in terms of three narrative indicators: the number of times a given character is mentioned unambiguously alone by name, the number of the character's speeches that are quoted, and the number of lines making up those speeches. Šabdan is mentioned by himself 28 times by name, and has 12 lines of direct speech in four speeches; Bayake is mentioned by himself 33 times by name, and has 90 lines of direct speech in seven speeches. (By way of comparison, Jantay, who is out of sight for over half of the poem, is mentioned 14 times by name, and has 43 lines of direct speech in three speeches.) The numbers for Šabdan and Bayake do not include an 84-line section of a speech that seems to be spoken by Šabdan and Bayake together, but which, as will be shown below through analysis, should be attributed to Bayake alone. There are several other places where the two heroes are mentioned together, including 19 mentions in the same line, by name or by attribution, such as *eki er* 'the two warriors' or *bul ökööö* 'these two'.[36]

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[32] I.154–221.

[33] I.1206–1208. Neither Bayake nor Šabdan was chosen to act as khan of the raiding party: that honor went to the relatively lowly Andaš (I.292).

[34] I.1204.

[35] I.1327–1329.

[36] Bayake and Šabdan are mentioned together in five lines of main narration (202 *Bayake, Šabdan jatpaġın*, 438 *Bayake, Šabdan jeeniŋ*, 800 *Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay*, 868 *Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay*, 1433 *Qarqara-toru, Sur-qula*—the horses they were riding); in one line of the digression on the raid on the Noyğut (114 *Bayake, Šabdan, Manapbay*); in six lines of the digression on their military service in the fight at Tashkent (654 *Bayake menen Šabdandı*, 658 *ošol ökööwün jiber dep*, 671 *Bayake, Šabdan bul ökөө*, 672 *bul ökөönün erligin*, 679 *Bayake baatır, Šabdanġa*, 684 *Bayake, Šabdan eki er*); and in seven lines of the digression on the fight

Some heroes including Šabdan (but not Bayake, nor, interestingly, Jantay) receive brief appositive treatments that could be called epithets. Šabdan's steed Sur-qula receives formulaic treatment in the only two steed-epithets to appear in any of the poems in the manuscript: *mingen atı Sur-qula/ anıq tulpar aybandan* 'the horse he rode, Sur-qula, a real *tulpar* among beasts' (I.45–46) and *bul janıbar Sur-qula/ jügürgönü qoyondoy* 'this creature, Sur-qula, that could run like a hare' (I.1332–1333)—the latter embedded within a strikingly traditional-sounding epithet of Šabdan consisting of his three supports: his God, his arbaq, and his horse. These epithets strongly suggest that Šabdan had become the subject of praise-poetry by skilled bards before the Bayake poem was adapted for dedication to Šabdan, and that material from such praise-poetry found its way into the Bayake poem that formed the basis of the present work.

With these indicators may be confronted the heroes' achievements in the business of raiding and fighting. Most convenient for comparison are incidents of single combat. Both Bayake and Šabdan fight with extraordinary bravery in the poem, and it is their combats that the poet focuses on in the narration. Bayake makes two explicit kills in single contests, one in a digression on the fight in Talas[37] and one in the final battle with the Qalmaqs.[38] Both times he despoils the dead foe of his horse, and in the latter case he received it later as booty by special award. Šabdan also makes two kills, following Bayake in each scene;[39] neither victory garners him any specific spoils, but his second kill is of a named personage, the Qalmaq khan Dörbööl. Even then he gains victory only with great difficulty, after being shot in the shoulder with an arrow[40] and receiving diversionary assistance from Bayake, who simultaneously rescues another comrade by killing Botpay's opponent, the named Qalmaq hero Manjum.[41] Šabdan's name is strangely omitted from the list of the rest of the Five Heroes who rally at the end of the battle and rout the Qalmaqs; this may be an error.[42] Nevertheless it is in battle that Šabdan comes closest to the stature of Bayake in deed. If Bayake's combat record is the more illustrious of the two, Šabdan's is still

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at Talas (1022 *Baatır Šabdan, Bayake*, 1023 *qayrat ayttı bul ökөө*, 1051 *Bayake, Šabdan egiz er*, 1080 *eki baatır, bul ökөө*, 1081 *eki erdin türün körgön soŋ*, 1098 *Bayake, Šabdan eki er*, 1101 *qonsun,—dep—baldar, ar uwaq!* [the plural form *baldar*]).

[37] I.1057.

[38] I.1219.

[39] I.1076–1077; I.1391.

[40] I.1357–1358.

[41] I.1364–1365.

[42] I.1401–1408.

irreproachable and the only one worth comparing to Bayake's; coming in a distant third is Botpay, who fought to a draw in the only other mentioned single combat.[43]

Other miscellaneous passages help to form a comparative picture of the two main heroes' roles in the poem. Bayake is the initiator and leader of a reconnaissance party that infiltrates the Sümbe monastery and yields a Qalmaq convert to Islam, who provides crucial intelligence on where to find the refuge of the khan and the rest of the Qalmaqs.[44] In the final battle, as Botpay and the Qalmaq giant Manjum fight on and on, Bayake and Šabdan engage each other in dialogue about what is to be done; Bayake calls Šabdan "the leader of this host" and asks his permission to intervene. Šabdan advises letting the Qalmaqs make the first move.[45] Šabdan, for his part, is the owner of a spyglass (a pair of binoculars) that accounts for 153 of the poem's lines. Its description, the digression on its origin (it was a gift from Xudāyār Khan and Qanāʿat Šah for bravery in battle at Tashkent), and the description of two distant scenes reconnoitered with its aid[46] all have analogies in Kirghiz epics.[47] Yet there is something odd about lines I.676–680:

> Qudayar Xan, Čoŋ Qanaat
> ošondo bergen dürbünü
> baatırlarġa sıyapat.
> Bayake baatır, Šabdanġa
> dilde jabdıq at bergen
>
> Xudāyār Khan and the great Qanāʿat presented the spyglass then to the heroes as a hospitality-gift. They gave horses with gilded harness to Bayake Baatır and to Šabdan

The Kirghiz syntactic singular is ambiguous as to number with respect to the spyglass(es) and horse(s) bestowed (one each to Šabdan and Bayake, or just one—and if just one, then to whom?), yet both heroes are specified as recipients of (both?) gifts. Šabdan's (and not Bayake's) possession of the spyglass in question during the raid justifies the singular used in the translation, but earlier configurations of the text here are debatable.

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[43] I.1274–1276.

[44] I.548–621.

[45] I.1277–1302.

[46] I.648–768, 1149–1180.

[47] On digressions relating the forging or acquisition of arms and other accoutrements, well-known topoi in other epic traditions besides the Kirghiz, cf. Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, lines 2751–2825; "Bok-Murun," lines 1611–1697 (pp. 208–211). On reconnaissance through a spyglass and the item's description see Prior, *Semetey of Kenje Kara*, lines 9–24 (pp. 18–23, with commentary pp. 113–114 citing five other *Semetey* versions).

Besides the evidence sampled above that shows Bayake and Šabdan in specific and somewhat balanced roles, there is an ambiguous speech that appears to be the result of pro-Šabdan handling of a passage that focused on Bayake in an earlier version of the text. This is the exhortation of the heroes before the climactic battle with the Qalmaqs.[48] The scene occurs at a mountain pass, where the main party of some 80 Kirghiz raiders has stayed behind to repel the counterattack by a massed force of 900 Qalmaqs; the stolen horses have been sent on homeward with 30 members of the raiding party.[49] This situation lies at the nexus between a tactical commonplace of cattle-raiding[50] and a well-known topos of heroic narration, "the defence of a narrow place against odds."[51] This is not a heroic poem and so "our" warriors fortunately carry the day at the pass, but the poet (if not, indeed, the participants whose reports he used) responded to the pressing expectation of the Qalmaq onslaught with a hortatory speech that would be instantly recognizable to a Homeric audience, or to the readers of such exemplary expressions of heroic self-sacrifice in the Old French *Song of Roland* or the Old English *The Battle of Maldon*. Bayake "and Šabdan" begin the speech with the words:

> Qorqpoġula, balalar!
> Ar kim özün čamalar
> Quday berse bul joonu.
> Azın, köbün kim sanar?
> Šeyit bolsoq Qapırdan
> segiz beyiš ol da bar!
> Tuulġan soŋ ölmök bar;
> munday ölüm kim tabar?
> Ata-baba ilgerten
> salıp jürgön jolu ušul!
> Munday neče joolordu
> ala jürgön qol ušul!
>
> Never fear, boys! Everyone will realize his own strength if God brings us this foe. Who would care if there are many or few? If we are martyred by Infidels, then we still have the Eight Paradises! You are born, and then you die; thus

[48] I.1022–1144, the longest speech in the poem.

[49] I.999–1002.

[50] The coordinated division of the party into drovers and defenders is also narrated as a matter of course in the Qazaq raid poem collected by Karl Reichl, *Täwke-batır* (lines 101–148; see Reichl, *Singing the Past*, [text] pp. 186–188, [translation] pp. 83–84).

[51] The oft-quoted words are those of W.P. Ker (*Epic and Romance*, p. 5), whose chosen examples from medieval European literature (the fight at Finnsburgh, the last stand of the Nibelungs, Roland's doomed defense at Roncesvalles, etc.) are typical.

> *who* ever finds death [on his own]? This is the way of your forefathers from olden days! *This* is the party that plunders such great numbers of enemies![52]

But the exhortation does not end there; the speech goes on to recall a successful past battle in the Talas valley between a small force led by Bayake and Šabdan and a Qoqandian detachment that was threatening a group of Kirghiz.[53] Bayake and Šabdan distinguished themselves with their bravery, and after the victory they (or one of them?) garnered from Sarımsaq Datqa not only the gift of a richly-outfitted horse but also a blessing,[54] the wisdom to be applied to the present situation being: "[a]fter that [battle] no one sought a blood payment; is your fear so great, boys?"[55]

The long speech then continues, but the reader's recollection of the start of the speech ("Baatır Šabdan and Bayake, these two, exhorted them," at lines I.1022–1023) disagrees with the words on the page at this point:

> "Aman bolso, qašımda
> Baatır Šabdan jubayım,
> Qarakesek, Manapbay,
> balban Botpay tınarım,
> kelatqan batbaq Qalmaqtı
> tašın talqan qılarım! […]"
> dep Bayake sayradı;
> baldardın köŋülün jayladı.
> Qayrattanıp jigitter
> joo jaraġın šayladı.
> Emi Bakeŋ käp aytat,
> ar askerge teŋ aytat […]
>
> "If they remain unharmed at my side—my partner Baatır Šabdan, Qarakesek, Manapbay, my support, Botpay the strong man—let me crush the approaching Qalmaq scoundrels! […]"—Bayake ranted, and eased the boys' hearts. The jigits plucked up their courage, saw to their weapons and armor. Now Bayake spoke, addressing all the fighters as one […][56]

The exhortation was said to have been started by Bayake and Šabdan together, yet after about eighty lines of directly-quoted speech during which there is no indication of a change in speakers, it becomes clear that Bayake

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[52] I.1024–1035.

[53] This was the historical incident that preceded the raid on the Qalmaqs in Šabdan's autobiography (see the various notes to lines I.1036–1102).

[54] I.1036–1102. Bayake's referring to himself in the narration in the third person (as, e.g., I.1056–1057) is not unusual for heroes giving speeches; cf. e.g., "Bok-Murun," line 1607 (pp. 206–207).

[55] I.1103–1104.

[56] I.1105–1110, 1115–1120.

has been doing the talking alone; this fact is reinforced at line I.1115, *dep Bayake sayradı* 'Bayake ranted [had been saying to them at length]'. After only six lines of incidental interruption, Bayake finishes with 24 lines of exhortation (similar in its lofty tone to the beginning of the speech) where he is unequivocally the sole speaker.[57] The line at the beginning of the speech, "Baatır Šabdan and Bayake, these two, exhorted them" has apparently been fabricated in an effort to cast Šabdan as Bayake's equal partner in the delivery of the most stirring words of martial encouragement in the poem. Restoring the full speech to Bayake leaves him as the source of 174 lines of direct speech, against Šabdan's 12 lines.

Since we know that Musa Čağatayev was a pro-Šabdan relative of Bayake and the last person to cast an authorial eye over the material, it follows that any pro-Šabdan features in the text are the result of, or were allowed to stand through, Čağatayev's interventions. The fact that interventions were made, as has been shown above, reinforces the idea that the poem in its original form would not have been acceptable to Šabdan as a celebration of his heroism above all. Bayake's long shadow had to be filled in where possible with limelighting on Šabdan. This instance of what would be considered biased distortion of a historical source has another name in the study of epic traditions: cyclization.

Several conclusions result. First, the productive phase of the poetic, undoubtedly oral, genre that produced the earlier poem in which Bayake figured so prominently would seem to have ended very soon after the time when the northern Kirghiz submitted to Russia, in the 1860s. At that time Šabdan was still rather young, a fact that helps to explain why he apparently had garnered no lasting commemorations of his own specific exploits in topical praising poetry by the time the oral corpus of such poems slipped into frozen archaism (though some epithets—curiously, of his horse—appear traditional). Many decades later, with Bayake much reduced in status and Šabdan's massive reputation built upon Tsarist-era probity and service, the poet Musa Čağatayev set out to praise Šabdan in the old genre, but found no material specifically on Šabdan's exploits ready to hand. The solution was to appropriate a poem in which Šabdan appeared but was not preeminent, and to give the work's original focus on Bayake some slight adjustments. The narrow "profit margin" apparent in Musa's project of retrofitting a poem largely about Bayake for the purpose of buttressing Šabdan's already towering reputation shows how important the poet conceived this project to be.

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[57] I.1121–1144.

The Itinerary

The nineteenth-century Kirghiz epic tradition is noteworthy among traditions worldwide for its highly realistic depictions of geography, particularly in the form of itineraries.[58] The Kirghiz often traced the movements of their favorite imaginary heroes with precision and realism, so it is no surprise to discover much valuable information in the geographical background of the epic-style narration in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*. But the poet made doubtful steps as well, and in some places was plain wrong. Besides providing a number of historically credible data, the poet's handling of the Kirghiz heroes' raiding itinerary helps us understand the thought processes that transformed eyewitness observations of far-away places into knowledge back home, through the medium of traditionally structured oral or oral-like poetry. When we come across the line, *andan munday qarasa* 'when he looked out from there, *this way*' (I.706), amid highly detailed geographical narration, we may be glimpsing the earliest stages of the poem's existence, when an eyewitness to the raid recounted what he saw while gesturing with his hands.

The geographical knowledge the poet displays in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* is naturally at its best on the territory closest to the home of the Tınay Sarıbağış. The itinerary from Jantay's headquarters at Coŋ Kemin eastward to Qızıl-qıya and San-taš, a trip of six days' travel with one rest day, is flawless as narrated (I.377–397). East of San-taš (coincidentally, the eastern boundary of Manas's realm in epic tradition[59]), certain difficulties arise. This part of the itinerary can be divided into two sections: from Qızıl-qıya and San-taš east to Sümbe (Sümbö, 43°00′48″N 80°22′13″E[60]) and from Sümbe east to the main herds of the Qalmaqs at Qara-say, the latter including the small-scale topography of the raid and its immediate aftermath.

Balbay's Buġu encampment was clearly in the upper Tekes valley, where other sources locate him at various times, but the poet gives no more specific position. Balbay is reached *Qızıl-qıya ašqanda* (I.398), which cannot be taken literally to mean 'when they crossed the Qızıl-qıya pass' (42°43′16″N

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[58] Hatto, "Marschrouten"; Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary."

[59] Hatto, *Memorial Feast*, line 3212; "Semetey," line 1055.

[60] Boris Rezvantsev, who has examined the ruined site of Sümbe monastery in person, kindly pinpointed the location for me on an image from Google Earth at approximately 1:120,000 scale (email, 21 May 2007). Cf. Rezvantsev and Rezvantsev, *Tropami Šambaly*, pp. 99–130.

78°55′29″E),[61] since that would deflect the riders southward into country with only difficult and indirect access to the Tekes. The sense must be 'when one passes by Qızıl-qıya [on the right hand, heading east]',[62] so as to continue over the gentle San-taš pass (42°45′32″N 79°01′18″E) and into the Qarqara/Kegen valley, and thence up one of the gorges of the tributaries of the Kegen to cross the mountains to the southeast into the Tekes valley (approx. 42°44′N 79°26′E).[63]

The mention of the lake passed on the way to Sümbe (I.517) allows for some precision in reconstructing the party's route at this point. The salt lake at 43°00′N 80°00′E, known as both Tuz-köl and Boro Dabusun Nor ('salt lake' is *tuz köl* in Turkic and *dabusun nor* in Mongolian) lies in a depression on the crest of the elevation that divides the drainages of the Kegen and Tekes rivers; both Golubev (1860) and Mikhailovskii (1862) mentioned Boro Dabusun Nor en route to Sümbe. The famously rich summer pastures on the mountain slopes surrounding the upper Tekes were a preferable location for the camp of a personage such as Balbay; even if the party had already crossed over to the Tekes side of the mountains and met Balbay, without ascending the Kegen to cross at the pass where the salt lake was located, they would still pass near the lake if their route to Sümbe followed the southern flanks of the mountains. Mikhailovskii gives a clear description of the route from Boro Dabusun Nor to Sümbe, a distance that took him some three hours to cover at a light trot.[64]

From Balbay's camp to Sümbe, the time spans recorded by the poet are unrealistic and the places passed on the way become confusing. It is two days' march at most (not twelve, I.530) from the presumed vicinity of Balbay's encampment to the Sümbe monastery at the foot of the Qara-too (Qara-tau) mountains (I.532). Jıldız, purportedly encountered on the way (I.518–521[65]) is enigmatically misplaced and will be discussed separately near the end of this section. Qunduz, purportedly two days east of Jıldız (I.523), is no help, since it was not found in available maps and reference

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[61] Cf. Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, pp. 146–147.

[62] For a similar reading of *aš-* as 'pass by/beyond' instead of 'cross a mountain pass' in a Kirghiz epic itinerary, see Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary," pp. 265–266.

[63] I reconnoitered the area around Qızıl-qıya, San-taš, and Qarqara in 1994; see Prior, "Bok Murun's Itinerary." My estimates of daily stages are based on my own rates of movement on horseback though similar types of terrain.

[64] Golubev, "Kratkii otchet," p. 190; Mikhailovskii, "Poiezdka v Sumbe" (see Appendix E).

[65] Doubling references of the kind employed here, *Törtünčü kün bolġondo/ ašıp tüštü Jıldızġa;/ bešinči kün bolġondo/ ašıp tüštü Jıldızġa* 'On the fourth *or fifth* day they crossed a pass and descended to Jıldız' are common in Turkic oral epic narration.

aids.[66] Thus, while anchoring his itinerary with the accurate information that Sümbe was located near the Qara-too mountains, the poet's understanding of the route to the monastery became increasingly unsure the farther away the raiding party traveled from the homeland of the Tınay Sarıbağıš.

In the poem, Sümbe had been the goal of the raid since Bayake had his original dream-inspiration, but having found the monastery evacuated and devoid of herds, the raiders had to press on eastward using intelligence gained from a local Qalmaq whom they converted to Islam. According to this man's report the Qalmaqs had removed to a place called Jez-töbö, an eminence ten days' ride away, near the stream Qara-say (I.610–615). The narration of the raiders' onward movement puts Jez-töbö and Qara-say in close association with a(nother) Qara-too mountain range (I. 644–647, 700–711). The location of Qara-say is known from maps, and Qara-too can be located using a number of clues both internal and external to the poem; Jez-töbö eludes identification. As before, the interpretation of the itinerary proposed here assumes that the poet exaggerated the elapsed time of the raiders' marches.

The very common Central Asian Turkic hydronym *Qara-say* (named by the Qalmaq informant at I.614 as the hither border of the Qalmaqs' refuge) is the name of a stream that rises in the eastern part of the Ketmen range and flows southward into the Tekes at approximately 43°12′N 81°50′E.[67] This

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[66] Abdıraxmanov, "Tekesten köčköndö" contains a couplet, *Jılqıġa jayluu jıldızım/ jılqıčıġa qunduzum* (p. 32) 'my *jıldız*, ample for horses, my *qunduz*, [fit] for horseherds', which, with a small caveat for the lack of capitalization (the ms. is written in the Kirghiz Latin script of the early 1920s, and toponyms are normally capitalized by the scribe) appears to be a reference to a place called Qunduz associated in some way with Yulduz/Jıldız or with Tekes. According to legendary material recorded from the Kirghiz, "Jıldız and Qunduz" were a pair of places in which they lived after leaving the Yenisei and before the Mongol Conquest (Abramzon, "Narondye predaniia," p. 68; Abramzon, "Predvaritel'nye itogi," p. 20).

Cf. the stream name *Qŭndızdı* in Kazakhstan with the Turkic meaning 'abounding in otters' (Koičubaev, *Kratkii tolkovii slavar'*, p. 157, though no location of such a stream is stated). The town named *Qunduz* in northern Afghanistan (with Persian etymology, << *kuhan-diz* 'old fort') is too far away from the present itinerary, as is the town named *Qunduz* in Yopurġa county near Kashghar.

The *Kunduz* (*Kunduzdar, Kumdus, Kuldus*) are cited among the subdivisions of the Lop-nor people (Iudin, "O rodoplemennom sostave," p. 63).

Qunduz and Yulduz is the title of an Özbek *dāstān* named for its main characters (Reichl, *Turkic Oral Epic Poetry*, p. 74), which at least hints at widespread appreciation in Central Asian Turkic oral traditions for the assonance between the two names.

[67] The stream's lower course has been disrupted on its way through the modern town of Tekes (T'e-k'e-ssu); the parts of the stream that figure in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* are up

datum is helpful in locating the second Qara-too on the itinerary (I.647, etc.), which is not found as such on maps: there are no Qara-too/Qara-tau mountains near the lower Tekes valley or neighboring parts of the Ili and Yulduz valleys.[68] It would be plausible to read *qara too* as the common noun phrase 'mountain(s) not covered by snow', if not for the fact that nineteenth-century Kirghiz epic poets who show any interest in toponymic itineraries (as this poet does) show little interest in purely descriptive, scenic characteristics of itinerary stops (like "a low mountain" or "a rushing stream"); if they mention a place, they usually name it. It is more likely that Qara-too, named by the poet as the destination of the journey that began at Sümbe, is actually a distant extension of the same Qara-too mountain range (I.532) beneath which Sümbe is situated. The journey from Sümbe to the stream Qara-say skirts the southern flanks of the Ketmen mountains, a sizeable range running east and west that divides the Tekes basin from the Ili. This Ketmen range, bowed slightly north, forms a single spine except in its western half, where a few smaller ranges branch off to the southwest. One of these is the Qara-too (around 43°10′N 80°25′E), beneath which the raiders found Sümbe. Qara-too could thus appear to strangers to be the name of the entire range, not just the spur. Following a route down the Tekes valley on the north side of the river near ground level on Google Earth, from Sümbe to Qara-say, one gets the visual impression of a low mountain rampart coming across one's path near the end-point: this is the eastern end of the Ketmen range curving back southward to constrict the valley (around 43°15′N 82°15′E). The location of a Qara-too near Sümbe and its evident continuity with the mountain range along which the party traveled eastward for some days suggest that the raiders who saw and reported these events equated Qara-too with the entire Ketmen range, which they had to negotiate again as an eminence near their final goal.

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in the mountains. The informant's (sc. the poet's) reckoning of a ten-day trek from Sümbe to Qara-say is at least double the length of time a rider would actually require to cover the distance.

[68] Soviet cartographers dotted the western and middle reaches of the Ketmen mountains with subordinate ranges labeled Karatau (e.g., General'nyi Shtab, 1:200,000 sheet K-44–09), but none is more than a few kilometers east of the present Kazakhstan–China border. To the negative testimony of Soviet- and Tsarist-era maps may be added the detailed accounts of Kaul'bars ("Zamietki o Kul'dzhinskom kraie"), Roborovskii (*Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*), and other first-hand observers, also silent on a Qara-tau component of the eastern Ketmen.

In repeated references in the poem, Qara-say and Qara-too define the landscape over which the hostilities between the Kirghiz and Qalmaqs ranged. At this great distance from the usual realm of Tınay affairs, however, the descriptions of terrain cannot be taken for granted. Despite the impressive consistency of some of the poet's topographical details, he relied on a popular poetic theme to describe the Qalmaqs' refuge. This is the "reconnaissance of a well-favored valley from a height," a variation of the "praise of a well-favored valley" theme. Numerous records of Kirghiz oral poems from the late nineteenth century onward attest a mass of descriptive diction very similar to that found in Šabdan's reconnaissance (I.689–768); even the spyglass (in Šabdan's case, binoculars, I.648–653) is the subject of formulaic treatment. The nature of this piece of typical description and the question of its connection or disconnection with reality will be discussed below; now it is necessary to consider the specific local references that appear to be arranged with some coherence and concreteness around the soft center of the "praise of the valley."

As explained above, the common hydronym Qara-say is the name of a left-hand feeder of the middle Tekes. The stream is furnished near its head with a mountain pass in communication with the Ili valley and Qulja.[69] The Qara-say is the most significant water descending from the Ketmen mountains (the Qara-too, according to the interpretation above) before the Tekes valley narrows into the gorge that separates it from the Ili. The Qara-say is mentioned in an older Kirghiz poem that praises the Tekes valley, one said to have been composed by a Kirghiz who had lived there for a time.[70] Only part of the course of the Qara-say resembles a likely refuge for herdsmen and their horses: the upper part, a well-pastured, sheltered dale running northwest to southeast, around 2000 meters in elevation, and scarcely six kilometers long. At 43°20′24″N 81°48′43″E the stream turns south and flows for about 20 kilometers to the Tekes through more open country consisting of low, rolling hills.[71] It goes without saying that this Qara-say, whether in its upper or lower part or taken together, is nothing like the vast, moist plain, fraught with wildlife, that Šabdan is supposed to

[69] Some 20 kilometers to the west as the crow flies is Suašu (Suu-ašuu), the better-known pass mentioned by Šabdan in his autobiography as the location of the raid.

[70] Abdıraxmanov, "Tekesten köčköndö," p. 37.

[71] Qara-say is not mentioned as a left tributary of the Tekes by Julien in his conspectus of Chinese sources ("Notices sur les pays," pp. 423–424); Aristov (*Usuni i kyrgyzy*, p. 462 n. 1) mentions no Qara-say from his field observations, but mentions that only the Sümbe and one other stream regularly flowed all the way to the Tekes.

have spied through his binoculars. But the environs of the place where he stood to look down on the unlikely scene evince some sense of authenticity.

Šabdan's vantage point allowed him to look out *jonduu jerden* 'from the crest' (I.698) of *döbö* 'a hill' (I.696) by *eerdey qayqı bel* 'a pass, … dipped like a saddle' (I.692). From this spot *in* the Qara-too he also looked out *at* the Qara-too (I.647, 701, etc.), so that complex features are implied. One of these is *biyik ülkön too* 'a great, high mountain' (I.786); another is the dipped pass itself, *qayqı bel* (I.692 etc.), which is also referred to once as a dipped mountain spur, *qayqı beles* (I.1189). The topography of the spur accords well with the situation of the Qara-say.[72] Aleksandr V. Kaul'bars described the environs in this way: "the broad valley [of the Tekes] is gradually constricted by mountain spurs" in its eastern reaches.[73] Vsevolod I. Roborovskii likewise noted: "From the northern mountains *Iškimek* [= Ketmen, Qara-too] to the stream [Tekes] extend gently sloping, grass-covered heights".[74] At this point Roborovskii was traveling eastward through the northern sector of the middle Tekes valley, along the base of the Ketmen range where the stream Atan-gol (Altın-gol on Soviet maps) drains the watershed bounded to the south by the Atan-ula (Altın-tau) 'golden mountains', a line of hills that divide the Atan-gol from the Tekes. The confluence of the Atan-gol with the Tekes is no more than 12 kilometers upstream from the confluence of the Qara-say with the Tekes. Roborovskii continued his description: "from the south, from Atan-ula, at first the same kind of heights [are found], but further on the actual slopes of the Atan-ula [come down to meet the river]".[75] Either the Atan-ula/Altın-tau or a spur of the Ketmen from the north is thus in an excellent location to answer to the poet's lines:

> Andan munday qarasa
> tüštük jerde janaša
> anča biyik too emes,
> Qara-toodon alasa.
>
> When he looked out from there, this way, in the south were mountains, not very high, in a line, lower than the Qara-too.[76]

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[72] Google Earth shows a number of possible locations of the *bel* 'pass' and *beles* 'spur' within a short walk of 43°20′40″N 81°46′30″E.

[73] Kaul'bars, "Zamietki o Kul'dzhinskom kraie," p. 120.

[74] Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, p. 31.

[75] Ibid.

[76] I. 706–709.

It is significant that the poet referred to a cardinal direction, *tüštük jerde* 'in the south'. This is highly unusual from the standpoint of traditional Kirghiz epic poetry. The detailed, realistic treatment of geographical information by epic bards in the mid-nineteenth century was based on means of orientation that implied no use of maps; compass directions were ignored. This does not at all mean that the Kirghiz did not have a conception of the cardinal directions; they did, and it was strongly reinforced by the generally latidudinal orientation of the mountain ranges in which they lived, which gave them their terms *küngöy* 'sunny-side' for the north side of a valley or the south side of its boundary range, and *terskey* 'shady-side' for the opposite. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the epic records are consistent on this score, and it may be concluded that the poet's reference to *tüštük jerde* originated not from traditional poetic diction but from the report of an eyewitness at the summit of the Qara-too—either Šabdan or one of his companions.

One of the *anča biyik too emes* 'mountains, not very high' seen in the south may well have been Jez-töbö (lit., 'copper hill', I.610, 644, 756), though its location is unknown from other sources and therefore no help with orientation. After its first announcement as the location of the Qalmaqs and their herds (I.610), Jez-töbö loses its importance as a reference point the closer the raiders come to reaching their goal. But its last mention again commands attention: beyond Jez-töbö, Šabdan could see *adır-adır čöl* 'hilly steppe', possibly even 'steppe broken by talus' (I.757), which indeed he would have seen from a vantage point on the crest of the Qara-too near the upper end of the Qara-say looking generally southward, beyond the Tekes and the Atan-ula/Altın-tau to the bench of an old riverbed (43°08′08″N 81°47′40″E) punctuating the distant floodplain.

As narrated, the topography and tactics of the hostilities with the Qalmaqs offer a plausible scenario that seems to illuminate what the participants—whose lives for a short time depended on their understanding of the local terrain—thought important to remember. Four separate incidents of fighting occurred within the span of about 24 hours, and within a geographical radius of about two kilometers in and around the upper Qara-say valley. In the poem the first thing Šabdan saw through his binoculars, before the exaggerated natural wonders of Qara-say (which will be considered below) was a patrol of fifteen Qalmaqs out hunting on the Qara-too (I.704–705). The poet makes it clear that these Qalmaqs were on the mountains rather than in the Qara-say valley, which makes the next move by the raiders more understandable: they swiftly moved to attack them (I.771–776). Had these Qalmaqs been in the valley, the raiders could have used the crest of the

Qara-too to remain concealed from the party and preserve the element of surprise for when the herds were at last within reach; but being exposed on the same heights as the enemy, they may have had no choice but to make an immediate, preemptive strike to keep the hunters from descending into the valley and alerting the others. The attack was successful. Fourteen Qalmaqs were captured and executed; the fifteenth fled into the mountains on foot and eluded capture by mounted Kirghiz in hot pursuit (I.777–791). Only then did the raiders make out the mass of the Qalmaqs in the distance, aided, before long, by the enemies' campfire light as darkness fell (I.794–798). Bayake, Šabdan, and Manapbay then went to reconnoiter the interior of the valley and plan the raid (I.800–809). Returned to the main party, they set aside 50 men as sentries. Then the detachment of 60 attackers, wearing white overshirts for mutual recognition in the dark (I.820–821),[77] began the raid by going down and around and ascending into the valley from its lower end (I.811–825),[78] thus driving the horses up toward the waiting sentries. Possible reasons for setting so many sentries were the need to cordon off the rim of the valley and keep the lone Qalmaq fugitive from returning and warning the others; the need to contain and control the scattered, stampeding horses no matter which direction they took up the valley once the raid commenced; and the need to keep the number of attackers to a minimum in the close quarters of the valley itself. The upper Qara-say valley would be nearly encircled by 50 sentries spaced at 200-meter intervals around its crest.

The second fight, the actual horse-theft, quickly garnered a thousand horses for the raiders, who enhanced their surprise attack by making noise with their guns, drums, and voices; the Qalmaqs (of whom there were only herders in the valley) in their shock lost all cohesion, and were chased off with blows (I.826–857). The Qalmaqs rallied and launched a pursuit party after a very brief interval—so brief that at least some of the raiders, perhaps all of them, were still making their way out of the valley within range of Qalmaq bow-fire (I.871). This was met by an ambush consisting of Bayake, Šabdan, and three other picked warriors, who first sent their comrades onward and upward out of the valley with the horses. In this third fight, the five members of the ambush party cut off the advance of the pursuing

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[77] On the *camisado* tactic among the Kirghiz cf. Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, p. 326.

[78] *ayağınan kirišip* 'entering from its lower end' (I.825) must mean the lower opening of the alpine bowl that constitutes the upper portion of the Qara-say valley (around 43°20′24″N 81°48′43″E), not the mouth where it flows into the Tekes.

Qalmaqs and killed a great number of them with guns, lances, and swords before setting the rest to flight (I.875–905). The first three engagements all happened during one evening and night.

Just as the Kirghiz attackers had known that the startled Qalmaqs would regroup and try to pursue them in the immediate aftermath of the raid, they also could tell that the news of the raid would reach the main camp of the Qalmaq khan quickly, and that there would be a larger pursuit force coming after them the next day. With this expectation in mind the leaders of the expedition sent the stolen horses on ahead with a detachment of 30 men as drovers, and the remaining warriors took up their position against the Qalmaqs at the same saddle in the mountains where Šabdan had first made his reconnaissance (I.909–916). This was the site of the fourth and last engagement, a battle between the 80 Kirghiz and a force purportedly consisting of 900 Qalmaqs, which began about midday the day after the raid and lasted until almost sunset (I.1018, 1435). There is virtually nothing in the account of the battle that implies any topographical reality or that strays far from the commonplaces of epic battle narration; however, near its conclusion the poet notes that the direction the defeated Qalmaqs took in retreat was *tömön közdöy* 'downward' (I.1432), reinforcing the earlier statement that the battle had taken place at the pass. The next day the Kirghiz, still in command of the heights they had defended, buried their five dead and collected the stray animals and booty left behind by the Qalmaqs. The found booty was particularly plentiful at a campsite. It is implied that this was the campsite of the herders they had fought in the second and third engagements; after leaving it the raiders crossed yet again the pass where they had made their stand (I.1488–1492), as they would have done if they had descended into the valley in the direction of the retreated Qalmaq force to plunder the camp they had struck in first lifting the horses. From this point the Kirghiz' homeward route essentially retraces their outward steps, with stops at Jıldız (misplaced, consistently, in the same position as before, I.1538) and Balbay's camp (with the needlessly inaccurate detail that it was reached upon entering the Tekes valley, instead of near the exit point for this party, I.1555–1558). Crossing from Balbay's camp into the Issyk Kul basin, the party returned to country that a Sarıbağıš would know like the back of his hand, and the reported itinerary reflects this.

Thus the geographical description of the raiders' itinerary shows an appreciable degree of accuracy, particularly in two areas: the homeland of the northern Kirghiz west of San-taš pass, and within a narrow radius around the Qara-say valley, where all the hostile action with the Qalmaqs

took place. There are two serious errors, however, which invite more comment than mere excuses for a "nodding" poet. The first is the erroneous placement of the Jıldız valley many days' ride away from its actual location—a few hundred kilometers as the crow flies. The second is the exaggerated description of the snug alpine vale of Qara-say as a broad, luxuriant plain teeming with people, herds, wild beasts, and birds. These two errors may be related.

We may safely assume that the poet's main source of information on the locations of places east of San-taš pass was not personal experience. Instead he relied on reports of participants in the raid (which he obtained not necessarily at first hand) and also had recourse to conceptions of geography preserved in oral tradition. The theme of "praise of a well-favored valley" and its variation, "reconnaissance of a well-favored valley from a height" first appear in records of the Kirghiz epic tradition in the late nineteenth century. In the epics *Manas* and *Semetey*, the valley commonly praised in such records is the Talas, where the paramount hero Manas established his headquarters and where Semetey later surveyed it from its crest upon returning to his patrimony.[79] There is also a praise-poem on the Tekes valley, which apparently entered popular discourse with the presence of large numbers of Kirghiz herders from Russian Semirech'e in the Ili region during the Russian military occupation of 1871–1881. The poem's stated date of composition, 1882, is plausible, though the surviving manuscript dates from some four decades later.[80] The theme of reconnaissance from a height has a further sub-variation in which the hero uses a spyglass, which may be given a lengthy description like a weapon or piece of armor (cf. Šabdan's binoculars); the earliest "description of Talas" passage that I

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[79] Borzu uulu, *Qıṣṣa-i Semetey*, pp. 8–9 (western pagination; on this almost entirely unpublished ms. of ca. 1898 see Prior, *Twilight Age*, pp. 195–210, 295–315); Ïrısqulbek uulu, "Talastı maqtoo"; Ïsa uulu, "Talas"; Orozbakov, *Manas*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1988), lines 8995–9009; Qaralayev, *Manas*, vol. 2, lines 13062–13151; Qaralayev, *Semetey*, vol. 1, pp. 213–214; Jumabek uulu, *Semetey*, pp. 48–49; Mamay, *Manas*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 376–377.

[80] Abdıraxmanov, "Tekesten köčköndö," said by him to have been composed by one Soltonbay[?], who was among the Kirghiz nomads repatriated to Russian Turkistan after the Treaty of St. Petersburg. Cf. Aristov, *Usuni i kyrgyzy*, p. 526. The Tekes valley continued as a known if somewhat exotic location in the Kirghiz oral tradition: the first wholesaler of Kirghiz epic poetry in the Soviet era, the famous bard Sağımbay Orozbaq uulu, even built up Tekes as the stage for an entire episode in which Manas contends with a "Tekes Khan" (his name; Orozbakov, *Manas*, vol. 2 [Moscow, 1988], lines 725–1364) amid such toponyms as Jıldız, Temirdik (the segment of the Ketmen range where it crosses the modern border between Kazakhstan and China), and Aqıyas (Ağıyaz, a right-hand tributary of the Tekes), though without overt praise for the Tekes or Jıldız valleys as pasture lands or hunting grounds.

have found (ca. 1898) contains the spyglass topos.[81] Thus by the time Musa Čağatayev composed *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* in 1909 or 1910, epic poets and audiences were familiar with lyrical, picturesque descriptions of lushly pastured valleys and the glassware heroes used to inspect them from up high.

The high, twin valley in southern Jungharia known to the Kirghiz as Jıldız (*Yulduz* in more common Turkic phonetic garb; the confluence of the Great and Little Yulduz rivers is at 42°51′25″N 84°03′50″E) has long been famous for its superlative abundance of the nomad's delights: water, pasturage, insect-shedding breezes, sheltering ranges, and game.[82] The fame of Yulduz in the nineteenth century was so great that "A native of Yarkand once said to [the Anglo-Indian official Sir Douglas Forsyth], 'You consider Kashmir to be the paradise of the world; we consider Yulduz to be a paradise compared with Kashmir'."[83] Explorers have provided numerous descriptions of landscapes, birds, and mammals of Yulduz,[84] which accord with the choicest "praise of the valley" passages in Kirghiz oral tradition, including the description of Qara-say in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*.

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[81] Borzu uulu, *Qıṣṣa-i Semetey*, loc. cit.; see further references in Prior, *Semetey of Kenje Kara*, p. 133, notes to lines 11–16, especially the extended description of the spyglass in Japıy uulu, *Semeteyden bir bölüm*, pp. 86–88 (pp. 128–129 in the Sarıpbekov reissue), which can be compared with the present poet's use of an extended, "cyclic" epithet explaining how the binoculars were acquired (I.654–685). Other Kirghiz epics feature the spyglass-reconnaissance topos as well (e.g., Tınıbekov, *Er Tabıldı*, pp. 51–52).

[82] According to a Ch'ing-era geographical compendium, Yulduz was the home territory of the Junghars and Kereyits (Julien, "Notices sur les pays," p. 395). Islamic historians note several stops that the conquering armies of Timur and Ulugh Beg made at Yulduz, near the eastern extremity of their campaigns in Moghulistan; Šaraf ad-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī includes verses praising the valley's springs and pastures (Šaraf ad-Dīn, *Ẓafar-nāmah*, vol. 1 p. 347 [cf. his *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, trans. Pétis de la Croix, vol. 2, p. 54]); cf. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, vol. 1.

[83] Morgan, "Journey through Semirétchia," p. 168.

[84] Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue*, pp. 14n., 271n.; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 1, p. 272, vol. 4, pp. 233–234; Mir Izzet Ullah, "Travels beyond the Himalaya," p. 317 ("Yelduz, the actual residence of the chief of the Kalmaks"); Przheval'skii, "Ot Kul'dzhi za Tian'-Shan," pp. 269–273 (the Torġuts told him, "it's an excellent place, cool, abounding in fodder; only the better classes and their cattle live there," but he found it devoid of population in the wake of the Tungan rebellion, and spent his time hunting specimens of its abundant wild ungulates); Alferaki, *Kul'dzha i Tian' Shan'*, pp. 165–166 (migratory flyway and nesting site for birds); Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, pp. 48–65 (and see Appendix H). Corroboration of the descriptions is available in Google Panoramio (either by itself at http://www.panoramio.com or as a layer in Google Earth), which shows many relevant landscape photographs, particularly the cluster around 42°45′40″N 84°25′10″E.

The theme of Kirghiz raids on the Jıldız Qalmaqs and their horses is found in oral-derived narratives concerning events as early as the first episodes of conflict between the two peoples—perhaps the sixteenth century, though the manuscripts containing them are much younger.[85] Before the Russian takeover of the Ili region in 1871, Jıldız was already a place known to the Kirghiz, if relatively distant from the normal compass of endeavor of even the easternmost group, the Buġu.[86] There seems to be no Kirghiz poem praising Jıldız as such, but in the poem "On Departing the Tekes," Jıldız is mentioned first (in the first line), and more times by name over the course of the poem than the Tekes itself.[87] For Kirghiz herders lucky enough to pasture on the middle Tekes, access to the natural charms of Jıldız was a prime advantage, whether entry was free or by force. The Tekes valley abounded in pastures and wildlife also,[88] but Jıldız was famous for having more and better of everything. The Qara-say as described in Šabdan's reconnaissance in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* (I.722–755) in its size, water, and variety of birds and mammals resembles the Jıldız/Yulduz of medieval Inner Asian and modern

[85] "Osmon Baatır," p. 369; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 172–173.

[86] Abramzon (*Kirgizy*, pp. 58–59) cites ethnographic evidence of "the past distribution of Kirghiz nomadizing grounds far to the the east, as far as the Küŋes river and the Jıldız valley," before the migration of the Kirghiz to the Ferghana and Alai mountains; and of the persistence of small groups having a Kirghiz origin among the Qazaq and Qalmaq populations of the Küŋes and Jıldız areas. See also p. 269 n. 66, above.

There is no mention of Jıldız in the corpus of mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz heroic epic poetry (Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*). A possible later reference to pre-1860 Buġu raiding in Jıldız is in Jeenike uulu, "Buġu, Sarbaġıš urušu," p. 466; certain lines in the cited passage correspond with those in Abdıraxmanov, "Tekesten köčköndö," including the first two lines of that poem, *Jıldızdan jılqı ašırıp,/ jırġap jürdük zamanda* 'back in the days when we would drive horses over the pass from Jıldız to our hearts' content'. The oral-derived poem "Balbay tuuraluu el oozundağı ır" (pp. 303, 313) contains indirect reports that Balbay crossed over from the Tekes to Jıldız and raided the Torġuts (Qalmaqs) in the valley; this can be dated to the period 1865–1867. As a suggestion of how quickly memories may fade in changed circumstances, the early Soviet-era bard Saġımbay's enormous *Manas*-text mentions Jıldız several times in a somewhat vague itinerary, but without mentioning any of the valley's features that had endeared it to nomads in the previous centuries (Orozbakov, *Manas*, vol. 2 [Moscow, 1988], lines 5656–5720; cf. Orozbaqov, *Manas* [Bishkek, 2010], pp. 802, 804, 810–811).

[87] Abdıraxmanov, "Tekesten köčköndö." Jıldız receives brief but definitive praise in the undated poem on struggles with the Qalmaqs, "Qazaq qayıŋ saap, Qırġızdın Ïsarġa kirgeni" (p. 12): *Qalmaqtın jeri bay bolot./ Qadimki Jıldız jayloosun,/ jaylap turat Qalmaqtar,/ eŋ kedeyi miŋ jılqı,/ aydap turat Qalmaqtar* 'The Qalmaq land is a rich one. They summer on their wonted pastures at Jıldız, and the poorest man of the Qalmaqs drives a thousand horses.'

[88] Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, pp. 23–24.

Russian geographical accounts and the Talas valley of epic. In separate lines our poet even accords one and the same epithet to Qara-say and Jıldız: "a fit place for cattle from source to mouth."[89]

The facts set forth above support a combined explanation of the poet's two main errors in the geographical description of the itinerary in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, when he misplaced Jıldız and erroneously described the upper Qara-say valley as an abundant plain. The error seems to have been premised on the abundant pasturage and game in the twin Yulduz valleys, and hence on the fame Yulduz enjoyed among herders in eastern Semirech'e, which, as has been shown, caused some conflation in oral tradition of Yulduz with the nearer Tekes valley. A Ču valley poet narrating an epically long raiding itinerary into Qalmaq territory would have had good reason to work in a reference to Yulduz, whether it was actually on the itinerary or not. The poet referred to Yulduz in two ways: first, explicitly, where the Kirghiz are shown passing Jıldız on the way to and from their raid on the Qalmaqs, but in the wrong place (I.518–521, 1537–1548);[90] and second, allusively and perhaps inadvertently, by borrowing stock verses about well-favored Jıldız to compose his description of the luxuriant valley that Šabdan saw through binoculars at the site of the raid itself, ostensibly at Qara-too/Qara-say (I.700–762).

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[89] I.1543–1544; I.710–711.

[90] The toponym *Jıldız* is also borne by a tiny village in the Jırġalaŋ valley on the plain east of lake Issyk Kul (Borbuġulov, *Qırġız jergesi*, p. 101; the village's precise location is not shown on any available modern or historical maps). It is possible that this place mentioned in a Soviet-era publication was a pre-Soviet toponym; socialist fashion would more likely have made use of *jıldız* 'star' in the combination *Qızıl Jıldız* 'red star'. If this village is the kernel of the poet's imagined itinerary stop *Jıldız*, it is at least two days' journey too far to the west.

The battles with Kenesarı's sizeable army by the Ču river in 1846 and 1847 were important and extraordinary actions that involved great numbers of northern Kirghiz and thus were well-known to later generations, much more so than the fairly obscure raid by a band of Kirghiz on the Qalmaqs in 1864. Consequently *The Story of Kenesarı* is one of a number of surviving texts in Qazaq, Kirghiz, and even Russian that treat the Kirghiz–Qazaq conflict in the 1840s (all of the accounts, however, originated in the first two languages, as there were no Russian witnesses). Among this relative plenitude, our poem is in a minority of texts that are written in Kirghiz; moreover, irrespective of language, there are very few texts that focus, as this poem does, on the 1846 conflict rather than the more important invasion of 1847, which ended with Kenesarı's death. Full comparative analysis of the available sources, which was possible for the sparsely-attested events of poem I, is outside the scope of the present commentary on poem III. Toward that desired goal, however, the main published accounts are surveyed here. After this internal overview I will briefly conclude the comparative discussion, begun in the Introduction, of *The Story of Kenesarı* in relation to Inner Asian analogues and the Old English historic–panegyric poem, *The Battle of Brunanburh*.

The texts in Appendices B through D contain the most important brief notices on the battle that appear in published accounts. Qaliġul *Q* (Appendix B) is the highly detailed eyewitness report by Qalıġul Alıbek uulu (1806–1899) taken down in person by Belek Soltonoyev some 50 years after the events took place. In *Q*, Qalıġul shows himself to be a forceful, vivid, orderly narrator with no little skill—no doubt honed by long years of repetition—at tracing a thread of action through the chaotic hubbub of battle. Qalıġul's reckoning of the distal and proximal causes of the conflict, a combination of long-standing political issues between the northern Kirghiz and the Ablayid sultans of the Middle Horde and a chain of recent petty grievances, rings true, and is certainly much more circumstantial than the explanations offered by the poet of *The Story of Kenesarı* ("Ablay Khan's descendants always harassed us [...] Kenen Khan's mind turned evil"[1]). Qalıġul's account

[1] III.3–4, 8–9.

of diplomacy in the aftermath of the battle, in which he played a central role, is plausible, albeit conformable also with his known knack for self-promotion.[2] That aspect of Qalığul's personality comes through as well in *R* (Appendix D), a Russian-language account published in Soviet Tashkent in the 1920s that, though attributed to Qalığul, has almost nothing in common with *Q* by way of major or minor incident. *R* appears to be at least partially compromised, possibly by a print editor; this does not mean that all the incidents it relates are suspect, only that they may not have originated from Qalığul. An undated sanjıra account by one Bala Ayılčı (genealogy and biographical data unknown; Appendix C) provides a brief, clearly independent view. Both Qalığul *Q* and Bala Ayılčı share with *The Story of Kenesarı* the circumstance of the Kirghiz envoy Tınaalı's being forced to guide the Qazaq troops toward the encampments of his own Kirghiz; in *The Story of Kenesarı* but not in *Q* or Bala Ayılčı's account, Tınaalı sends the Qazaq troops fording across the Ču at a treacherous place, where many of them die. In Qalığul *R* there is an unnamed Kirghiz envoy forced to guide the Qazaq troops, but his clever scheme consists not in guiding the Qazaqs into a watery disaster but in steering them away from the camps of his own Bölökbay Solto, and toward the Tınay Sarıbağıš instead (indeed all the accounts, including *The Story of Kenesarı*, agree that the Tınay bore the brunt of the attack, and Tınaalı is known independently to have belonged to the Bölökbay Solto); the disastrous crossing of the Ču, however, occurs in *R* after the battle, when the Qazaqs are retreating. (On the crossing of the Ču see note to lines III.61–64, 72.)

A long narrative account of the conflicts between Kenesarı and the northern Kirghiz in the nineteenth century, in which the events of 1846 have their place, is "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası" ('The Kirghiz–Qazaq Events'), written in a combination of verse and prose in 1939 by Ïbırayım Abdıraxmanov. The author prefaced the account with these words: "The events surrounding Kenesarı have fascinated me ever since my childhood, when I often heard about them from the old men. In those times singers used to sing some of these songs, and I wrote most of them down myself. What I did not write down from their songs I heard in abundance from Sağımbay."[3] The text of

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[2] Prior, "High Rank and Power."

[3] Abdıraxmanov, "Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 409. Sağımbay Orozbaq uulu (1867–1930) was the epic bard from whom Abdıraxmanov (1888–1967) recorded a long, unified version of the epic *Manas* in the 1920s (Orozbaq uulu, *Manas*, vol. 1 [Bishkek, 1995], pp. 24–75; Ibraimov, *Ïbırayım Abdıraxmanov*, pp. 9–21). Though it was first published only in 2002 in a popular edition, the manuscript of *Qırğız, Qazaq oquyası* was used in the Soviet era by the historian

"Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," approximately seven times longer than *The Story of Kenesarı*, is also broader in chronological plan, beginning before the 1846 conflict and ending with a circumstantial account of the final battle and execution of Kenesarı in 1847, events that *The Story of Kenesarı* treats only fleetingly. The chronological scope of "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" is augmented by several digressions on still earlier events. With respect to the events that overlap in the two texts,[4] it is possible to say with confidence that they represent different streams of knowledge transmission. The differences date back to the oral phase of the works' composition, as they are reflected in such basic aspects of verbal inventory as the use of epithets and conventional names, the selection of place-names that aided oral bards' memory, and the formulaic language of narration.[5]

In Abdıraxmanov's "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" the prologue of feuding that led to the 1846 attack has more stages than in our poem, and even than in Qalıġul *Q*. One respect in which the texts differ is over issues of horse raiding. In Qalıġul *Q*, an errant Kirghiz named Ilip steals some of Kenesarı's horses, and the sultan uses this offense as a pretext to attack the Kirghiz with full force; a similar theft and reaction occur in Qalıġul *R*.[6] In "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," on the other hand, the Esenġul Sarıbağıš chief Ormon Khan receives envoys from Kenesarı, who, on their return journey, themselves steal horses from the Kirghiz and are captured.[7] Kenesarı's rage at Ormon's sending the envoys back to him with their ears severed leads to the next incident, the killing of Jamanqara of the Bölökbay Solto, which, still according to "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," became one of the causes of the battle on the Ču.[8] However, Qalıġul *Q* and the present narrative, poem III, both place the murder of Jamanqara after the 1846 battle. Abdıraxmanov adduces an additional horse theft, a major Kirghiz raid on the herds of Kenesarı's kinsman Šooruq in retaliation for Jamanqara's murder, which resulted in the

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B. Dzhamgerchinov in researching the Kirghiz in the mid-nineteenth century (Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," pp. 119–120; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 110; Dzhamgerchinov, *Ocherk politicheskoi istorii Kirgizii*, pp. 17, 89). On Ïbırayım Abdıraxmanov (1888–1967), a major figure in twentieth-century Kirghiz folkloristics, see also Sarıpbekov et al., *Manas: Enciklopediya*, vol. 2, pp. 353–356. On prosimetrum (combined verse and prose) in Central Asian Turkic epic traditions see Reichl, "Mixture of Verse and Prose."

[4] In Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," the narration of the 1846 battle is found on pp. 433–439.

[5] A rare formulaic match between the two texts is the line *Qırġızdan tuqum qoyboym dep* 'scheming to eradicate the Kirghiz' (III.7, 261; Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., p. 445).

[6] See Appendices B and C.

[7] Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., p. 413.

[8] ibid., pp. 420–422.

latter's death and became the proximal cause of the battle.[9] In any event, four narratives—poem III, Qalıġul *Q* and *R*, and "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası"—relate a theft of horses concurrent with an embassy between Kenesarı and the Kirghiz as a chance irritant in relations. It is possible that Abdıraxmanov, the author of "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," mistook or distorted the events in the oral account that was his source. Qalıġul *Q* has the appearance of greater veracity than the account in "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," in that it includes inopportune occurrences, such as Ilip's theft, that do not always put Kirghiz actors in the best light; by contrast, the Kirghiz in "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" are always aggrieved or on the defensive (much as in the poem under examination in this book), and Kenesarı in his perversion creates an inexorable chain of plans to subdue them. In "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," Jamanqara's murder is quite lightly conditioned, as if by Kenesarı's anger at an "intelligence analyst's" recitation of the strengths of the Kirghiz warriors. More likely is the chain of events witnessed by Qalıġul's narrative *Q*,[10] according to which Jamanqara survived the raid[11] only to be murdered by a vengeful Kenesarı on a later embassy; and by our present poem III, according to which Jamanqara was alive and an active participant in the counter-offensive against Kenesarı's attack, though his fate is only hinted at with the line *Jamanqara qayran er* 'poor, dear Jamanqara'.[12] Abdıraxmanov declares Kenesarı the victor of this battle,[13] and omits almost all incidents of Kirghiz resistance and counterattack except for Qalpaq's stand with his gun.[14] This is clearly an exaggeration of a much more qualified success for Kenesarı as narrated in the sanjıra accounts and in poem III: the Kirghiz received a mauling from the Qazaqs in the onset, but gave it back once they had rallied and taken on reinforcements.

It was an equivocal day of battle, but one that need not have presented great quandaries to Kirghiz poets. Although he takes a fairly level approach to chronology and factual detail, the poet who created *The Story of Kenesarı* discharges his duty of narrative exposition with economy, since the

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[9] ibid., pp. 431–433.

[10] Appendix B.

[11] Bala Ayılčı's account also mentions that Jamanqara was alive when the battle commenced (see Appendix D).

[12] III.123. An undated, published sanjıra account on the Bölökbay Solto agrees with the above accounts in relating that Tınaalı treacherously directed the Qazaqs into deep water in the Ču, but places Jamanqara's murder before the 1846 battle (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 2, pp. 61–62.).

[13] Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 438.

[14] Ibid., pp. 436–437.

historical facts were common knowledge to the poem's public. Rather, about one-fifth of the poem's 300 or so lines are devoted to praising the Kirghiz warriors, both individually and collectively, and heaping philippic scorn on the Qazaq invaders and their leader, Kenesarı.

Poetry of this tenor with known antecedents in historical fact is relatively rare in Inner Asia, nor is it commonly found in other traditions. Narrative battle-praise poetry is perhaps more often alluded to in theories of the origin and development of heroic genres than it is actually possible to adduce in the sources. But a signal representative of the type happens to be some of the oldest attested narrative poetry in any Turkic language, the historical panegyric poems preserved piecemeal by Maḥmūd al-Kāšġarī in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk*.[15] These include copious praises of "our" heroes (for example, "When the tribes of the Turks see him they will say: 'Glory and pride befit this one, and after him will be cut off'"[16]). At times the praise crosses over into gruesome gloating ("He caught up with him and speared him; he opened anew his old wound; the men savored their plundered wealth; he strangled the enemy warriors"[17]). Such forthright gloating is even exceeded in some passages, which are filled with scorn and jeering at the enemies. These are portrayed as unreliable and inconstant former friends ("He was not too tired to make a deposit, and put off the creditor when he saw him; nor has he continued in friendship; now he has mustered a huge army [and is heading toward me with it]"[18]); or as being timid in battle ("they were dizzy with fear"[19]); the enemy forces are the butt of insults ("we headed for the Uighur dogs"[20]); and things end miserably for them and their corpses ("I gave him the potion of death to drink, and he drank it with a sour face";[21] "I killed him and made him prey for vultures"; "So now [may you be killed and] may the hyena eat you"[22]).

Even more striking than the resemblance between *The Story of Kenesarı* and these disjointed verses of eleventh-century Inner Asian Turkic poetry are the poem's overall similarities with the the 73-line Old English historical-cum-panegyric poem, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, of the tenth century. The battle fought by English forces under king Æthelstan and his

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15 Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles"; see also the Introduction.
16 Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles," p. 155.
17 Ibid., p. 164.
18 Ibid., p. 154.
19 Ibid., p. 155.
20 Ibid., p. 160.
21 Ibid., p. 157.
22 Ibid.

brother Edmund, in defense against an attempted invasion by a viking prince of Dublin named Anlaf (Olaf) in alliance with Scots under Constantine and Strathclyde Britons under Eugenius (Owen), in 937,[23] was at least as significant an event, widely reported in independent sources, as the Kirghiz repulse of the Qazaqs in 1846 and 1847. Alistair Campbell captures the ethos of both poems in these words about *Brunanburh*: "The two feelings which breathe through the poem are scorn and exultation."[24] Compare the lines below in *Brunanburh* with the following passage from *The Story of Kenesarı* that, coincidentally, is also a contiguous block of lines:

> The enemy ran,
> all the Scotch and the shipborne Vikings,
> ran or drowned in blood, dropped
> to a landlocked fate as the glorious sun
> went gliding over the earth like a candle
> in God's broad palm, blowing sublimely
> across the sky and dipping calmly
> to darkness and night. The dead lay piled
> where the spears had left them, Vikings and Scots,
> tired, now, of the struggle and wanting
> only to rest. All the battle
> became the Wessex cavalry endlessly
> hunting a broken enemy, their honed
> and sparkling blades striking home
> in fugitives' backs. No Mercian refused
> to aim his sword at any man
> who'd shared a sail with Anlaf, shipped
> himself across a stormy sea
> to a bloody port. Five young princes
> pitched their beds on the battleground
> and would never awake, and seven of Anlaf's
> earls, and a host of invaders, Viking
> and Scotch. Anlaf himself fought
> his way to the prow of a ship, he
> and a tiny band, forced to flee;
> they pressed to sea on a dull brown tide
> that floated the king to safety.[25]

> Kenesarı and Nooruzbay, in discord with the Muslims, failed and wound up slaughtered the moment they encroached on the Kirghiz. Jamanqara, naked, broke in upon them on the west; Tülööqabıl, naked, struck them

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[23] Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*, pp. 43–80; 147–162.
[24] Campbell, op. cit., p. 41.
[25] *Battle of Brunanburh*, lines 10–36.

> in the middle; Törökeldi, naked, slaughtered them in the east. The three of them, fighting naked, annihilated the Qazaqs! By the time of afternoon prayers, they had utterly pounded them, and the Qazaqs ran away, unable to bear the heroes' blows; so they set out in hot pursuit of the fleeing Qazaqs. The three heroes, fighting naked, slaughtered five hundred Qazaqs, give or take, in the time it takes to milk a mare! By the time of afternoon prayers, they had utterly pulverized them, and the Qazaqs, at the end of their endurance, were routed. Many were captured; Kenesarı and Nooruzbay saved themselves by retreating.[26]

Parallels between the two poems go beyond this passage. For example, the "beasts of battle" topos (in *Brunanburh* as elsewhere in medieval Germanic poetry, the raven, eagle and wolf;[27] for the eleventh-century Turks, the vulture and hyena[28]) is represented obliquely in *The Story of Kenesarı* by the (domestic) dogs that are allowed to devour the princes' corpses.[29]

Yet the two poems are clearly different. Individual praises of heroes are prominent in *The Story of Kenesarı*; indeed, much of the action of the poem is taken up by exultant narration of this or that warrior's exploits. This is not the case in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, where no one but the brothers Æthelstan and Edmund at the head of the English army are credited by name with the spectacular victory—and they only in the first six lines. Much of the notoriety of the *Brunanburh* poem in Old English literature stems from its lack of incident and detail. The poet writes (creditably, for sure) in a rather abstract manner, blocking in the outlines of the day's events rather than actually narrating.[30] It has been noticed that the poem is utterly devoid of sound, whether from humans, animals, weapons, or anything else;[31] in contrast, *The Story of Kenesarı* is a cacophony of commands, shouts, war-cries, gunfire, bellowing, howling, wailing, and trumpet blasts—and one speech.

The "scorn and exultation" (in Campbell's words) that suffuse *The Battle of Brunanburh* are certainly present in *The Story of Kenesarı*. H. Munro Chadwick's comment on *Brunanburh* glosses these two raw emotions in their proper ideological form: "We need not hesitate to interpret the last

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[26] III.228–254.

[27] *Battle of Brunanburh*, lines 60–65.

[28] Dankoff, "Three Turkic Verse Cycles," p. 157.

[29] III.291.

[30] Campbell, *Battle of Brunanburh*, pp. 163–164.

[31] Frese, "Poetic Prowess"; a lone possible exception hinges on the meaning of a *hapax legomenon*, the verb *dennian*, in *feld dennode/ secga swāte* 'the field ___ with the blood of men' (lines 12b–13a), which has been translated as as 'flowed; became wet' but also as 'resounded', as if in allusion to the *vox sanguinis* of Scripture (Frese, op. cit., p. 91).

part of [the poem] as an expression of national consciousness [...] the poem as a whole differs essentially from the heroic type owing to the fact that—though the princes are mentioned incidentally—it is permeated throughout by a sense of national rather than individual glory."[32] Component groups are mentioned in both poems as well: the Bölökbay and Tınay, divisions of the Solto and Sarıbağıš, fought off the Qazaqs; among the English defenders at Brunanburh, the West Saxons and Mercians are singled out for praise.[33] Yet the purpose of all this praise, whether of individuals or of groups, is to glorify larger entities whose elevation to predominant status was a rather novel thing in their respective times, the English in the tenth century and the Kirghiz in the early twentieth. In both cases, marking a clear distinction from dangerous outsiders was essential to defining the nation. Musa Čağatayev used the poem and its sequel, the Postface, to sound this theme, and it will be seen in the General Commentary that Čağatayev's specific rhetorical interventions heighten the effect of this ethno-national theme throughout the Codex.

Are these poems in any sense history? With so many similarities linking three disparate textual witnesses from medieval Europe and medieval and modern Inner Asia, it is difficult to dispel the suspicion that we are dealing with a set of topoi of battle narratives inspired as much by the verbal genres that transmit them as by the specific events that gave rise to them. It is best to be on our guard: the "genre" of primary, topical, historical-panegyric battle poetry we are considering here is not very widely attested, and where it is, as in the three examples examined here, the independent sources that exist do not fill in the kinds of details we would need to analyze. In his comparative study of epic and related genres in medieval Europe and Turkic Central Asia, Karl Reichl asks: "But what about *Brunanburh*? Is there a native tradition from which the poem comes and for which there is no difference between historiography and poetry?" The answer that Reichl develops in his study, *Singing the Past*, is that *Brunanburh* is generically liminal between poetry and history.[34] The same may be said of *The Story of Kenesarı*. According to Reichl:

> Salient traits of this type of poetry [*Brunanburh*, the Old High German poem *Ludwigslied*, and the fragments in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk*] are an explicit reference to a comparatively recent event; a personal point of view (possibly even a first-person narrative, as in the case of the poems in the *Dīwān*

[32] Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 332.
[33] *Battle of Brunanburh*, lines 21, 24.
[34] Reichl, *Singing the Past*, pp. 55–60.

> *luġāt at-turk*); an allusive and summarizing rather than descriptive presentation of the action, with emphasis on the person(s) of the protagonist(s) rather than on the sequence of events; and a strongly evaluative stance, distributing praise or blame, as the case may be. It is quite possible that this type of poetry functioned as the historio"graphy" of an oral society; its value as a genuine reflection of history was only doubted at an age when chroniclers drew a line between history and poetry. As I have tried to argue, the original historiographical function still lingers on in a poem like *Brunanburh*.[35]

The Story of Kenesarı fits this type well. We have *The Battle of Brunanburh* today because it was preserved in writing in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a work of historical intent; the Šabdan Baatır Codex owes its preservation to Belek Soltonoyev, its copyist, who was also the founder of modern historical scholarship among the Kirghiz and who used the narrative poems in the Codex—with cold-eyed judgment—as sources. *The Story of Kenesarı* ultimately owes its existence to an author who, though he was not a historian of modern type, had historical motivations for preserving crucial memories of the past. As in the case of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, Musa Čaġatayev's working out of his people's memories tells us as much about nineteenth-century Kirghiz concepts of the past as it does about the narrated events themselves. In contrast to the latter poem, *The Story of Kenesarı* concerned not Šabdan Baatır's own exploits but those of the notables of a generation earlier, including his father, Jantay. The greater remoteness of the events of 1846 from Šabdan's own experience seems to have given Musa the latitude he needed, as if under the watchful eye of a patron with personal interests in the narrative, to fashion *The Story of Kenesarı* and its immediate sequel, the poet's topical Postface, into a summative statement on the excellence of the Kirghiz *as Kirghiz*. In the general remarks at the end of the Commentary I will present my views on the epochal character of this literary design.

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[35] Ibid., p. 177.

THE POEM OF SAINT SANČI

After gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the Kirghiz had new freedom to reexamine the truth about their past using oral materials that Marxist dogma had rejected as promoting "patriarchal–tribal" social tendencies. In timely acts of salvage ethnography, collectors of genealogies such as Esenqul Töröqan uulu, the author of the lines below, zealously compiled oral and oral-derived narratives about virtually every known descent group:

> Genealogy gives precise answers to the questions, "Who are you? Who is your father? Who is your grandfather? What clan, tribe, and nation are you from?" A human being who does not know his own origin is not a human being. The ancestors used to say, "At the very least, learn your ancestors to the seventh generation," and "Someone who doesn't know his seven ancestors is a slave." [...] For the Kirghiz, reciting genealogy is a positive custom that has been continually passed down from generation to generation, and in our opinion this custom ought to continue.
>
> The main purpose of reciting genealogy has been to preserve unity, common feeling, and harmony among kin and tribes, and on that basis among all the people of the country; it is to unify them and give them cohesion. When our ancestors recited genealogy, they would do so with just this aim. Thus over several centuries they unified their Kirghiz nation and tribes, fought off enemies, and lived independently.[1]

Töröqan uulu truly meant for his efforts to be, if not exhaustive, then comprehensive—to represent the genealogical knowledge preserved and passed down by each subunit of the Kirghiz people.[2] But although the premise of such genealogies is that they have been transmitted for many

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[1] From the introduction entitled "Sanjıra degen emne?" (What Is Genealogy?) by Esenqul Töröqan uulu in his collection, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 7.

[2] There are a great number of published Kirghiz sanjıra texts from the late Soviet and post-Soviet eras, important examples of which are Jusupov et al., *Qırġız sanjırası*; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası* (in three volumes, the longest account published to date); Attoqurov, *Qırġız sanjırası*; Kenčiev, Dor and Salk, "Dire l'histoire en l'écrivant"; Asanov and Turganbayev, *Alımbektin sanjırası*. The edition of such texts is generally based on the concept of a stable oral genre of sanjıra practiced by specialist reciters, *sanjıračı*. Scholars began synthesizing sanjıra data from written and oral sources before 1917 (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*), but work was virtually halted for political reasons early in the Soviet era (Sydykov, "Rodovoe delenie") and did not recommence in earnest until after World War II (Abramzon,

generations, careful analysis of texts such as *The Poem of Saint Sančı* shows that this may not always be the case. Knowledge of the remoter stages of Kirghiz genealogy was the province of the elite in the nineteenth century,[3] and Inner Asian and wider Turkic history provides instructive examples of genealogies being invented and manipulated to suit the purposes of rulers, dynasties, and religious elites.[4] Analysis of *The Poem of Saint Sančı* points to some of the potentialities and limitations of the practice of fictive genealogy in Inner Asia.

The basic question that must be asked regarding *The Poem of Saint Sančı* is: why was it included in the Codex? It was different in origin, genre, and date from the preceding poems,[5] and in content it seems to waver between praise of the Tınay and another Sarıbağış lineage. Detailed analysis shows

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"Ėtnicheskii sostav"; Abramzon, "Fol'klornye motivy"; Abramzon, "Kirgizskoe naselenie"; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*; Abramzon, "Narodnye predaniia").

Scholarly approaches to questions of the origin, development, and generic characteristics of the set of genres including Kirghiz sanjıra are complicated by the persistence, not only in the former Soviet sphere, of Soviet-era ethnological models that essentialize the unitary *etnos* as a relatively stable (once formed by *etnogenez* or 'ethnogenesis') analytical unit; see e.g. Attoqurov, *Qırğız sanjırası*, pp. 3–35; for developments in recent debates cf. Abashin, *Natsionalizmy*, pp. 11–35. The *šajara*/*šežïre*/*sanjıra* complex of Inner Asian genealogical–historical genres has normally been treated as a field of folklore rather than of historiography, even then receiving only fleeting notices in Soviet works (e.g., Smirnova, *Kazakhskii fol'klor*, pp. 233–234), because of the texts' pervasive references to members of prerevolutionary elites. The analytical survey of sources on Kirghiz history published by the Academy of Sciences after independence omitted sanjıra, postponing examination of oral genres until a later volume, which remains unpublished (V. Ploskikh, *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, p. 7). Bibigul' Aitenova's comment on post-Soviet historiography in Kazakhstan applies to Kyrgyzstan as well: "It is a paradox that in a country where there has existed for many centuries a great tradition of vertical, that is genealogical, means of transmitting know-how and other information, the [scholarly] genre of genealogical studies is practically nonexistent" (Aitenova, *Sovremennaia istoriografiia Kazakhstana*). This perceived lack is gradually being supplied, primarily with works from Kazakhstan such as Irina Erofeeva's concordance and analysis of a large set of Qazaq genealogies from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century (Erofeeva, *Rodoslovnye kazakhskikh khanov*). Efforts of authors such as Töröqan uulu to popularize sanjıra and codify it as a positive element of modern Kirghiz society and the Kyrgyz Republic are matched and even exceeded in Kazakhstan (Seydïmbek, *Qazaqtıŋ auızša tarixı*). Research on the nature of the sanjıra genre and on the post-Soviet renaissance of genealogical concepts in Central Asian societies has begun to appear, as have scholarly editions of sanjıra texts (Esenova, "Soviet Nationality"; Asanov and Turganbayev, *Alımbektin sanjırası*; Gullette, *Genealogical Construction*; Salk, *Sanjïra des Togolok Moldo*, particularly pp. 9–19 on the sanjıra genre; Jacquesson, *Pastoréalismes*).

[3] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i karakirgizy*, vol. 1, p. 12.

[4] Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*; DeWeese, "Politics of Sacred Lineages"; cf. the general arguments by David Sneath in *The Headless State* regarding latter-day colonial constructions of kinship societies.

[5] See Appendix A.

that in terms of its rhetoric and construction, *The Poem of Saint Sančı* is closely related to the preceding material in the Codex. As will be seen below, the person who created it and included it with the other poems made an act of appropriation that, for us, sheds crucial highlights on the ideological project undertaken in the first four poems and in the Codex as a whole. That project was to promote a narrative framework for a Kirghiz group-identification and destiny that centered on Šabdan Baatır and his house. Analysis of the materials and techniques employed to that end in *The Poem of Saint Sančı* will call into question certain assumptions about the nature of the genre of oral genealogical chronicles known as sanjıra. As Rudi P. Lindner found when investigating the background of genealogical accounts of the early Ottomans, "The incongruous, the unexpected statement, by its very clash, may reveal an older tradition truer to past life than to present ideology."[6]

The Esenġul and Tinay Saribaġiš

The bulk of *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, especially in the first part (lines V.5–56) would appear to be not very promising material for praising Šabdan's Tınay lineage: it is a recitation and praise of the lineage of his father's more powerful contemporary and distant relative, Ormon Khan of the Esenġul Sarıbaġıš.[7] Placed in context, this fact should strike the student of sanjıra as something of a challenge. We are dealing with a manuscript which was dedicated to Šabdan, the two main poems of which (*The Raid on the Qalmaqs* and *The Story of Kenesarı*) bear clear marks of purposeful orientation toward praising Šabdan and his Tınay lineage; the text of the second part of *The Poem of Saint Sančı* (lines V.57–70) shows an attempt at the same orientation. If there is any other group anywhere in the manuscript that is permitted to divert the spotlight from the Tınay, it is no less than the Kirghiz as a whole, in the poet's assertive reimaginings of the meaning of that ethnic name in the Inface and Postface. If there were ever a showcase for quoting a sanjıra tradition about the age-old prestige of the Tınay, it would be this poem dedicated to Šabdan, the most famous and powerful manap of the day. Why, then, does the rival Esenġul line dominate the genealogical recitation at the start of the text?

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[6] Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans*, p. 19.

[7] According to the simplest reading of the evidence, Ormon and Šabdan were fifth cousins, great-great-great-grandsons of the brothers Üčükö and Tülkü respectively (see, e.g., the genealogical chart in fig. 5 of Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav").

The reason that is easiest to explain with existing evidence is that there was no suitable Tınay sanjıra-narrative available to the poet at the time he composed *The Poem of Saint Sančı*. So far as sanjıra has been viewed as a normal attribute of every Kirghiz descent group, a universal verbal appliance of social structure,[8] this possibility would appear nonsensical. But there were important historical differences between nominal descent groups, even related ones. If we suspend for a moment any synthetic assumptions about the ubiquity of sanjıra and look closely at differences between the Tınay and the Esenġul groups, a reading of the present poem emerges that will help us see genealogy as a set of concrete verbal productions undertaken for specific purposes in specific situations. Among the purposes of the present poem were attempts to gloss over gaps in the Tınay tradition of genealogical knowledge and to present Šabdan as the inheritor, not of the power and glamour of his lineage alone, but of the combined legacy of all Kirghiz on the eve of the Russian advance. Viewed from the perspective of specific objectives like these, the purveyors of sanjıra were not timeless custodians of abstract, immutable lineages but fashioners and refashioners of purpose-built ideological constructs with bearing on their power in the present. Before the poem can be considered in relation to the small number of known sources with which it can be closely compared, it is necessary to examine the historical background of the Tınay and Esenġul Sarıbaġıš for two or three generations before Šabdan came to power.

Although Šabdan was widely recognized as the most important and powerful personage among the northern Kirghiz in the Tsarist era, that acclamation had not come to him by inheritance. For at least a decade before the first of the northern Kirghiz manaps submitted to Russia in the 1850s, the most influential Kirghiz aristocrat had been not Šabdan's father Jantay of the Tınay, but the latter's distant cousin Ormon of the Esenġul.[9] The sources reveal the two elder men as products of different family traditions, different political fortunes, and different values of leadership.

Information is quite scarce on the relative importance and influence of different Sarıbaġıš subdivisions before their chiefs' submission to Russia, but Wilhelm Radloff did address the subject with data taken directly from the field, in *Aus Sibirien*:

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[8] See, e.g., the passage by Töröqan uulu quoted above.

[9] The submission of the manaps occurred over a period of about a decade, which neither Ormon nor Jantay survived; Ormon died in 1854 or 1855, having not submitted, and Jantay died in 1867, five years after submitting.

> Tribal groups and subgroups are always changing and are not divided strictly according to clans, because any person who splits off for any reason will by virtue of his influence take possession of various camps, and as a result, new tribal formations arise, at times taking on the name of their chieftain. About 70 years ago the Sarıbağıš tribe consisted of four groups: the Bolot, Temir, Nadırbek, and Tınay; now it consists of five parts: the Esenġul, Asıq, Tınay, Čerikči, and Nadırbek.[10]

Radloff based this statement on field research he conducted in 1862 and/or 1869, so "about 70 years ago" would mean either the 1790s or (if 70 years before the first publication of *Aus Sibirien*) ca. 1814. In either case, it is significant that while the Tınay held steady in Radloff's informants' eyes over the course of the 70 years in question, during the same period the Esenġul were rising to prominence. The process by which a notionally lineal "tribe" can come to be made up of more and differently named parts after only a few generations is explained in more detail (albeit less objectively) by the Russian official G. Zagriazhskii:

> The membership of a Kirghiz to one tribe or another is not permanent and unchanged. One of them has merely to move from the Sarıbağıš lands to the Solto, and he will not be called a Sarıbağıš, he becomes a Solto. Moving to the Sayaqs, he becomes a Sayaq [...], but this may only be said of the common people, the *buqara* [...] Manaps preserve the division into tribes, and strictly maintain them. The emergence of a new division depends on the emergence of a new baatır: a comitatus of jigits [*druzhina udal'tsev*] gathers around him; a few poor people find shelter in his fame, and call themselves his children. Thus arise the names: children of Qanay, children of Qarabek, children of Qabus, Sarıbağıš, etc. The father passes on to his son his people, whom he has managed to attach to himself by the habit of robbery and mutual score-settling in raids, and there you have a new tribe: Qanay, Qabuz, etc. The emergence of many tribes has been very recent—in one or two generations. Even today new tribes are forming.[11]

The Esenġul were one such group. Esenġul and his father Bolot Biy are remembered in surviving sanjıra accounts with a certain amount of detail surrounding their lives, Bolot as the forger of a powerful house and line

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[10] Radlov, *Iz Sibiri*, pp. 109–110 (first published as *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig 1884). The emergence of Esenġul in the list can be seen as a development partly at the expense of the main Bolot "segment" (one generation anterior to Esenġul and including several subsidiary lines besides Esenġul's—see Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5), so with the label Esenġul the Bolot division's fortunes appear concentrated in a single subsidiary line. The Asıq, named in the later group make-up, are analyzed by Abramzon as a separate "tribe" from the Sarıbağıš (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," pp. 56–58).

[11] G. Zagriazhskii ("Ocherki Tokmakskogo uezda," in *Turkestanskiia viedomosti*, 1873, no. 10), quoted in Shakhmatov, *Kazakhskaia pastbishchno-kochevaia obshchina*, pp. 48–49.

out of impoverished circumstances,[12] Esenġul (birth name: Bašqoyqoŋ) as a brave and strong warrior.[13] Esenġul gained the upper hand in a feud with his kinsman Atake son of Tınay;[14] Esenġul's son Nıyazbek, however, seems to have made little impression on Sarıbağıš memory other than as the father of the great Ormon.[15]

Ormon (ca. 1791–1854 or '55) was probably the individual most responsible for the efflorescence in Esenġul fortunes noted by Radloff;[16] he ruled for at least a decade as khan over the Sarıbağıš and other northern Kirghiz groupings centered in the Issyk Kul basin and the Ču valley.[17] Ormon is recollected in Kirghiz sanjıra and Russian official documents as an extremely shrewd political and military leader. A genius for using pomp and symbols of authority shines through many of the stories of Ormon's quick rise to predominance and of his tenacious hold on power until his death. The exact year of his elevation to the dignity of khan over the northern Kirghiz is uncertain, but it was probably around the early to mid 1840s, in the face of perceived threats from Qoqand and Sultan Kenesarı's movement. The sources do not connect Ormon's elevation with the death of his father Nıyazbek, whose (presumably anniversary) memorial feast Ormon presided over in 1843.[18] It is clear from the surviving reports that Ormon engineered his elevation as khan by means of his charisma and other personal qualities, his descent and succession (if any) having little discernible bearing as a qualification. Two of the earliest written accounts of the elevation state that Ormon simply called on the assembled people to choose a khan, and the people, unable to think of (or say out loud—D.P.) any candidate besides Ormon, chose him.[19] According to another version, Ormon had hand-picked the northern Kirghiz leaders who attended this gathering, using imaginary, divide-and-rule threats of attack by one group upon another to get them

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[12] On Bolot see note to line V.5.

[13] On Esenġul see pp. 35–37 and the note to lines V.45, 48.

[14] Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 329.

[15] His costly defeat at the hands of the Sayaq, upon whom he attempted to encroach (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 93) may have something to do with the relative silence of the sanjıra concerning Nıyazbek.

[16] Nıyazbek died in 1842, so he was active during the 70-year interval alluded to by Radloff. However, his sketchy presence in sanjıra, summed up by his easy-going epithet, *at qačırbas boz ayġır* 'gray stallion that does not stampede the herd', offers little to turn attention away from Ormon.

[17] On Ormon's biography see note to line II.21.

[18] Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 211.

[19] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) p. 40/(1990) p. 34; Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 285.

all to participate.[20] From the start he surrounded his lofty position with a panoply of symbols and formalities to solidify his authority. The elevation itself was carried out according to long-standing Inner Asian custom, on a piece of white felt;[21] a red skullcap also formed part of the khan's regalia. Ormon's first acts as khan were to promulgate a code of punishments for crimes and to appoint high officials. He also maintained a permanent guard of mounted marksmen, imposed restrictions on traders from Ferghana and Tashkent wishing to do business among the northern Kirghiz,[22] and kept a gallows for executing criminals, a practice that actually enhanced his image among the people.[23] The so-called "terror ormonicus" (*Ormon opuza*) is evoked anecdotally in both his internal and external policies, which were particularly manipulative, arrogant, and deceitful toward Qoqandian, Tashkenti, and Qazaq emissaries.[24] There are numerous reports of Ormon frustrating outside emissaries, but instances of his sending any significant emissaries to his neighbors are harder to find; he even held off the Russian military,[25] only warming to Russia after receiving gifts for the role he played in Sultan Kenesarı's demise. Yet Ormon never submitted to Russian rule,[26] and in the years after he was killed leading the Sarıbağıš in war against Borombay of the Buġu, his son Ümötaalı played an increasingly marginal role in northern Kirghiz affairs, wavering between submission and resistance and becoming one of the last to accept Russian suzerainty finally in 1867.[27]

In contrast to the lonely image of the self-made Ormon behind his showy façade of khanly dignity, the reputation of Šabdan's father, Jantay, shows him as a member of a family of hard-working politicians whose stature had been steadily rising for generations, though it never quite reached the level to which Ormon advanced himself. Jantay's great-grandfather, Tınay, had grown up in the privation and exile that the Kirghiz suffered under

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[20] Dzhamgerchinov, "Kirgizy v ėpokhu Ormon-Khana," p. 121.

[21] On the tradition see Sela, "Ritual and Authority."

[22] Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 285–286, 289–291; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 40–41/(1990) pp. 34–35.

[23] Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 38; Veniukov, *Puteshestviia*, p. 159.

[24] Soltonoyev, op. cit.

[25] Ṣidiq ūġlī, locc. citt.

[26] Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*; Bekmakhanova, *Prisoedinenie Kazakhstana k Rossii,* pp. 194–197 (request by Ormon for permission to submit in 1852, though he never followed through with the intention); V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*.

[27] Semenov, *Travels in the Tian'-Shan'*; Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, pp. 210–214; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii.*

Jungharian domination;[28] but Jantay's grandfather, Atake Biy, was in the forefront of Kirghiz struggles against the Junghars and Qazaqs, and played a leading role in the restoration of Kirghiz control of the Tian Shan after the Junghar Empire was conquered by the Ch'ing in the 1750s. Atake is mentioned frequently in Russian official documents, and is best known as the initiator of the first Kirghiz embassy to Russia, an important overture that was motivated in part by Tınay losses in their feud with the Esenġul Sarıbaġıš.[29] Atake's son Qarabek, the father of Jantay, is little remembered;[30] Atake's real power passed after his death to his older son, Taštanbek, who later engineered the transfer of the khanly title to Jantay.[31] It is not known when the khanly title arose in this house, but in power transitions among Eurasian nomads, succession down a direct line from fathers to sons was frequently varied by lateral succession from brother to brother.

Jantay's elevation as khan occurred at the anniversary memorial feast of Qarabek, though the reasons for his selection are not clear.[32] Jantay was nominated by Taštanbek, the organizer of the feast and, as khan, the person with the most personal power to lose by the decision.[33] A white mare was slaughtered, Jantay was raised on a white felt, and the crowd proclaimed him khan with a cheer; symbolism and formalities were observed.[34] Besides being elevated as khan and carrying on necessary political and military relations outside the Kirghiz community, Jantay is remembered in sanjıra arranging a bride for his younger brother,[35] putting on a splendid and proper memorial feast for Taštanbek,[36] taking on the exiled Bayake as a respected

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[28] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 124. On Tınay see the note to line I.1331.

[29] V. Ploskikh, *Pervye kirgizsko–russkie posol'skie sviazi*, pp. 32–41. On Atake see p. 36 and the note to line I.5.

[30] On Qarabek see p. 36. Valikhanov mentioned seeing Qarabek's tomb in 1856 in the lower Tüp river valley east of Issyk Kul (Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 329). He also noted that Qarabek died in an attack by Ablay Khan, but since Ablay himself died in 1781 and Jantay's epitaph puts his birth date around 1793, this must be an error.

[31] Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 165, 170. On Taštanbek see note to line I.1328; on Jantay see pp. 39–41, 43.

[32] The date of this event is not recorded.

[33] The basic facts of this succession are closely paralleled by the plot of the Kirghiz epic poem *The Memorial Feast for Kökötöy Khan*, in which the young boy Boq Murun succeeds his dead father Kökötöy Khan after a year's regency by Kökötöy's courtier Bay-mırza; Boq Murun attempts to prove himself and seal his succession by giving his father's great anniversary memorial feast. See Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; "Bok-Murun."

[34] Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 165–166, 170–171.

[35] Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 147.

[36] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 274. The giving of memorial feasts was one aspect of social and political ritual that the Tınay are remembered observing with thoroughness and pomp (cf. Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 165–166). Valikhanov

retainer, apportioning appanages to his heirs, enjoying a high reputation among not only the Sarıbaġıš but other Kirghiz groups and the Qazaqs as well, and arranging a political marriage for Šabdan.[37] In the wake of the first clash between the northern Kirghiz and Kenesarı's Qazaq forces in 1846, it was Jantay, not Ormon, who sent an emissary to the sultan to try to patch up relations.[38] This political task, arduous and thankless but far from pointless, is a good example of the numerous statesmanlike actions, some small, some not so small, that made up Jantay's career.[39]

Relations between Ormon and Jantay were often tense, although Jantay is occasionally referred to as a chief advisor of Ormon.[40] After Ormon's death in 1854 or 1855, predominance in northern Kirghiz affairs passed out of Esenġul hands and eventually settled on Šabdan of the Tınay.[41] After Jantay's death in 1867, Šabdan began to serve the Russian administration in earnest, and his power and influence steadily grew.[42] The Esenġul and the Tınay remained on strained terms.

Saribaġiš Traditions and Sanjira

Such was the factual background of the fault line we find in the text of *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, where the Esenġul ancestors enjoy a spotlight that, so far as we can tell from other clues in the manuscript, should rightfully

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("Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 330) lists the considerable outlay that Jantay paid to a Kashghari builder for the construction of an intricately decorated tomb—he does not say whose, but given the fact that Jantay was in charge of the obsequies for Taštanbek it seems likely to have been his tomb. The payment consisted of a hundred sheep plus four "nines": a slave and eight horses, a camel and eight horses, a racehorse and eight other horses, and an ox and eight cows. As for Ormon, he gave a proper feast and constructed the tomb for Nıyazbek; see Töröqan uulu, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 211.

37 Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 169–171.

38 The emissary was Qalıġul: see Appendix B.

39 A praising résumé of Jantay's career survives in the words of a contemporary bard who eulogized him in traditional oral verse after his death, as recorded by Wilhelm Radloff. See Radloff, *Proben/Obraztsy*, vol. 5; Hatto, "Jantay."

40 Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 286; for an incident of strife see ibid., p. 290.

41 Ormon's son Ümötaalı remained loyal to Qoqand until 1867, becoming the last northern Kirghiz manap to submit to Russia, though he lost his power among his former subjects, and the reluctance with which he had made the decision to submit remained with him until the end of his life in 1879. On Ümötaalı see Sievertsov, *Puteshestviia po Turkestanskomu kraiu*, pp. 210–214, 340–349, 355–357; Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 374–378; Khasanov, *Vzaimootnosheniia kirgizov s Kokandskim Khanstvom*, pp. 41–49. Ṣidiq ūġlī's statement (*Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] p. 42/[1990] p. 35) that Ümötaalı was made a "sultan" by the Russian authorities after his submission is surprising in the face of reliable reports of his recalcitrance.

42 Soltonoyev, op. cit., p. 377; on Šabdan's Tsarist-era career see above, pp. 42–43.

belong to the Tınay. In comparison with Ormon, Šabdan's Tınay line, for all its steady application of political skill over generations, had accumulated fewer and less pronounced symbols of heroism and dominion in the nineteenth century. On this basis we can scrutinize the meaning and function of genealogy in the context of oral and literary works related to the Šabdan Baatır Codex.

Ormon's fame, fed by his own aggressive style of appropriation, lingered long after he died. Perhaps the most important Tınay Sarıbağıš literary monument that survives is the *Tārīx-i qırġız-i šādmāniya*, which Osmonaalı Sıdıqov (Ṣidiq ūġlī) published in 1914; in this work, a history designed to honor the Tınay dispensation, it is striking to observe how seldom Šabdan's own father Jantay is mentioned, especially in comparison with Ormon of the Esenġul, who appears more times and in more narrative detail than Jantay.[43] Like his father Nıyazbek before him, Ormon had kept singers of epic poetry in his entourage, including the famous bards Muzooke and Keldibek.[44] Epic bards made their living by tailoring their performances to the tastes and vanities of their patrons, and most of them were versed in genres besides epic.[45] Jantay is not remembered as having cultivated epic poetry, although it cannot be ruled out.[46]

In any event Ormon had a more active "public relations department" than his rival, and there is evidence that he paid particular attention to genealogy. This focus is evident in a manuscript examined around the turn of the twentieth century and described briefly by Belek Soltonoyev. According to Soltonoyev (apparently the only witness to a work now lost), the *Joopnaama*, a work in scroll form, was commissioned by Ormon Khan, around the time of his elevation, and written by a mullah from Namanġan. The main part of the text was religious in nature and concerned the answers

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[43] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*.

[44] Muzooke was the grandfather of the bard and literate poet Toġoloq Moldo (Raxmatullin, *Manasčılar*, p. 108); on Keldibek (1800–1880), see ibid., pp. 53–57. Also Ormon's trumpeter, Orozbaq, was the father of the famous twentieth-century bard Saġımbay (1867–1930): Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 210, 212, 287, 425; Raxmatullin, *Manasčılar*, pp. 83–84.

[45] Prior, "Patron, Party, Patrimony."

[46] For comparative analysis of praise-poetry about Šabdan, see pp. 255–266. As was already mentioned, Jantay was the subject of a praising funeral lament (Hatto, "Jantay"). Another of Radloff's texts from 1869 is known to have been collected among the Sarıbağıš: this is an episode in the *Manas* epic cycle, "The Birth of Manas," but it is not possible to connect it with the auspices of an individual Tınay, Esenġul, or any other Sarıbağıš patron. The bellicose attitude toward Russia heard in the text of "The Birth of Manas" skews to the Esenġul position ca. 1869, but this is not conclusive.

a departed soul must give at judgment.[47] Another part of the work was a genealogical account: "it showed the descendants of Taġay, for the most part the ancestors of manap origin, and how the Solto, Buġu, Sayaq, Sarıbaġıš, Azıq, Čerik, Qoŋurat, and Moŋoldor were propagated." Soltonoyev implies that such detailed information about the origins of the Kirghiz had not been easily accessible to him in written form during the preceding period of about a decade, in which he found historical writings to read mainly in Russian, Chaghatay, and Tatar.[48] One of the founders of Kirghiz historical science, then, had Ormon Khan's legacy of literary patronage to thank for a crucial addition to his written materials on Kirghiz genealogy.[49]

Another work of Kirghiz genealogy, one surviving in a unique manuscript in the Kirghiz National Academy of Sciences, combines an Esenġul focus with Esenġul provenance. The work is *Šajara-i nasab nāma-i īlātiya*, of unknown authorship and date. It was written in Arabic-script Kirghiz in scroll form, and was obtained in 1979 in the area south of lake Issyk Kul from one Aydarbek Esenġulov, great-grandson of the most recent named person recorded in the scroll. The brief text, which is cited in full in Russian translation in the earliest available notice on this work,[50] consists of a straight, father-to-son run of names of the descendants of the well-known legendary ancestor Šeyx Mansur Xallaj[51] down to 27 generations, the last being Aydarbek Esenġulov's great-grandfather, Bayġazı Baatır. Generations 18–27 correspond, albeit with a gap (curiously toward the end of the run, not the beginning) to well-known genealogies of the Esenġul Sarıbaġıš, as the following table shows. The recent genealogical work by Töröqan uulu (the right-hand column) independently corroborates the pedigree all the way down to Esenġul, the father of the Aydarbek Esenġulov who had owned the manuscript:

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[47] Kirghiz *joop-naama* (< Persian *jawāb nāma*, something like 'answer sheet') is the common name of this genre of everyday religious literature.

[48] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 99–100, 102; cf. Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 1.

[49] Although Soltonoyev was the copyist of the first four poems in the Šabdan Baatır Codex, he did not copy poem V, *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, and probably had no knowledge of it when compiling his history.

[50] V. Ploskikh, *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, pp. 455–458. The genealogy appears on the back side of an Arabic *tafsīr*, which is missing the beginning and end (it is not clear whether the genealogy is also defective thus). The compilers of *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana* date the ms. circumstantially to no later than the end of the nineteenth century; they also erroneously give the name of the previous owner as "Andarbek."

[51] See note to line V.2.

	Šajara-i nasab nāma-i ilātiya[52]	Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5	Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1[53]
18.	… Kyldzhyr-bii	Qıljır	Sarıbağıš (Qıljır; p. 45)
19.	his son Doolos-bii	Döölös	Döölös
20.	his son Manap-bii	Manap	Manap
21.	his son Sootai-bii	Sütöy	Sütöy
22.	his son Saryseit-bii	Sarıseyit	Sarseyit
23.	his son Uchuke-bii	Üčükö	Üčükö
24.	his son Mamatkulu-bii	Mamatqulu	Mamatqul
25.	his son Bolot-bii	Bolot	Bolot
26.	his son Ėsengul-baatyr …	Esenġul	Esenġul
		26′. Niyazbek	Nıyazbek
		26″. Suban [brother of Ormon]	Suvan
			26‴. Maylıbay
			26⁗. Musake
27.	… his son Baigazy-baatyr		27. Bayġazı
			27′. Aydarbek
			27″. Esenġul[54]

The left-hand column shows that Ormon (rather, his generation) has vanished from this pedigree in the middle of a major gap; however, it does show that Esenġul genealogical practice (of which the *Joop-naama* is another example) was thriving in the late nineteenth century.[55]

Leaving aside for a moment the question of what can be inferred from these rare manuscript finds about the general state of sanjıra in the late nineteenth century, we may compare the above (albeit slight) data about genealogy in the Esenġul milieu with a similar find, likewise a singularity in published circulation, the *Nasab-nāma-i avlād-i ḥaẓrat Ādām*. This work has

[52] The numbers of the generations in the table correspond to the sequence found in the *Šajara* ms. Transcriptions of names in this ms. (i.e. in this column) reflect the Cyrillic Russian used by the editors of *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, pp. 455–458.

[53] Pp. 192–206. The details on generations 26 and after, Esenġul and his descendants, are found on p. 206.

[54] Esenġul, namesake of the line's eponymous founder, was the father of Aydarbek Esenġulov, who handed over the ms. to historians in 1979.

[55] It is also noteworthy that this is one of only two works of sanjıra from the pre-Soviet period described by the editors of *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, a work published in 1996 and thus unburdened by Soviet-era reticence about the details of "backward," "tribal" social structures of the past. The editors allude to the possible existence of other genealogical sources of similar date by Kirghiz and Ferghanan authors, and provide as sole example of the latter a description of the ms. discussed next.

a Tınay association, in that the owner who finally donated it to the Academy of Sciences in 1947 was the former scribe and translator to Šabdan Jantayev, Mambetaalı Murataliyev.[56] The *Nasab-nāma* is a scroll, written in Chaghatay in 1855 at the behest of Xudāyār, Khan of Qoqand, by ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad Mūsā, the supreme judge (*qāẓī al-quẓẓāt*) of Qoqand,[57] and adorned with his seal and those of seven other mullahs and khojas. The contents of the manuscript are quite different from the two previous examples, though more familiar from the standpoint of Islamic genealogical literature. In the first part a lengthy diagram gives the genealogy of the descendants of Adam, at the end going into detail on the khans of Qoqand. In the second part, devoted to the genealogy of the Kirghiz, ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm drew his information from known works of Islamic historiography, attaching a Kirghiz line at the very end. Mokeev writes, "Our author was completely under the influence of bookish reports on the Kirghiz of the remote past [...] Such a simplified system, according to which the Kirghiz as it were originated from a single mythical ancestor, Oğuz Khan, has no scholarly merit."[58] Mokeev's interpretation of the document as a whole seeks to place it in the proper context of its inception:

> The special examination of the history of the Kirghiz people in the work of a Qoqandian author, who was writing by order of Xudāyār Khan himself, was undertaken with the aim of subsequently transmitting it into the hands of Kirghiz manaps. The present manuscript belonged to Mambetaalı Murataliyev, at one time the scribe and translator of [Šabdan ...] It cannot be ruled out that the manuscript of the *Nasab-nāma* was given to Šabdan personally by Xudāyār Khan in 1862, when they met at Tashkent during the Kirghiz delegation's visit.[59]

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[56] Mokeev, "'Nasab-name'" is a description and interpretation with a Russian translation of the portion of the text dealing with the origin of the Kirghiz; V. Ploskikh, *Istochnikovedenie Kyrgyzstana*, pp. 453–455 gives a shorter version of the previous; Sooronov, *Nasab-naama* is an edition in Kirghiz. Sooronov makes no mention of either of the previous notices on the work, nor does he mention the ms.'s apparent connection with Šabdan's circle.

Mambetaalı appears with Šabdan in the photograph on p. 2.

[57] This individual is not identifiable with certainty in Beisembiev, *Annotated Indices* or Beisembiev, *Kokandskaia istoriografiia*; the latter work (pp. 741–742) mentions no one by this name in the list of named holders of the title *qāẓī* [*al*]*-quẓẓāt*, but cf. (p. 743) the entry for an Āxund Mullā Mīrzā ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm Buxārī, in the post of *qāẓī-kalān* of Qoqand *prae* 1831/2 in the *Tavārīx-i Manẕuma* of Imām ʿAlī Qunduzī.

[58] Mokeev, "'Nasab-name'," p. 177. Of course, Mokeev's description of the Qoqandians as "bookish" in apparent contradistinction to the Kirghiz of the time is misleading; the Kirghiz had their literati. More acceptable is the point that the Qoqandians were learned in one stream of knowledge into which the Kirghiz' own genealogical traditions had not flowed.

[59] Ibid., p. 178. On the meeting between Xudāyār and Šabdan in 1862, see pp. 65–66, above.

The potential political influence inherent in such a gift is obvious, and Mokeev's reconstruction of the manuscript's original purpose is sound, although it is impossible to know if it really was a gift from Xudāyār to Šabdan in 1862. What is important is that the manuscript has a prestigious Qoqandian origin and a clear message that aims to incorporate the Kirghiz into Islamic history; Šabdan could scarcely have ignored either of these facts, no matter how the document entered his circle of literate associates. That is not necessarily to say that the message was accepted uncritically by him or the members of this circle.

From the standpoint of traditional genealogical knowledge, it is important to ask what sort of "conversation" on Kirghiz origins did the *Nasab-nāma* join when it was inserted into the Tınay Sarıbağıš literary sphere? Did the Tınay have a well-developed sanjıra tradition of their own? The scanty textual evidence of contemporary manuscripts published or described so far offers little concrete insight into the existence of such a Tınay tradition. All four of the pre-revolutionary genealogical works mentioned in the literature (*Tārīx-i qırġız-i Šādmāniya, Joop-naama, Šajara-i nasab nāma-i īlātiya*, and *Nasab-nāma-i avlād-i ḥaẓrat Ādām*) certainly pertain to the Sarıbağıš: two of them (*Joop-naama* and *Šajara-i nasab nāma-i īlātiya*) are thoroughly Esenġul in character; another one, *Tārīx-i qırġız-i Šādmāniya*, is avowedly Tınay in orientation, but for the early nineteenth century devotes more narrative detail to Ormon the Esenġul than to his more relevant Tınay contemporary, Jantay. The fourth manuscript, *Nasab-nāma-i avlād-i ḥaẓrat Ādām*, is the exception that proves the rule. It was apparently owned by Šabdan, but lacks any specific Kirghiz group attributes, whether Tınay, Esenġul, or any other; instead it was an attempt by Qoqandian authorities who were ignorant of (or ignored) Kirghiz genealogy to involve the Kirghiz in known Islamic pedigrees. Thus the available textual records offer a fairly indifferent picture of Tınay concerns with sanjıra in comparison with the Esenġul. Similarly, earlier in this section it was seen that historical comparison of the Esenġul and Tınay houses in the nineteenth century provides circumstantial evidence for a specifically Esenġul preoccupation with "public relations," particularly in the wake of Ormon's rise to supremacy—a preoccupation that is more difficult to discern for the Tınay.

To posit a relative dearth of verbal production by the Tınay in matters of family history (broadly, genealogy as expressed in sanjıra) in the nineteenth century would be no more than *argumentum ex silentio* if not for the testimony of the poem now under consideration, *The Poem of Saint Sančı*. In it the poet, through the purported "prediction" of a revered soothsayer of some three or four generations past, notes the waning of the Esenġul line's

fortunes and the rise of the Tınay, in the person of Šabdan. If the Tınay had had their own traditional story of an ancestor's encounter with the famous Sančı Sınčı, or any popular stories of ancestral heroism or glamour, this would surely have been the place for the poet to cite them. Instead we have a poetic narrative, clearly echoing what later came to be codified as the sanjıra genre, that makes no more of a case for the ascent of the Tınay than the well-known but entirely unexplained historical disjuncture in the fortunes of the Esenġul and the Tınay in Russian colonial times. The doctored "prediction" of Sančı Sınčı filled in for the lack of any mention of authentic Tınay narrative tradition.

The foregoing analysis suggests that despite what modern proponents of sanjıra may claim, the deployment of genealogical narratives among the northern Kirghiz was not uniform across all lineages. The "lumpiness" of the textual records is particularly difficult to explain away as a result of patchy preservation when we consider the structure of *The Poem of Saint Sančı* and its privileged placement in the literary milieu of Šabdan Baatır. Here a poet with an unmissable chance at praising the ancestors of the Tınay Sarıbaġıš manap Šabdan had to overcome the overwhelming inequality between the Tınay and the more famous Esenġul in the quantity and quality of their written narratives. The materials analyzed above are merely what has come to us by chance through the scholarly literature; more manuscripts are known to exist in the Kirghiz archives and must be properly introduced into scholarly circulation in order to test this theory. The details discussed above may fall before facts subsequently revealed; this would be all to the good, if we gain a better understanding of the situational aspects of the production of the supposedly ubiquitous genre of genealogy. It is already clear from examination of *The Poem of Saint Sančı* and comparable texts that the study of Kirghiz genealogy is a subject requiring closely coordinated historical, textual, and ethnological analyses.

The traditional skills that allowed creators of genealogies to make compromises out of non-optimal materials are discernible in outline in the few pre-1917 texts that have come to the notice of scholars; the task gets no easier, however, with younger texts. For most of the Soviet era only a few high-level scholars, such as the ethnographer Saul Abramzon and the historians Ermukhan Bekmakhanov and Begamaaly Dzhamgerchinov, cited information from sanjıra sources in their work, and even for them the undertaking was not without risks. As for public notice and comment, the genre of genealogy was essentially suppressed because of its preoccupation with what was perceived to be an outmoded, kinship-based social system that communism would supersede. Not surprisingly, the Soviet preoccupation

with the abstract "*narod*" or nation, which the state inculcated in the population through every conceivable educational, cultural, and political outlet, has, in the new atmosphere of national consciousness in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, inspired a surge of interest in sanjıra. But the efflorescence of sanjıra accounts published since 1991 has yet to be met by the elaboration of a framework for critically studying them. The oldest, and only, Kirghiz genealogical chronicles to be published before 1917, the two works by Ṣidiq ūġlī, do not use the word *sanjıra* at all in reference to themselves or their sources.[60] Until the chronology of the word's usage can be clarified on the basis of the sources, the question of what role Soviet ethnographers may have played in promulgating the term in its present meaning, and thus in codifying the genre to some extent, cannot be easily dismissed. Arguments such as those by the sanjıra-compiler Esenqul Töröqan uulu that sanjıra has been passed down for countless generations and embodies Kirghiz identity in a vital and enduring manner through the universally recognized idiom of kinship[61] have been cross-examined very little. The sources necessary to investigate such issues are beginning to come to light.

As facile and voluble as I have argued that the pre-1917 Tınay authors were in reworking old messages for new purposes, their operations on the traditional material were perfectly natural; indeed such business was and is the stock in trade of the successful poet, narrator, and retailer of genealogies, whether by the spoken word or in writing. In the Šabdan Baatır Codex this kind of handiwork is perhaps most easily seen in *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, but it is evident as well in the switch of focus from Bayake to Šabdan, analyzed above, that led to the creation of the version of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* that we have now. The Šabdan Baatır Codex as a whole exemplifies the purposeful reworking of available material to suit the taste of a new patron and the tenor of new times. The form and content of the manuscript suggest that the Tınay in particular may have had a certain type of advantage in formulating a new, pan-Kirghiz "national" position because of their practiced skill at adapting stories in which they were originally not very prominent. In the next and final section of this commentary I will discuss how the authors of the poems in the Codex, Musa Čaġatayev and the anonymous poet of *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, and the patron, Šabdan Baatır, formed a sort of creative unit that gave rise to this novel, recognizably modern, yet also traditionally-grounded idea of what it meant to be Kirghiz.

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[60] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Muxtaṣar-i tārīx-i Qirġiziya*; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*.

[61] E.g., Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 7 (quoted above).

GENERAL COMMENTARY

Some Matters of Form

In the sections of the Commentary dealing with poem I, *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, and poem III, *The Story of Kenesarı*, I have examined ways in which Musa Čaġatayev tailored existing oral and literary material to create new poetic works appropriate to the exalted reputation of his patron, Šabdan Baatır. This section is an examination of how Čaġatayev's unified work at the core of the Codex, the sequence of the two narrative poems together with poem II, the Inface, and poem IV, the Postface, plus the later poem V, *The Poem of Saint Sančı*, exemplify a moment in northern Kirghiz cultural history that was centered around Šabdan's reputation. The regard of one poet, Čaġatayev, for the symbolism of Šabdan's perhaps unique stature in Kirghiz society produced a document of decidedly national import; the Codex that contained his work then came to accommodate a final poem of genealogical musings, which highlight the inventiveness of Šabdan's promoters and reinforce the critical link between history and oral tradition among the northern Kirghiz in the late Tsarist era. Here as in previous sections, comparisons reveal aspects of the Šabdan Baatır Codex that correspond to a pattern of genres which we may call, for convenience, steppe oral historiography. Despite what I assert to be the normal qualities of the works in the Codex from the point of view of this pattern of genres, the comparative perspective also serves to emphasize the Codex's unique position in this pattern, among sources as yet known, and indeed in Kirghiz literature as a whole—a position that recommends the work as a source for wider research on traditions of historiography and epic poetry in Inner Asia.

The poems of the Šabdan Baatır Codex are among the earliest datable oral-derived verse narratives on historical subjects in Kirghiz. As we have seen, such genres are widespread throughout Inner Asia;[1] Turkic traditions of historical and praising poetry are well-attested beginning in the eleventh century,[2] and numerous examples from areas close to Kirghiz date from

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[1] Lipets, *Obrazy batyra*, pp. 117–123.

[2] On the epic "cycles" in the *Dīwān Luġāt at-Turk* see pp. 13–14, above. The presence of verse in the eighth-century Orkhon inscriptions is debated; see Krueger, "Earliest Turkic Poem"; Stebleva, *Poėziia tiurkov*; Kljaštornyj, "Epische Sujets."

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[3] The Šabdan Baatır Codex shows interesting similarities with a roughly contemporary collection of oral-derived works in Turki translated and given detailed introductions by the Russian historian and Orientalist Nikolai Veselovskii, in 1894, entitled *A Kirgiz* (sic) *Account of the Russian Conquests in the Turkistan Region*.[4] The longest text is a narrative of clashes between Qoqand and Russia that culminated in the surrender of Tashkent in 1865, written by Mulla Xali-bay, the son of a Qazaq soldier in the khan's army.[5] The verse passages consist mainly of martial or "heroic" topoi, such as battles, marches, and counsels. Xali-bay's text reflects an interpenetration and blending of oral and written traditions in the person of an author who shared an oral creative milieu with epic bards, but was not one himself.[6] The work is historical in outlook (Veselovskii had elicited the text while searching for oral accounts of recent history) with an ingredient of familiar epic diction. Thus Xali-bay's text resembles in certain respects the compositions of Musa Čaġatayev, with the significant difference that Čaġatayev wrote for Kirghiz readers rather than for a Russian scholar-collector.[7] In a word, the works differ in the essential matter of their patronage.

Up to now I have often announced my critical concern with the Codex's patronage. At this point, as we begin intensive consideration of the ways in which patronage both shaped the poems and made them into historical sources, I wish to emphasize exactly what patronage is and what it is not. A patron is not, or is not only, a person who commissions, maintains, protects, or remunerates the creator of a new work. He is not simply a customer, and he may not even have an active presence in the process of creation. Šabdan Baatır is not, after all, known to have played any of

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[3] Radlov, *El qazınası*, pp. 282–287; Žamanqŭlŭlı, "Kenesarı–Naurızbay"; Axmetov et al., *Kenesarı–Naurızbay*; Bekmakhanov, "Fol'klornye istochniki"; Reichl, *Singing the Past*, pp. 60–69, 75–85, 181–188.

[4] Veselovskii, *Kirgizskii razskaz*; cf. Bartol'd, "Retsenziia."

[5] The poem is untitled and begins with *bismillah*: Veselovskii, *Kirgizskii razskaz*, pp. iv–ix, 1–64 (Russian translation), 3–108 (separately paginated Turki original).

[6] The text does not necessarily reflect a compilation of oral verse and written prose; the mixture of the two forms in a unitary work by one author (either orally or in writing) is common in both oral and literate traditions (Harris and Reichl, *Prosimetrum*). Xali-bay's Turki idiom tends toward Qazaq in the verse sections and toward Chaghatay in the connecting prose passages; even this dichotomy is not necessarily grounds for supposing that the work is a mélange.

[7] Interestingly, of these two texts it is the one elicited by the Russian scholar, not the one produced by and for Central Asian Muslims, that features Muslims engaging in *ġazāt* or holy war with Russia.

these roles with respect to the Codex. He may have done so, but we do not know for sure. What we do know is, at second hand, that Čaġatayev, a member of a prominent family dependent on Šabdan, dedicated his work to him;[8] and, *prima facie*, that all of the poems are permeated with an attitude of praise and promotion of Šabdan, his father Jantay, and the Tınay Sarıbaġıš lineage of his ancestors. Some of Čaġatayev's exertions in praising Šabdan are conspicuous in relation to the Kirghiz literature of the time, such as his favorable comparison of Šabdan with the paramount epic hero Manas. Other aspects of this fundamentally biased orientation, such as the poet's subtle retooling of the raid poem about Bayake to cast at least equal if not more limelight on Šabdan, are not readily apparent to those now far removed from Šabdan's circle of kinsmen, retainers, and friends, and have to be unveiled by textual analysis. Given these texts, together with what we know about Musa Čaġatayev,[9] it would be correct to speak of Šabdan as the patron even if the manuscript were lacking the later notation to the effect that Čaġatayev "dedicated" his work to Šabdan. The great manap was the inspiration, the honoree, and, together with his lineage, the ostensible focus of the poems, just as he was (we may infer from the realities of dependency in aristocratic houses) the provider, the protector, and potentially the withholder of Musa Čaġatayev's position in life.[10] Being at the pinnacle of northern Kirghiz society and virtually without rivals, Šabdan cast a long shadow as patron. The effect of his patronage on Čaġatayev's literary design was not merely to elicit from the poet a series of flatteries, though these are apparent; more importantly, it inspired Čaġatayev to attempt a new conception of the entire community that was dominated, adorned, and symbolized by the figure of Šabdan. The reach of Čaġatayev's conception is evident from the fact that his set of four poems eventually was joined in the surviving codex by a final poem, in a different genre and by a different author, that nevertheless shared the same ethos of Kirghiz-ness, with a Sarıbaġıš bias and with Šabdan as the figurehead of his generation.

None of the more well-known figures who were soon to become purveyors of Kirghiz written history and genealogy—ʿUthmān ʿAlī Ṣidiq ūġlī (Osmonaalı Sıdıqov), Belek Soltonoyev, or Īšānʿalī Ārābāyef (Ešenaalı

[8] See Appendix A.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Šabdan was apparently not Čaġatayev's only (or only potential) financial patron; the latter used the venue of his Inface to harangue Ešenaalı Arabayev for support.

Arabayev), for example—had published anything prior to the time when Čaġatayev composed poems I–IV of the Šabdan Baatır Codex in 1909–1910. Yet the dates of print publications in Kirghiz are not necessarily the best indicators of the state of literary developments among the late Tsarist-era northern Kirghiz, whose oral and manuscript traditions were still thriving, and whose Central Asian Turkic neighbors, especially the Qazaqs, had begun to experiment with ethno-national discourses, intelligible to the Kirghiz as well, in the late nineteenth century.[11] Like Čaġatayev, these authors were actively involved in articulating new conceptions of their people's past. In 1909–1910 Soltonoyev was near the middle of his 40-year period of field research and writing on his Kirghiz history;[12] in a year or so Arabayev would publish the poem *Qiṣṣa-i zilzila* (Story of the Earthquake) by Moldo Qılıč.[13] Čaġatayev was evidently aware of Arabayev's on-going work.[14] Ṣidiq ūġlī did not publish his sanjıra-style *Abridged History of the Qırġız* or the expanded *Jubilee* ["*Šabdanian*"] *History of the Qırġız* (which was based on the earlier work and included biographical and elegiac material on Šabdan) in Ufa until 1913 and 1914, after Šabdan's death.[15] None of the patronage relations of these individuals is as clear as what we know about Musa Čaġatayev and the Šabdan Baatır Codex. About Ṣidiq ūġlī we at least know that he was a Sarıbaġıš of the Abayılda lineage (Temir subdivision) from Kemin,[16] and that he dedicated his major published work, the expanded second *History*, to Šabdan after the latter's death.

It will be useful to compare the dedicatory language in these two works, Ṣidiq ūġlī's *Tārīx-i qırġız-i šādmāniya* and Čaġatayev's Inface. Like Čaġatayev's work, Ṣidiq ūġlī's has a composite character.[17] The elegy inserted after

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[11] Sabol, *Russian Colonization*.

[12] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*.

[13] Qılıč, *Qiṣṣa-i zilzila*; Hu and Imart, *Kirghiz Reader*, p. 111.

[14] See pp. 46–47, above.

[15] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Muxtaṣar-i tārīx-i Qirġiziya*; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*. The latter title contains a play on the Persian words *šādmānī* 'rejoicing' and *šādmāna* 'jubilee; royal procession' with the name of the work's dedicatee, Šabdan (<< Persian *Šādmān*); cf. S. Ploskikh, *Repressirovannaia kul'tura*, p. 256 n. 31.

[16] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) title page/(1990) pp. 10–11; cf. S. Ploskikh, op. cit., pp. 109–110.

[17] Below is a brief outline of the contents of the *Tārīx-i qırġız-i šādmāniya*. The page number references are to the 1914/1990 editions respectively.

Fore-title/9	Dedication to seekers after knowledge.
3–19/11–21	A verse introduction in variable meter concerning the value of learning.
20–22/22–23	Bismilla followed by a prose introduction discussing the purpose of studying history.

the narration of Šabdan's death is the author's clearest expression of a dedication. Yet even here the author takes a less direct and vocal approach to the issues of patronage and Kirghiz group-identification than Čaġatayev does in his work. Compare the brief passage below, from the end of Ṣidiq ūġlī's elegy, with Čaġatayev's Inface and Postface. I have translated the original verses rather freely into prose:

> There would be no end if I were to try to recount the doings of life. In this history are written only things that are well-known. I have not boasted of the many things I have done. That much that I have chosen to relate, I have found the words to match; taking pen and paper in hand I have written it down, but it is a tenth—a hundredth—of what I could narrate. Let it end here; I must not run on too long. May your companions be houris![18] May your younger kinsman, who has taken up the pen, not be left high and dry with nothing but a prayer![19] I am ʿUthmān ʿAlī; I have left unsaid many things I could say, living here in Ufa, in my homeless state![20]

The authors of both works used verse in the *terme* genre at the boundaries of longer sections of text to offer opinions and insinuations about their status as protégés of their powerful patron, Šabdan. Čaġatayev, to a greater degree than Ṣidiq ūġlī, built up an explicit argument about the ethnic particularity of the group unified under the preeminent figure of Šabdan. Part of the reason for this may be that Čaġatayev saw his brief Inface and Postface in terme verse as if they were summary clarifications of the main epic-like narratives, which, as is typical in epic, argued more implicitly than overtly about the corporate greatness of their heroes. Ṣidiq ūġlī, on the other hand, used his terme verses to comment on the already extensive

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22–65/23–51	A prose recitation of genealogy from Adam down through the Tınay Sarıbaġış line to Šabdan; Šabdan's biography and his death.
66–83/52–74	A verse elegy on Šabdan resembling the oral *qošoq* or lament genre composed and performed at funeral feasts.
83–117/75–96	Resumption of the prose genealogies: the rest of the Sarıbaġış and other right wing tribes; then the left wing and other Kirghiz groups.
117–131/96–105	A section with the heading "2nd part (*faṣl*), on the Qazaqs": genealogies of the Qazaq hordes (*jüz*).
131–135/105–108	Description of the Tungans or Chinese Muslims, who had immigrated to Semirech'e in the late nineteenth century.

[18] The poet bestows a blessing on Šabdan beyond the grave.

[19] Ṣidiq ūġlī refers to himself as a younger kinsman (*iniŋ*, lit. 'your younger brother') of Šabdan's; he was not closely related in fact.

[20] Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, (1914) pp. 82–83/(1990) pp. 73–74. The original passage is in verse, in the same meter as the narrative and *terme* poems in the Šabdan Baatır Codex; the 1990 edition and "translation" into Kirghiz is reliable for this passage.

matrix of genealogical recitations that made up his work, where the idiom of ancestry strongly reinforced the concept of group-identification throughout.

The poets of the Šabdan Baatır Codex use a variety of modes to express the "We" that they attempt to crystallize and celebrate through their rhetoric. These overlapping modes of expression amount to a set of implicit arguments about the meaning of belonging among the late Tsarist-era northern Kirghiz, arguments whose essentially national character is found in this manuscript earlier than in any other source.

Arguments Implicit in the Codex

To the authors of the poems in the Codex (Musa Čağatayev and the anonymous author of poem V) "We" are primarily Muslims and Kirghiz. These two modes of identification were of course related, and changed over time and according to different situations. Islamic references are present in poems I, III, and V. In *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, Bayake's dream-inspiration to go raiding implies religious opposition between the Muslims and their Qalmaq victims, who were non-Muslims. The Qalmaqs are called *Qapır*, 'Infidel'; death in battle is referred to as martyrdom. Numerous raiders and their supporters are seen voicing and enacting a variety of pious or at least culturally distinctive markers of Muslimness, such as prayers to God under a number of names and adversions to several other types of sacred personages, ablutions, sacrifices (if we accept the Kirghiz' own view of the Muslimness of this practice, against the prohibitions of a remote, normative *sunna*), blessings, and deprecations of heathen physique and manners. The raiders convert a captured Qalmaq to Islam. Their chaplain and quartermaster, the mullah Qudayqul, is portrayed with an ironic sense of perversion that reflects not reproach but respect for one who wields corrupt religious authority with impunity. In *The Story of Kenesarı*, objectively speaking the conflict was between co-religionists, the Qazaqs and the Kirghiz both being members of the community of Muslims. Yet the poem uses the rhetoric of unbelief to cast aspersions on Kenesarı and the Qazaqs and justify the Kirghiz in fighting with fellow Muslims. Kenesarı "antagonized the Muslims so badly that he quite resembled an Infidel" (III.11–12, a nice distinction that speaks volumes about the underlying ambivalence with which the Muslim Kirghiz author viewed the Kirghiz' moral position in such a conflict); Kenesarı failed because he was "in discord with the Muslims" (III.229); he is cursed for opposing "the Muslims" (III.303–304). But the poet does more than hide

behind excuses. Giving in to the provocations he recounts, he lashes out viciously, again and again, at the perfidy, haughty airs, and foolhardiness of the princes and the weakness and timidity of the Qazaqs they led. The taunting reaches a climax as the princes are bound and dispatched by the women of the camp, their noble birth availing them nothing in the end (III.283–286).

The conceptions of the Infidel enemy are different in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* and *The Story of Kenesarı*, in part reflecting the difference between the offensive and defensive military actions in the two poems respectively. In *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, the Infidel Qalmaqs are to be defeated as a matter of course, and the heroic qualities of their top warriors are emphasized to make them worthy opponents of the Kirghiz warriors—a common calculus in the genre of heroic poetry with which the poem shares some of its inspiration. The enemies' existence and deeds in opposition to "our" heroes were no source of outrage as such, especially since the Kirghiz were invading them without provocation. In contrast, the Qazaqs in *The Story of Kenesarı* are bedecked in outrage to make the point that they are simulated Infidels. The poet's sense of righteous anger at the Kirghiz' being invaded was supercharged by the thought that fellow Muslims should act in that way.

In contrast to the two main narrative poems, the religious references in *The Poem of Saint Sančı* are devoid of such an agonistic tone. The ancestor Mansur, a persona of the holy man Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj who appears in legendary accounts of the origin of the Kirghiz, is mentioned; apart from this there are assertions of the saintliness of the prognosticator Sančı Sınčı and the bygone chief Qaba, but the reasons why the poet should stress these two figures' sacral character are obscure. Musa Čaġatayev, for his part, has nothing to say specifically about the Muslimness of his people in either of his terme poems, the Inface and Postface.

"Our" heroes were Muslims, there is no doubt. Čaġatayev exerted greater efforts, however, to identify them as Kirghiz; the author of *The Poem of Saint Sančı* followed suit. It sounds so unsurprising that our poets should take care to promote the Kirghiz that I must emphasize how unusual this was in the generic context of the time. Among roughly contemporary sources, only Soltonoyev's *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı* takes a comparably explicit stance regarding the merits of considering the Kirghiz as an ethnic particularity unto itself; yet even Soltonoyev, as also the other sanjıra-compiler, Ṣidiq ūġlī, took a more implied than overt approach to stating what Kirghiz-ness was. Čaġatayev addressed the matter head-on in his Inface and Postface:

> Qazaq, Noġoy, baarı bar;
> Qırġızdan qısa körbödüm

> There are tales written of the Qazaqs and Noġay and all of them, but I have never seen one about the Kirghiz.[21]

> Sarıbağıš, Sayaq uruudan,
> Solto menen Buġudan
> sayıp quran erlerdi
> qarıyalardan uğuudan—
> mandat berse joluma,
> qarajat berse qoluma—
> Qırğızdan čıqqan erlerdi
> keltirer Musa oŋuna!

> If I am given a mandate in this pursuit, and the means are put at my disposal, [I,] Musa will vindicate the lords of the Qurʾan among the Sarıbağıš and Sayaq tribe, among the Solto and Buğu, whom we have heard about from the old men—the warriors who have sprung from the Kirghiz![22]

> Qırğızdan eč kim er emes
> jazbay qoyuš kep emes!
> Qazaq, Türkmen, Noġoy, Sart
> erdikke bizge teŋ emes!

> Surely it must no longer be written that the Kirghiz have no warriors among them! The Qazaqs, Türkmens, Noġay, and Sarts are no match for us in valor.[23]

Čaġatayev's comments are concerned with the perceived erosion of memory about Kirghiz heroes (*er*) and their valor (*erdik*). For this reason a set of comparable materials perhaps more appropriate than sanjıra with its primary focus on categorization by kinship and descent, is the records of the epic tradition.

There is a large corpus of oral heroic epic poetry written down from performances by Kirghiz bards in the middle of the nineteenth century, the records of Chokan Valikhanov's and Wilhelm Radloff's collecting work from 1856 to 1869.[24] In these texts, Manas and the other preeminent heroes celebrated by the Kirghiz—"our" heroes—were defined in two ways: first, they were Muslim, and second, they belonged to various branches of the legendary Noġay lineage of steppe tradition[25] (the Kirghiz terms were Noġoy, Sarı-Noġoy, and Qara-Noġoy). Far from being the best heroes, the Kirghiz

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[21] II.6–7.
[22] IV.5–12.
[23] IV.21–24.
[24] Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Radloff, *Proben/Obraztsy*, vol. 5 (partially re-edited and re-translated by Hatto in *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*).
[25] See p. 27 above.

are scarcely mentioned at all in the mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epic poems; when they are, they appear as a wretched, weak, and defenseless people, as a few marginal heroes named fleetingly in catalogues, and as mere occupiers of land in lists of countries. As Arthur Hatto has said, "In Kirghiz epic of this time the Noġoy stood to the Kirghiz rather as Homer's Achaeans stood to the Greeks."[26] The ethnonym *Qırġız* is found a total of eight times in the 15,705 lines of the mid-nineteenth century Manas-epics combined,[27] that is, the per-line frequency of the term is 0.05%. The Noġoy, Sarı-Noġoy, and Qara-Noġoy are mentioned 27 times, where no names of divisions (tribes) or subdivisions of the Kirghiz are ever mentioned.[28] In the 2,110 lines of the Šabdan Baatır Codex, the Kirghiz are mentioned 36 times, in other words in 1.7% of the lines, or 34 times more frequently than in the mid-nineteenth century Manas-epics.

Musa Čaġatayev used the rhetoric of his Inface and Postface, as in the passages quoted above, to discuss and confirm the shift in the identification of "our" heroes, from the legendary Noġoy (Noġay) of Inner Asian traditions[29] to the actual Kirghiz of contemporary and recent memory.[30] But Čaġatayev stops short of re-labeling Manas and the other paramount heroes as Kirghiz. (That step was not taken until the early Soviet era, when professional folklorists elicited a full version of *Manas* from the bard Saġımbay Orozbaq uulu;

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[26] Hatto, "Kirghiz (Mid-Nineteenth Century)," p. 312.

[27] See the indices to Hatto, *Memorial Feast* and Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*.

[28] Taking into account not only the Manas-epics but also Radloff's texts of the epics *Joloy Qan* and *Er Töštük* (Radloff, *Proben/Obraztsy*, vol. 5, Kirghiz text, pp. 369–589), another 7,753 lines may be added to the total, with no more mentions of the Kirghiz, giving an adjusted frequency of 0.03%. The heroic lament for Jantay recorded by Radloff (132 lines; see ibid., pp. 590–594 and Hatto, "Jantay") does contain mention of the Kirghiz (twice), the Sarıbağıš, and the Solto (once each).

[29] Hatto, *Memorial Feast*; Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*; Valikhanov, "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-kul'," p. 327; Hatto, "Kirghiz (Mid-Nineteenth Century)," pp. 312–314; Prior, "Patron, Party, Patrimony"; Prior, *Twilight Age*; cf. Zhirmunskii, "Vvedenie v izuchenie ėposa 'Manas'," pp. 143–148; Zhirmunskii, "Ėpicheskie skazaniia o nogaiskikh batyriakh"; Abramzon, *Kirgizy*, p. 354.

[30] It is perhaps relevant that the half-century after 1869 was a period in which the Tian Shan Kirghiz, who for the previous half-century had been relatively isolated from the peoples of the steppes beyond the neighboring Qazaqs, made acquaintance with people who bore the ethnonym *Noġoy*: these were families of Volga-Ural Muslims, referred to today as Tatars, who began settling in Kirghiz territory in the 1880s. They brought with them their agricultural, commercial, and administrative-literate occupations (Abramzon et al., *Byt kolkhoznikov*, p. 19), which may have struck a discordant note with the Kirghiz' cultural memories of the Noġay as the cream of steppe warriors. It was against this historical background that the ethnic reference in the epics is observed changing from Noġay to Kirghiz.

Sağımbay's is the earliest known version to identify the old Noġay heroes as Kirghiz.[31]) In all four of his poems, Čağatayev gathers up as many Kirghiz tribes and subdivisions as he can; he makes 32 separate mentions of 14 different ethnonyms for Kirghiz groups, from the right and left wings and the Ičkilik.[32] The novelty of Čağatayev's conception shines through in a simple remark by the Sarıbağış raiders to their Buġu host, Balbay Baatır: *Qırġız asker bizni deer* 'you may call us *Kirghiz* fighters'.[33]

Čağatayev's remodeling job was not limited to polishing the label *Kirghiz*. More than simply updating an ethnic name, he placed Šabdan Baatır at the center of a new image of his people.

> Manastan Šabdan kem emes;
> Šabdandan Manas er emes;
> Bayakege Almambet
> anıq jeri teŋ emes!
>
> Šabdan is no less than Manas, Manas was no greater man than Šabdan; and Almambet, it is perfectly plain, was no match for Bayake![34]

This argument extends beyond flattery of the patron. While, according to Čağatayev, it was time to acknowledge that real Kirghiz warriors of the recent past excelled in heroism over the Noġay characters of epic, the Kirghiz also needed to review their own conception of belonging in their land: *Noġoy eken Manasıŋ*;/ *Qırġızdın jeri Talasıŋ!* 'Your Manas was a Noġay, they say, but your Talas is the land of the Kirghiz!' (II.11–12). The unstated premise of this statement, which was common knowledge to Kirghiz audiences, is that Manas's home pastures in epic were in the Talas valley.[35] Here as well, Čağatayev's statements make Šabdan and the Kirghiz seemingly usurp the reputation of Manas and the Noġay. By clearly stating the

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[31] Orozbaq uulu, *Manas* (Bishkek, 1995–1997).

[32] The Kirghiz subgroups mentioned in the Codex are: Abıla (Sarıbağış), Ayuke (Sarıbağış), Bölökbay (Solto), Buġu, Čağaldaq (Sarıbağış), Čerik, Jetigen, Jeti Qašqa (Solto), Noyġut (in the author's idiosyncratic spelling *Moyġut*), Qušču, Sarıbağış, Saruu, Solto, and Tınay (Sarıbağış).

[33] I.481; emphasis added.

[34] II.15–18. The poetic device of likening the subject of praise or self-praise to Manas and other heroes was a trope in Kirghiz oral tradition (cf. "Balbay tuuraluu," pp. 322–323: *Ertegi ötkön er Manas*,/ *ne jerinen kem qaldım* 'In what way am I less that the hero Manas of days gone by?'; "Čoqčoloy," p. 595: *atäkäm Ürbü-minän Manastay* 'my father was like Ürbü, like Manas'.); Čağatayev went further than before by explicitly demoting Manas and Almambet to lesser status than his patron and his kinsman. In this the poet was in tune with the tenor of his times; on the general eclipse of the stories of Manas in the Twilight Age of the Kirghiz epic tradition see Prior, *Twilight Age*, pp. 166–176, 187–195.

[35] Hatto, *Manas of Wilhelm Radloff*.

undeniable fact that the Kirghiz occupy the Talas valley, in contradiction with their own beloved epic tradition, Čaġatayev makes a territorial case for their distinctiveness as a people. Add to this the genealogical claim mentioned above and a concern for incipient forms of information flow—*Arabayev qurdašım| bul qısanı tıŋdasın!| Jayıltıŋız Qırġızġa!* 'Let Arabayev, my peer, edit this tale! Publish it among the Kirghiz!' (II.48–50)—and the result is an argument about modern Kirghiz identity that deserves to be called ethno-national.

Arguments written by Kirghiz authors about the ethno-national particularity of the Kirghiz as such are, of course, a recent phenomenon. These arguments certainly arose after the imposition of Russian rule, and appear to have begun late in the colonial era, but their origin and development are poorly understood.[36] A Russian-educated native elite, which had been responsible for the rise of ethno-national discourses among the neighboring Qazaqs since at least the 1880s,[37] was exceedingly small in Kirghiz society before 1917. So too was the presence of the Jadid movement of new-method Islamic education,[38] which was represented by only a small number of schools in pre-revolutionary Kirghiz territory, which instructed Tatar and Sart ('Özbek') students in the Tatar language, not Kirghiz.[39] In any case, the cultural milieu of the manaps has never been implicated in a "modernizing" socio-cultural development such as national discourse. I have already introduced the handful of writers around the first two decades of the twentieth century who concerned themselves in some way with Kirghiz self-identification and who at least partly Kirghiz-ized the language of their writings in the common Central Asian Turki idiom. Among the extremely small number of works surviving from that period, the Šabdan Baatır Codex

[36] This can still be said after a post-Soviet surge in publications on national history culminated in the "Year of Kirghiz Statehood," 2003 (Kurmanov, *Natsional'naia intelligentsia*; Dzhumanaliev, *Kyrgyzskaia gosudarstvennost'*; S. Ploskikh, *Repressirovannaia kul'tura*; Baktygulov and Mombekova, *Istoriia kyrgyzov i Kyrgyzstana*; Koichuev, *U istokov kyrgyzskoi gosudarstvennosti*); scholarship outside the former Soviet Union has been equally neglectful of the late Tsarist period in Kirghiz cultural history.

[37] Sabol, *Russian Colonization*.

[38] Khalid, *Politics of Cultural Reform*.

[39] Karypkulov, *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, vol. 2, pp. 241–243. It should be noted, however, that the testimony of this Soviet-era secondary source is not necessarily reliable concerning the reach of Jadid-method schools in the Kirghiz (as distinct from Tatar and Sart) population; it suited the ideological requirements of Soviet historiography to downplay the significance of Jadid schooling. There simply has been insufficient scholarship done after 1991 to attempt to clarify the picture.

goes farther, earlier, than any other work in Kirghiz in articulating an ethnonational concept of the Kirghiz people, distinguishing the Kirghiz historically (with a nod to genealogy), linguistically, territorially, and in the person of a preeminent figurehead, Šabdan Baatır.[40]

Theories of nationalism that emphasize print culture and industrialization as preconditions may be stretched by the case of the Šabdan Baatır Codex, which came into existence without the benefit of either.[41] Similarly, if a form of national discourse can originate outside what are normally viewed as the "modernist" bastions of western-educated cultural elites, among liminally oral-cum-literate cultural promoters of a rich and powerful social elite that has little practical interest in establishing political autonomy, then the normal definition of the "intellectual" origins of national discourse also needs modification. Daniele Conversi perceives what is actually required to get a national conversation started in this way:

> 'Intellectuals' should not necessarily be understood as individuals belonging to a particular class and sharing a specific high culture. [...] Nationalist 'intellectuals' must be literate, but barely so: there is no need for particular *finesse* or sophistication. What matters is their capacity to express and combine a credible national identity. This includes an ability, not simply to speak the language of their core constituencies, but to interpret and re-live their ancestral myths.[42]

On the strength of the evidence of the Šabdan Baatır Codex and the network of genres that we have seen transmitting Kirghiz concepts of the past in a continuum of oral and written traditions, Conversi's negative formulation of

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[40] The Šabdan Baatır Codex's one potential rival in age is *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, which Belek Soltonoyev began researching in 1895; but he did not finish writing it until 1934 (Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 6 [the facsimile of the ms. title page], 19). Scholars have not yet undertaken the task of analyzing the influence of Soviet concepts of ethno-national identity and history on the finished work in the various textual layers apparent in the surviving copy. Soltonoyev was a champion of the poor, a sympathizer with the Bolshevik cause, and a staunch opponent of the Kirghiz manaps; this means that his source or sources of patronage, whatever they may have been, were quite different from those of the poets of the Šabdan Baatır Codex.

By the time Soltonoyev finished writing *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı* in the early Soviet era, it was no longer possible for any Kirghiz author to dedicate his work to a manap such as Šabdan, had there been any desire to do so; the manaps as a class had been eliminated, and it was not safe to praise or support them. On the campaign to eliminate the manaps see Burov-Petrov, *Na bor'bu*; Kushner, *Gornaia Kirgiziia*; Pogorel'skii and Batrakov, *Ėkonomika kochevogo aula Kirgizstana*.

[41] A. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*; Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*.

[42] Conversi, "Mapping the Field," p. 22.

the minimal traits of a "national" intellectual ("literate, but barely so"; lacking "sophistication") should be rephrased: such an actor (a) is literate, but not necessarily to the exclusion of profound knowledge of oral tradition; and (b) may be relatively unaffected by, and even aloof to, the "progressive" educational offerings of a colonial metropole or a reformist religious-scholastic movement.

The matter of discerning "national" features in the poems of the Šabdan Baatır Codex has two uses. At the local level, the poems analyzed here deserve to be taken into account in research on the intellectual currents that formed the background of what eventually became the post-1917 Soviet Central Asian nationalities,[43] research which in any event should include, for the Kirghiz, similarly fine-grained studies of the works of Belek Soltonoyev and ʿUthmān ʿAlī Ṣidiq ūġlī. More broadly, the Šabdan Baatır Codex constitutes evidence of the existence of a realm of elite socio-political discourse to which national ideology may, in certain cases, have to adapt itself, and from which it may in fact arise. As an example of this, Munkh-Erdene Lhamsuren sees the origins of the Mongolian national struggle in a top-down manner, as the work of nobles who, as putative descendants of Činggis Khan, generalized their own political interests into an abstract kinship among the Mongol people. Showing how these elite actors turned one of Benedict Anderson's phrases on its head, Munkh-Erdene says:

> With the Chinggisid nobility and religious hierarchy's monopolisation of the early national struggle, their ideology and concepts shifted downward to the commoners, covering and embracing them just as 'kingship organizes everything around a high centre'[44] [...] the terms and concepts of the Chinggisid lineage had become the lexical and conceptual underlying model and archetype underlying the Mongolian nationality conceptual lexicon [...] The Mongolian nobility presented at least a putative descent community that came down from time immemorial, a primordial community.[45]

In this passage Munkh-Erdene happens to be describing the situation in Mongolia around the same time as the Šabdan Baatır Codex was composed;

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[43] Haugen, *Establishment of National Republics*; Abashin, *Natsionalizmy v Srednei Azii*; for the Kirghiz: Koichuev, *U istokov kyrgyzskoi gosudarstvennosti*; for the Türkmens: Edgar, *Tribal Nation*; for the Qazaqs: Sabol, *Russian Colonization*; for the Özbeks: Khalid, "Emergence of Historical Consciousness"; Khalid, "Nation into History"; for the Soviet Union as a whole: Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*.

[44] Munkh-Erdene cites the source of the quotation: Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991), p. 19.

[45] Munkh-Erdene, "Mongolian Nationality Lexicon," p. 91; cf. Atwood, "National Questions."

the similarities are noteworthy. The latter work shows how the social stature of the Kirghiz manap Šabdan—neither a Činggisid prince nor a religious hierarch, but nevertheless a figure advantageously positioned with respect to his promoters' concept of a "primordial community"—attracted to himself by virtue of his position a new expression of Kirghiz national self-identification.

Yet the manaps were non-Činggisid; their socio-political authority was based on multiple accounts of genealogical origins rather than on descent from a single political founder. Šabdan's promoters (especially the author of *The Poem of Saint Sančı*) could attempt to portray his Tınay Sarıbağıš lineage as paramount among the Kirghiz—and Šabdan's high status among the Kirghiz made the argument easier—but there were other manaps who could make claims of their own. Moreover, Šabdan died no more than three years after Musa Čağatayev wrote the core poems of the Codex, and as Šabdan had predicted, no successor emerged at the head of his line. Soon, rebellion and revolution transformed Central Asians' political conversations. As James C. Scott has written in connection with "state-evading" hill tribes of Southeast Asia,

> [Origin documents] are "interested," historically positioned texts. When they are created, they may well have served as a charter for an advantageous account of a group's history. What happens when the situation changes substantially and the textual account becomes inconvenient? What if yesterday's enemies have become today's allies and vice versa? If the text is sufficiently polysemic, it can be reinterpreted to bring it into line. If not, it can be burned or abandoned [...] It is easy to see that, over time, a fixed account can become as much of a trap and impediment as an instrument of successful diplomacy.[46]

There was no time for the message of the Codex to develop toward maturity; in any event, the Kirghiz never experienced a process by which the new national conception expressed in the Codex "shifted downward to the commoners, covering them and embracing them," as Munkh-Erdene maintains the ideology of the Činggisid nobles did in Mongolia. The Codex is the document of an intellectual attempt, not its effect. In any event, the fate of such documents need not be as final as Scott supposes above: rather than being burned or abandoned, they may simply be archived and ignored.

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[46] Scott, *Art of Not Being Governed*, p. 228.

Conclusion and Departure

The Šabdan Baatır Codex claims the attention of scholars by its illuminating position in a living network of oral and written genres that encompassed epic poetry and genealogy, panegyric and steppe oral historiography; that echoed oral composition-in-performance and aspired to print publishing. Befitting its modern situation, the Codex's fresh articulation of a concept of Kirghiz self-identification may with justification be described as incipiently national. The relationship between ideas and personal power to which the Codex owes its existence—its patronage—is knowable to an extent, limited as it is, that places the source in sparse company. Long narrative sources from the Kirghiz, and among Central Asian pastoral peoples as a whole, during the Tsarist colonial era do not usually afford us such detailed knowledge of their patronage. With a patron who was not only alive at the time of writing in 1909–1910 but also the subject, in his younger days, of heroic versification during the life span of an ethnographically observed tradition of oral heroic epic poetry, the Codex bridges the interval, so often theorized and glossed over in cultural histories worldwide, between a supposedly archaic state of oral epic tradition and the "afterlife" of epics in modern ethno-nationalist projects. The person responsible for the bulk of this work, Musa Čaġatayev, was apparently not a product of "print-capitalism"[47] or an "ethnopolitical entrepreneur"[48] any more than he was an epic bard; he was a writer dependent upon a powerful Kirghiz aristocrat, and seems to have absorbed something from the ethno-political discussions then going on among neighboring Qazaq literati. The anonymous author or compiler who left his mark in a genealogically-inspired poem at the end of the Codex stuck very close to Čaġatayev's expressed ideas. If the obviously composite, somewhat ungainly structure of the Codex betrays a shortage of resources, or a shallow fund of precedents, or unfulfilled intellectual ambitions, it is not for lack of things with which the Codex can and should be compared. The Codex demands attention by the variety of ways in which we see its authors at work with their materials.

Musa Čaġatayev began his work seemingly with such dispatch that he left off the title of the first long narrative poem. I have called it *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*, but the omission of the title is quite telling, since tradition dictated that the poem should be named after the first hero mentioned in

[47] Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991), pp. 37–46.
[48] Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups*, p. 10.

it. That person was Bayake, not Šabdan; as I have endeavored to show in the analysis above, Čaġatayev was at considerable pains to rework an earlier narrative that had more of a focus on Bayake into a suitable vehicle of praise for his patron, Šabdan. Launching into an "editorializing" mode after the conclusion of the raid narrative, in his Inface Čaġatayev emphasized that the point of what preceded was not simply to praise his patron (though for good measure he pitched his praise in the highest terms, comparing Šabdan favorably with Manas); the point was that the Kirghiz should celebrate the deeds of their own heroes, and they were in danger of forgetting them unless they paid attention to stories such as these. In his next narrative poem, about the Kirghiz' repulse and defeat of Sultan Kenesarı, Čaġatayev could not praise Šabdan directly, because the latter had been too young to take part in the fighting. Šabdan's father, Jantay, and his Tınay Sarıbaġıš kinsmen were in the forefront of the action, and Jantay comes in for his share of praise. But the events involved many Kirghiz fighters (mainly Sarıbaġıš and Solto) and were still well-known to Kirghiz in the first decade of the twentieth century, so Čaġatayev could not take many liberties with the identities of the main personnel. In this poem Čaġatayev pitched his praise generally among the Kirghiz, at the explicit expense of the sultans and the Qazaq army they led. In his Postface, Čaġatayev left his readers with more starkly discriminating language about the relative worth of the Kirghiz. These four poems amount to a mirror, into which Šabdan could look and see the Kirghiz, and into which the Kirghiz could look and see Šabdan and his lineage. A later author perceived the duality of vision in the text, and appended one last poem, a meditation on legendary prognostications of the greatness of Kirghiz ancestors. The ancestors mentioned, however, were not all members of the Tınay Sarıbaġıš, though some of the later ones were. Yet again there is a sense that the crowning formulation, a succinct, ineluctable statement linking the patron Šabdan with a new, ethno-national conception of the Kirghiz, remained just out of reach.

More like historians sorting through unharmonious sources than the view of epic poets as conjurers in full control of a timeless restaging of the past, the two authors of the five poems in the Codex made do with materials that in the end did not give up all their stubborn concreteness. Here, then, for those who wish for it, is a look inside the workshop of steppe oral historiography. The experimental cultural vehicle constructed in this shop, the Codex, did not reach its destination, but ended up, like others, abandoned by the side of the twisting ideological road by which the northern Kirghiz exited their Šabdanian (Tsarist) era and entered the Soviet.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

AUTHORSHIP, DATE, PATRONAGE, AND COPYING OF THE CODEX

The pieces of information bearing on the authorship, date, and other essential facts about the Codex are listed below by letter, and the conclusions issuing from these facts are numbered.

A. The author Musa (Küntuuġan) names himself in poems I, II, and IV. His patronymic surname Čaġatayev is not found anywhere in the original manuscript; it appears only in two later notations in the Codex in Soviet-era Kirghiz. These notations also indicate an approximate date of at least part of the Codex. In the presumed chronological order of their appearance, the notations are as follows:

B. On the inside front cover, a piece of paper has been pasted in that bears the inscription in Latin-script Kirghiz:[1] *1909–1910- jılı Musa Čaġatayev jazġan* 'Musa Čaġatayev wrote this in 1909–1910'.

C. The last page in the Codex (f. 53^{v}) bears the inscription in Cyrillic-script Kirghiz:[2] *Qırġız batırları degen poemanı 1909–1910- jılı Musa Čaġatayev Šabdanġa arnap jazġan* 'Musa Čaġatayev wrote and dedicated the poem called "Kirghiz Heroes" to Šabdan in 1909–1910'. It should be noted that there is no single "poem called 'Kirghiz Heroes'," nor does that title correspond to any headings in the manuscript. (We can infer from the known dates of promulgation of the alphabets used that notation B could have appeared no less than 18 years, and notation C no less than 31 years, after the purported date of composition.)

There is an additional notation, written in the same hand as C and probably at the same time:

D. On f. 50^{r}, in the empty space beneath the last lines of *The Story of Kenesarı*, an inscription has been added in Cyrillic Kirghiz:

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[1] The particular orthographic variant used in this inscription was in official use from 1928 to 1941 in the Kirgiz A.S.S.R./S.S.R.

[2] Kirghiz has been officially written in Cyrillic since 1941.

Belek Soltonoyevdın
qolu: Miftaxov 1/IV-47 j.

The note evidently means that Miftaxov examined the manuscript on 1 April 1947 and identified its handwriting as that of Belek Soltonoyev. Qayum (Abdıqayım) Miftaqov (Miftaxov) was a colleague of Belek Sotonoyev, the Kirghiz scholar who finished his [*Qızıl*] *qırğız tarıxı* 'History of the [Red] Kirghiz' in 1934, and who died in 1938.[3] It has proved difficult to find other, known samples of Soltonoyev's Arabic hand to compare with the handwriting of poems I–IV in the Codex. However, the ten or so words in Arabic handwriting on the title page of his manuscript work, [*Qızıl*] *Qırğız tarıxı*, published in facsimile,[4] display clear similarities with the hand in poems I–IV, which note D purports to be Soltonoyev's. The handwriting of notes C and D in turn bears strong resemblance to other examples in the archives of the handwriting of Qayum Miftaqov, who knew Soltonoyev. The

[3] Miftaqov (1882–1948 or '49), a Jadid-trained Muslim scholar from the Ural region, was one of the founders of Kirghiz folkloristics in the late Tsarist and early Soviet eras (Toqombayeva, *Qayum Miftaqov*; Sarıpbekov et al., *Manas: Enciklopediya*, vol. 2, p. 108). On the relationship between Miftaqov and Soltonoyev, see Prior, *Twilight Age*, pp. 188–191.

Belek Soltonoyev was born in Čoŋ Kemin into a poor family of the Ayuke lineage, which was subordinate to the Tınay manap Šabdan. In 1894–1895 he studied in the Russian-run Pišpek horticultural school. Later he worked as a scribe for the head of Atake *volost* (*volostnoi upravitel'*), where the interest he took in the petitions and complaints of the common people has been noted. He was accused by the Tsarist authorities of organizing and inciting mass violence against Russians during the 1916 Turkistan Rebellion, was among the many thousands of Kirghiz who fled the Russian crackdown after the 1916 Turkistan Rebellion, returned after the 1917 Revolution, and worked on the repatriation of refugees from China (Abdyldabek kyzy, *Shabdan Baatyr*, pp. 187, 198, 199, 206). He was also an active participant in the establishment of Soviet power in Kirgizia, and later worked in the educational and scientific organs of the fledgling Soviet government. During his youth he read Russian and Islamic scholarship and in 1895 began to collect from these sources as well as from local cognoscenti varied materials on Kirghiz genealogy, history, and culture. On the basis of this research he compiled his sprawling work, the first major contribution to modern scholarship in Kirghiz, [*Qızıl*] *Qırğız tarıxı* 'The History of the [Red, i.e. Bolshevik] Kirghiz', which he completed in 1934 (on theories concerning the placement of the modifier *Qızıl* at the beginning of the title see A.Č. Kakeev's epilogue to Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, p. 439). The strongly anti-manap and pro-Soviet views found in the work were not sufficient to offset the implicit validation of the Kirghiz "tribal" system reflected in great detail on nearly every page; such preoccupations with old ways proved dangerous to many people during the Great Purge. Soltonoyev was arrested and executed on false charges, of which he was later cleared and rehabilitated after Stalin's death. On Soltonoyev and his work see ibid, pp. 7–9, 19–20; Bedel'baev, "B. Soltonoev"; Urstanbekov and Čoroyev, *Qırğız tarıxı*, p. 161; Stamov, "Daanıšman tarıxčı."

[4] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırğız tarıxı*, p. 7. The manuscript is considered to be the author's autograph.

Arabic-script handwriting of poems I–IV is uniform (with the exception of the brief intrusions of Hands 2 and 3; see below).

E. A title label was affixed later onto the front cover of the Codex, in Cyrillic-script Kirghiz in a hand other than Miftaqov's, which identifies the two main poems contained within as *Šabdan jomaġı* 'The Epic of Šabdan' and *Kenensarı qısası* 'The Story of Kenesarı', and their author as Musa Čaġatayev.

From facts A–E come the following preliminary conclusions:

(1) Musa Čaġatayev, the author,
(2) wrote the poems (the question of which poems will be discussed further below) in honor of Šabdan (d. 1912)
(3) in 1909–1910;
(4) Belek Soltonoyev later copied poems I–IV to produce the bulk of the manuscript that survives today.

The identity and connections of the author are discernible from a few bits of information, some of them found outside the Codex:

F. In the final line of poem I, by way of "signature," the author names himself *Küntuuġandın Musası* 'Musa descended from Küntuuġan', which identifies him with the lineage of Küntuuġan. Bayake, the baatır who figures prominently in poem I, also came from this lineage, and joined the Tınay as a retainer of Šabdan's father Jantay.[5]
G. In his historical work, Soltonoyev mentions a man named Čaġatay Küntuuġan uulu who was alive in the Ču valley in 1898.[6]
H. Abramzon mentions an "Akhmat Chagataev, nephew of Baiake Kuntuganov" among individuals of the manap "class" associated with the descendants of Šabdan.[7]

From these facts it can be concluded that:

(5) Musa Čaġatayev was a member of Šabdan's privileged circle and a relative, possibly a paternal nephew, of Šabdan's retainer Bayake.

Musa Čaġatayev is not the "author" of each of the poems I–IV in the same sense. Basic discourse analysis of a selection of lexical items reveals some significant differences among the four poems:

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[5] See pp. 257–258, above.
[6] Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 281–282.
[7] Abramzon, "Sovremennoe manapstvo" (published 1931), p. 55.

J. The only personage to make substantial appearances in both narrative poems I and III, Jantay, is referred to differently in the two poems. In poem I he is *Qan Jantay* 12 times[8] and *Jantay Baatır* twice;[9] in poem III he is simply *Jantay* three times[10] and *Jantay Baatır* once.[11]

K. The modifier *tegiz* 'all, completely; even' is frequently used in poem I (in 19 out of 1,637 lines, or 1.16%), particularly in the phrase *baarı tegiz* 'all alike',[12] and occurs once in the 89 lines of poems II and IV together (1.12%);[13] in the 304 lines of poem III, however, the word does not occur at all.

L. The word *nayza* 'lance' naturally occurs in poems I and III since they are both concerned with lance combat, but none of the lines with *nayza* in poem I is found verbatim in poem III, even though some of the lines in poem I are clearly formulaic and repeated verbatim within the poem, such as *nayzaları qolunda* 'their lances in their hands'.[14]

M. There are frequent mentions of the Deity in poem I under a number of synonymous names. Even disregarding a prayer uttered by Jantay that makes frequent adversions to God, the Prophet Muḥammad, and other numinous beings (lines I.248–273), in poem I we find 18 instances of *Alda* 'Allah',[15] 19 of *Quday*/*Xuday* 'God',[16] and five of *Jaratqan* 'the Creator'.[17] In poem III, on the other hand, the references to the Deity amount to only two mentions of *Quday*.[18]

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[8] I.157, 165, 213, 237, 241, 243, 274, 352, 356, 440, 1582, 1613.

[9] I. 657, 1619.

[10] III.48, 172, 188.

[11] III. 277. The difference could possibly reflect changes in Jantay's rank and titles between 1846 and 1864.

[12] I.55 *baarısın tegiz čaqırdı*; 130 *baarı tegiz kelišip*; 154 *baarı tegiz kelišti*; 187 *baarıŋ tegiz aman bol*; 317 *baarın tegiz bıšırtıp*; 326 *baarın tegiz toydurup*; 330 *baarına tegiz jaratıp*; 342 *baarın tegiz büktöšüp*; 354 *tegiz atqa minišip*; 445 *kiyimin tegiz kiyindi*; 568 *baarı tegiz uqsun dep*; 625 *baarın tegiz körüštü*; 627 *baarın tegiz qırıštı*; 641 *baarı tegiz toyuptur*; 749 *baarı tegiz sanalı*; 842 *baarı tegiz bay eken*; 1160 *baarı tegiz čaldı ele*; 1172 *baarı tegiz šay eken*; 1543 *Jıldız degen tegiz say*.

[13] II.20 *baarın tegiz yazamın*.

[14] I.54 *nayzakerden köyqašqa*; 366 *nayzaları qolunda*; 373 *nayzaları qolunda*; 891 *nayza menen qulatıp*; 1076 *nayza tiyip öpkögö*; 1211 *üč qulačtay sır nayza*; 1254 *üzülüp tüštü nayzası*; 1343 *qolundaġı sır nayza*; 1367 *nayza alıp Dörbööl Qan*; 1378 *nayzaları mayıšıp*; 1382 *nayzanın uču tayıšıp*; 1388 *nayzanı mıqtap qarmadı*; 1425 *nayza tiyip öpkögö*; III.125 *etine nayza tiybegen*; 216 *nayza qılıp qanıŋdı*; 219 *čürökkö nayza sayıldı*; 278 *nayzaların qandaġan*.

[15] I.41, 345, 383, 633, 643, 774, 833, 885, 1046, 1111, 1124, 1181, 1242, 1297, 1299, 1326, 1389, 1621.

[16] I. 175, 203, 211, 219, 297, 381, 479, 534, 1026, 1073, 1114, 1141, 1142, 1221, 1330, 1372, 1511, 1530, 1546.

[17] I.242, 1121, 1181, 1297, 1299.

[18] III.58, 83. This could reflect the difference in subject matter between the two poems,

N. There are 11 occurrences of six discrete Russian loanwords in poem I, and an instance of another Russian word in poem IV; all these lexical borrowings date very probably from the era of intensified contact between the Kirghiz and Russians beginning in the 1840s.[19] The sole instance of a Russian loanword in poem III is *mıltıq* 'musket' (< *vintovka*), a very old borrowing into steppe Turkic from whence it probably became fully naturalized in Kirghiz long before their encounter with the Russians. Thus only poems I and IV reflect contact between the Kirghiz and Russian languages in the Tsarist era.

To summarize items J–N: with respect to several basic lexical and phraseological indicators, poem I differs markedly from poem III, and poems II and IV are somewhat similar to poem I. Furthermore:

O. The end of poem I runs into the beginning of poem II on the same page without a break. Poem III (the only one of poems I–IV with a title) begins at the top of a new page, and its end runs into the beginning of poem IV without an announced break, though the division between poems III and IV coincides with a page boundary. Thus there is a significant "pause" in composition between poems II and III, and a less prominent "pause" between poems III and IV.

From the combination of facts A, J–O we may draw the following conclusions:

(6) Musa Čaġatayev composed and wrote down poem I,[20] continuing after its conclusion by composing poem II. Then he wrote down poem III from a different source (now lost), and finished by composing and writing down poem IV after the end of poem III.

P. There are three hands seen in poems I–IV: Hand 2 is restricted to 103 lines of continuous text in poem I, and Hand 3 is restricted to 68 lines of continuous text late in poem III.[21] From items D and P we may conclude:

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since poem I explicitly concerns religiously-justified hostilities against Infidels and poem III is about a battle between two nominally Muslim groups; notwithstanding the poet's rhetorical attempts to portray the Qazaq nemesis in poem III as equal to an Infidel, outright aversions to the Deity in a Muslim-on-Muslim conflict could have been viewed with discomfort.

[19] *par* 'pair; equal match' (< *para*; I. 1274); *banda* 'band, party' (I. 107, 1536); *paratke* 'rank (formation)' (< *poriadok*; I.466); *samoor* 'samovar' (I. 324, 1575); *iret* 'order, rank, row' (< *riad*; I.295, 338, 812, 1306); *kontur* 'contra' (< *kontr*[-]; I.1633); *mandat* 'mandate' (IV.9).

[20] The authorship and development of poem I involves a substantial stratum of material that predated the version that appears in the Codex (see the Commentary, pp. 255–266).

[21] See p. 93 n. 4, above.

(7) Some time after Musa Čaġatayev wrote down poems I–IV, Belek Soltonoyev copied them, except for a part of poem I, which was copied by a second hand, and a part of poem III, which was copied by a third hand, after both of which interruptions Soltonoyev resumed copying in his own hand.

There is one more poem in the Codex that is distinct in several ways from the previous material:

Q. Separated from poems I–IV by the blank verso of folio 50, the 80 lines (plus the title) of poem V occupy the last three folios of the Codex (51^{r}–53^{r}) in a different hand and orthography from those seen in the foregoing material.
R. On the basis of internal evidence this poem can be dated to the Tsarist period.[22]

The combination of facts Q (poem V's physical separation and linguistic and orthographical distinctness from the preceding material), D (the positioning of Miftaqov's note attributing to Belek Soltonoyev the copying of poems I–IV), C (the positioning of Miftaqov's final notation), and R (the provisional dating of the poem) lead to the conclusion that:

(8) Poem V, composed by an unknown author sometime near the end of Šabdan's life or possibly after, was added to the manuscript by a different scribe after Belek Soltonoyev wrote out poems I–IV, and before Qayum Miftaqov added his notation on the last leaf.

On the basis of conclusions 1–8 the scenario of the creation of the Šabdan Baatır Codex can be summarized thus: Musa Čaġatayev, an adherent of the manap Šabdan Baatır through his kinship with Šabdan's retainer Bayake Küntuuġan uulu, was the "last poet" in the composition of the oral-derived poems I–IV. He composed and wrote down poems I and II, then added poem III by adapting or copying it from a source now lost, and finished by composing poem IV as a conclusion. Čaġatayev's work dates approximately to 1909–1910, and was dedicated to Šabdan Baatır, who at age 70 was then approaching the end of his life. Some time later, before his death in 1938, Belek Soltonoyev copied out poems I–IV in his own hand, deferring to two other scribes for only brief stretches of poems I and III. Poem V, composed by an unknown author, was added to the manuscript (whether copied or

[22] See notes to lines V.61–69, 70.

composed directly onto the pages is unknown) by a fourth scribe at a later time, but before 1949, the year of the death of Qayum Miftaqov, whose handwritten note appears on the last page of the manuscript (C, above).[23]

[23] It would be a potentially attractive theory that Miftaqov was responsible for writing down poem V in 1947, since it is bracketed by Miftaqov's two Cyrillic notations, one of which is dated 1947. However, the handwriting of poem V does not resemble known samples of Miftaqov's Arabic penmanship.

APPENDIX B

QALIĠUL *Q* ON KENESARI'S INCURSION OF 1846

[Qalıġul Alıbek uulu[1] is credited by name with two narrative accounts of the hostilities between Qazaq forces led by Sultan Kenesarı and the northern Kirghiz, which were later published. The two narratives, one in Kirghiz and one in Russian, are here designated *Q* and *R*. Belek Soltonoyev recorded *Q* from Qalıġul's oral narration during an interview in 1895. Soltonoyev's manuscript was published in 1993 and 2003; the translation below was made from the 2003 edition.[2] According to Esenqul Töröqan uulu, the sanjıra compiler and a native of Burana village in the Ču valley, Qalıġul was born in Burana in 1806 and died in 1899 (Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 115). On Qalıġul see also Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 318–320, 327–328 (his involvement in the events of 1847); Stepniak, *Materialy*, pp. 11–12 (ditto) and the portion translated in Appendix C, below; Töröqan uulu, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 106–115 (with significant borrowing from the text translated below).]

"The Battle between Kene Khan, Descendant[3] of Ablay Khan, and the Kirghiz in 1846 (the Year of the Horse)"

For a number of years before Kenesarı appeared, his father Qasım had advocated making peace [between the Qazaqs and Kirghiz]. As soon as Ormon gained prominence, Qasım sent a man to him with the message that they should be reconciled.[4] Ormon consulted with the elders and decided that they could scarcely expect good relations with Qasım, since his ancestor Ablay had done them no good. So they entertained the guest with the

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[1] Qalıġul Alıbek uulu is not to be confused with the famous orator, sage, and wit, *Oluya* ['Saint'] Qalıġul Bay uulu (1785–1855).

[2] Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 312–320.

[3] *uulu*, lit. 'son of': Kenesarı was Qasım's son and Ablay's paternal grandson.

[4] Qasım was an early leader in the disturbances that became centered around his son Kenesarı (Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*). This embassy would have occurred a few years before Ormon took the title Khan, the traditional date of which happens to be a year or two after Qasım's death, which occurred in September 1840 according to a Russian report (ibid., p. 159).

required courtesy and sent him away. After this, Qasım took his army and advanced on the Kirghiz, but turned back halfway without reaching them. In one report Qasım withdrew when an enemy force of Özbeks [Qoqandians] set out to make war on him. When the Qazaqs [in that region] began to submit to Russia, besides the *töre* in Western Siberia the following Qazaq commoners also submitted: Ezilqara of the Atıġay, Türlübek of the Kerey, Musa of the Qarjaġas, Ïbıray of the Qıpčaq, and Qojoġul of the Atıġay and Baġıš.[5] These stood in submission to the Tsar and were truly content. Also subject to the Tsar were the people called "Qaraul" among the Arġın who belong to the Kökčetau, a region that led public opinion. These did not really love the Tsar, and when Kene Khan had surmised as much he sent a man to the Qaraul to persuade them to defy Russia. With that, Bögönbay, Amaldıq, Kenjebay, Arlan, Šamay son of Čaapkel, Boobek, Moldo, Elüübay, and Köböö—well-known baatırs who led the Qaraul—heeded Kenesarı, and in addition, Baltabek and Čoloqot from the Qojom tribe[6] went along. After these men had joined Kenesarı, his army attacked the Dulat people[7] and forced them to submit, along with a number of other peoples. While the people of the Qaraul were migrating toward Kenesarı, a few of their camps broke up. Then when Kenesarı was moving toward the Kirghiz, the herds suffered from lack of grass, and the Qaraul turned around and led a number of Qazaqs back.

Between 1840 and 1845 Kenesarı came to the mountains called Qızıltalqan on the lower Ču river, where the Qazaqs border on the Ala-too

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[5] The history of the independent submission of Qazaq "black bone" leaders to the Russian Tsar is less well known than that of the Činggisid *töre*. The tribes named here are all components of the Qazaq Middle Horde or subdivisions thereof; on documentation of the precise makeup of Kenesarı's forces see Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, pp. 170–173, 179–180. Atıġay and Qaraul: subdivisions of the Momın branch of the Arġın, a main division of the Middle Horde (Vostrov and Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav kazakhov*, pp. 70, 72; Aristov, "Zametki ob ėtnicheskom sostave," p. 182). Kerey and Qıpčaq: two of the main divisions of the Middle Horde (Vostrov and Mukanov, op. cit., pp. 57–61, 72–75). Qarjaġas: Qarjas/Qaržas is meant, a subdivision of the Arġın (Aristov, op. cit., pp. 182–183, in part citing an article in *Russkii invalid* 1857 by Chokan Valikhanov: see his *Sobranie sochinenii*, vol. 2, pp. 308–309, 384). Baġıš: named along with Atıġay in a list of coordinate groups under the Momın (Momun) branch of the Arġın; the Baġıš according to Aristov originated as captives from the Kirghiz group of the same name (Aristov, op. cit., pp. 182–184). It is not clear why Qojoġul should submit on behalf of two groups; it is possible that Soltonoyev, the author of this passage, was implying that the Baġıš were a subdivision of the Atıġay.

[6] Khoja lineages of putative descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad and his companions (cf. *Qojom* 'my khoja') are mentioned as components of Arġın genealogies in Aristov, "Zametki ob ėtnicheskom sostave," pp. 184–185.

[7] Dulat: a large and powerful division of the Senior Horde (Vostrov and Mukanov, *Rodoplemennoi sostav kazakhov*, pp. 36–40); geographically, Kenesarı was working his way southward, in the direction of the Kirghiz.

Kirghiz.[8] Moving against the Kirghiz, he captured Qalča son of Bürgö, of the Qušču in Talas,[9] while Qalča was directing the threshing. Kenesarı released him a few months later. In 1845 a band from Ablay's [Kenesarı's] army fought with the Jayıl division (*uruq*) of the Solto Kirghiz, but they could not gain victory and withdrew.[10] Kenesarı secretly sent out his spy (*sınčı*), dressing him in rags as a poor man, and ordered him to go and find out what kind of people the Kirghiz were, who their baatırs were, who was spirited in battle, and to take the measure of these foreigners and return to him. The spy made the rounds among the Kirghiz, pretending to have come from the Qazaqs along the Ili river. Passing by Issyk Kul he stopped at Ormon's and rated him a man who took after the great (*jalduu*) Baraq Khan.[11] Appraising Jaŋġarač, he pronounced him equally endowed with heroism, courtly bearing, and intellect. Making observations as he ranged among the Bölökbay, Tınay, and Čerikči divisions (*uruq*),[12] he concluded: "They are a people with their saddles firmly on their horses and their rumps firmly in their saddles, in short, plainly-appareled wolves of battle who think of nothing but war and would not let an enemy get away alive once engaged." When he said this to Kenesarı, the khan asked, "Why are you telling me this?"[13] and killed him at once.[14]

In the early springtime of 1846, Kenesarı decided to send a man to the Kirghiz to tell them to unite with him, or he would subjugate them by force.

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[8] According to the chronological account developed in the Introduction, the incursions against the Qušču and Solto mentioned in this paragraph probably could not have taken place before 1846, as it is highly unlikely that Kenesarı had any direct contacts with Kirghiz in their own territory before then; see pp. 75–76, above.

[9] On Bürgö of the Qušču see Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 411, 423.

[10] This is a curious sentence: the error *Abılay* for Kenesarı is fortuitous, since Ablay did fight a battle against the Solto and Sayaq under Jayıl Baatır, which was a disastrous defeat for the Kirghiz—Jayıl lost his life (Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 78).

[11] According to Valikhanov ("Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 78) and Soltonoyev (*Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 217) Baraq (sultan there, not khan) had the styles *Kökjal* and *Jalduu*, from which it is safe to identify the *jalduu* Baraq named here as the Middle Horde sultan and khan, the contemporary of Ablay (Erofeeva gives his death date as 1750: I. Andreev, *Opisanie Srednei ordy*, p. 259) rather than any of the Činggisids of remoter ascent. Cf. also Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 183–186; pp. 34–35, above.

[12] Bölökbay is a division of the Solto; Tınay and Čerikči are divisions of the Sarıbaġıš. On the Čerikči see Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav"; Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, pp. 211–218; Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," pp. 44, 87.

[13] Soltonoyev, the author of the text, quoted Qazaq speech in a way that mimicked its differences from Kirghiz; the translation does not preserve this.

[14] In Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (pp. 415–417), a figure named Böltürük Čečen 'the Wise' warns Kenesarı of the Kirghiz' fierceness and valor, and is rebuked, but not killed, by one of Kenesarı's courtiers.

So he came with all his people and alighted at Qayqa-taš on the Qalġutı river on the north side of the Ču,[15] and sent an envoy to the Kirghiz feudal lords[16] Jaŋġarač,[17] Jantay, Tınaalı, and Törökeldi. The envoy said to them: "The Russians are a numerous people who crush enemies that oppose them. They have become like a rising flood, crossing the Idil (Volga) and Yayıq (Ural) rivers and the Ural mountains, taking over the innumerably teeming Qazaqs of the Sarı-arqa, advancing beyond the Irtysh and approaching the Ili. They are galloping at top speed toward the Ala-too, the Ili, and the Ču in the Sarı-arqa. Their divisions are the toughest and their soldiers are exceedingly numerous. From the beginning, in foreign and military affairs, we Kirghiz and Qazaqs have for the most part shared equally in our blessings, good and bad, and in our prosperity; we are a mingled people, in a material as well as a spiritual sense. Let us prepare to make war together. If we Qazaqs and Kirghiz unite, then Tashkent, Qoqand, and Samarqand will not be able to avoid our power for long. I am the khan's envoy and have given you his command. If you do not unite with us, a large force will come. That is what Kenen Khan sent me to tell you." When he had finished, the Kirghiz sent the envoy away saying they would convene a general council before giving their answer. In council the Kirghiz concluded, "Although in any event we have faced our friends and enemies together with the Qazaqs, we still have not become one people mingled in our weal and woe. Come what may, let's remain at peace." Then they put a tiger skin on a dapple horse and sent Tınaalı and Bayterek son of Ükü Biy to present it to the khan. But in the evening while they were on their way, a man named Ilip from the Tököldöš lineage of the Bölökbay Kirghiz[18] went and stole from Kenen Khan nine

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[15] *Qalıġutu* in the text: the Qalġutı river is a right-hand tributary of the Ču that descends from the Ču-Ili mountains around Qurday pass (the one that Kenesarı crossed in poem III, *The Story of Kenesarı*) and empties into the Ču north of Bishkek. *Qayqa-taš*, roughly 'folded cliff', is not recorded in available sources, but is to be sought in the gorge of the Qalġutı before it issues from the mountains. (The form *Qayqa-taš* is from the 1993 edition of Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, vol. 1, p. 203; the 2003 edition translated here gives the form *Qatča Taš*.)

[16] Soltonoyev wrote his work between 1895 and 1934, and as his political views were strongly anti-manap, he adopted Russian terminology such as *feodal* here to denote chiefs.

[17] Jaŋġarač Ešqojo uulu was a leading manap of the Talqan subdivision of the Solto (Valikhanov ["Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 88] labels him a biy, not a manap, but also "the most influential" and leader of the Solto.) See also V. Ploskikh, *Kyrgyzstan–Rossiia*; Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*; Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*.

[18] Ilip is named as the biy of the Tokel'deš (Tököldöš) Solto by Valikhanov (loc. cit.); Tököldöš is a subdivision of the Bölökbay division of the Solto. This incident is similar in certain details to one narrated in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (p. 413), though with an opposite theft; see pp. 76–77 n. 26, above.

young dapple-gray mares that had not yet foaled,[19] slaughtered the fat ones, and drove the skinny ones off at once. When Kenen Khan's man arrived to make inquiries, the young boys of the Bölökbay snickered, "That's not a horse-herd of Kenen Khan's," and wouldn't answer. After the Qazaq gave up hope of tracking down the horses, he went back to his khan and told him about the mockery he had received from the Kirghiz.

Kenen Khan, who until then had been unable to find a pretext for making war on the Kirghiz, marshaled his troops and sent his encampment into the mountains along the Qalġutı river. He put Tınaalı in front as a guide,[20] and mounting up at sunset, a bit downstream on the north bank, he advanced up theČu in twilight, and surrounded an encampment of twelve yurts belonging to Qalpaq of the Tınay Kirghiz,[21] on the east bank of the Mazarluu Qara-suu river.[22] This spot is located a little to the north and east of the city of Frunze,[23] about three *čaqırım*s down from the present village of Pokrovka.[24] Tınaalı guessed that the Kirghiz of the Bölökbay, Tınay, and Čerikči divisions (*uruq*) were strongly encamped, and specially directed the Qazaq army toward them, while he joined the khan at a place near Qalpaq's camp and turned him toward it.[25] There were about 400 tents of the Kirghiz in the vicinity of the Mazarluu Qara-suu against whom the Qazaqs launched their raid.

The day before, Qalpaq had grown fearful of the Qazaqs, and his relations moved off with Ajıbek in the lead, but Qalpaq could not get away. He cast about 500 bullets with a young sharpshooting baatır of the Saruu Kirghiz

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[19] *qısır aq čaar baytal*.

[20] Tınaalı had in the meantime arrived with the gift horse.

[21] The exploits of Qalpaq in defending his camp from Kenesarı's first onslaught are also narrated in *The Story of Kenensarı* and in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (pp. 434–436). In the latter text Abdıraxmanov locates Qalpaq's camp at a spot called Jetim-qoo 'orphan's meadow' about 10 km SE of the city of Bishkek; the direction must be in error for NE.

[22] *The Story of Kenensarı* refers to this stream (as in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 435) as Mıqandın Qara-suu, or just Qara-suu.

[23] The modern city of Frunze (renamed Bishkek in 1991) is located around the site of Pišpek fortress, which was controlled at the time of these events by the Qoqandians, who had built it in 1825 (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 92).

[24] Pokrovka (today, Novopokrovka) is located 13 km east of the center of modern Bishkek. TheČu, where the mouth of the mentioned Qara-suu is located, is farther away to the north ("down") than the text says it is. A *čaqırım* is the distance a person can be heard shouting, normally reckoned at about a kilometer; theČu is 12 km north of Novopokrovka.

[25] This coheres with the mention of Kenesarı dividing his attacking force into two detachments in Kenesarin, "Sultany Kenesary i Sadyk," pp. 122–123.

named Qaratay, who had run away from Talas after killing a man. As they waited apprehensively for the Qazaqs, Qaratay said, "If the Qazaqs come and surround us, shan't we just leave the women and children and get out, instead of shooting these bullets?" But Qalpaq said, "How on earth could we run away?" As the Qazaqs bore down on Qalpaq's camp, his wife saddled up a bay racer, which Qalpaq had taken as booty from a Qazaq named Otunču, and said, "The women and children are flown like crows and magpies. There isn't a woman or child left in sight, only throngs of enemies!" At that Qalpaq took his lance and sword and thrust his feet in the stirrups. Just then Qaratay came up, not at a trot but galloping, leaning on his horse's neck, with his gun in his hand: "Hey, baatır!" he said, "Suppose Qalpaq abandons his women, children, herds and property to the enemy and runs off by himself to avoid capture! Tomorrow when the people talk about it, how can we look them in the eye? How can we face our ancestors on Judgment Day? Won't the blame fall on our necks for the women and children slaughtered by the Qazaqs?"[26] So Qalpaq got down from his horse and gathered the women and children of the camp into his own tent, and hobbled all the camels on their knees in a circle around the tent. Then he removed the cover from the door frame, and Qaratay sat shooting from the place opposite the door.

As the Qazaqs made their raid on the nearby camps, Kenen Khan had his standard planted in Qalpaq's camp. Qalpaq told his younger brother, the eighteen-year-old Mambet, to shoot the Qazaq who held the standard, but even though he shot three times he missed the standard-bearer and hit others. Just after midnight, Qalpaq's younger brother Tülööqabıl forced the Qazaqs back a little from the camp. When Tülööqabıl engaged the Qazaqs at first, 37 of his comrades died; when they re-surrounded the camp, Mambet died. Tülööqabıl shouted at Qalpaq, "Mount up! Mount up! Let's go out of the camp and face them!" but Qalpaq did not heed him and kept on shooting. Clashing with the Qazaqs a third time, Tülööqabıl ran in among them trying to set them to flight, and after getting his ear chopped off managed to shove them back and get away. After that the Qazaqs charged with their mounts en masse at the neighboring camps. As dawn approached, 28 men of rank under Qalpaq had been shot dead. After the 500 bullets he had prepared in advance ran out and Qalpaq was keeping the pressure on the Qazaqs by shooting the metal beads that the women wore down their

[26] This seems to be an argument in favor of a sort of marksman's valor: as if by making a dismounted stand with firearms one avoids the imputation of being prepared for flight on horseback.

backs,[27] they noticed how the Kirghiz fire had not stopped, and they swept in from all sides and killed him. He had bullet wounds in nineteen places. They lanced the young children and the bellies of the pregnant women, and cut the unborn babies' throats and hung them from the lattice-frames of the yurts, but they took the pretty girls and young brides and set them aside for booty. Then they tied one of Qalpaq's younger brothers, who had bullet wounds in three places, by the penis[28] with a saddle-lanyard, and killed him by yanking on his privates. At another place, apart from the camp, Subanbek[29] had hidden among the tethered lambs;[30] they tore his heart out and stuffed it in his mouth.

As full daylight dawned, Nooruzbay launched a raid on Törökeldi Baatır's camp, which lay in front of him in the place called Kürköŋdöy, with 300 Tölengit jigits from Ablay Khan's picked force known as the *aq iyin*.[31] Törökeldi resolved to keep the enemy from approaching, or in any event to be mounted before they arrived. As he was heading out to the steppe with one man beside him, suddenly he ran into nine men coming in the Qazaqs' vanguard, who surrounded him. Törökeldi hit one Qazaq with his lance, but it tore at his waist without knocking him down. As three Qazaqs were trying in vain to unseat Törökeldi from all three directions, a great number of men of the Čerikči, who were just then sneaking up, galloped in and pried the Qazaqs off of Törökeldi. Then the Qazaqs who were following engaged and fought them. The Čerikči led by Törökeldi exchanged a hail of blows with 100 Qazaqs (180 by one account), who soon turned and ran off.

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[27] *kök monču̇oq*, probably lit., 'steel beads' in the text; cf. the *monču̇oq* 'beads' mentioned by Abdıraxmanov at this point in the narration of "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası" (p. 436). On the many forms of metal ornaments that Kirghiz women and girls traditionally wore at the ends of their tresses, see Antipina, *Osobennosti material'noi kul'tury*, pp. 259–261; and Ivanov and Makhova, "Khudozhestvennaia obrabotka metalla," pp. 111–112, both with illustrations suggesting the availability of beads that could be used as small shot.

[28] *zeker* 'penis' (< Persian *z̲akar*), not recorded in Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russki slovar'*; cf. Jarring, *Eastern Turki–English Dialect Dictionary*, p. 335.

[29] On Subanbek see note to line I.1328 and cf. Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., pp. 422, 437–439.

[30] The lamb-tethers, *kögön*, were located inside a specially prepared, closely covered nursery yurt during the season immediately after lambing, in March and April (Abramzon *Kirgizy*, pp. 76–77); hence it was not the lambs that Subanbek was hiding behind, but the enclosure of the yurt. Cf. lines III.265, 289 and note. On Subanbek's role in this engagement cf. Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., pp. 422, 437–439.

[31] The Tölengits were descendants of Oirat captives in the service of the Qazaq Činggisids; Kirghiz *aq iyin*, lit. 'white shoulder', is the name of a hunting eagle (Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*, s.v. *iyin*).

Meanwhile, as Šerboto[32] was fighting hand-to-hand in the steppe he found himself amidst ten Qazaqs. As they struck at him with battle axes and lances, he hung his hand through a ring on the bridle of his skewbald horse and took shelter amid its four legs. Saying, "This horse has the blessing of that one there [Törökeldi] himself and his arbaq too, and I won't give it up even if I die!" he was fighting for his life, darting back and forth under the horse and refusing to let go, and the Qazaqs were hacking off his fingers with swords, when some of the Čerikči who were fighting saw him and broke away [to help him].

The Čerikči under Törökeldi were rushing Nooruzbay's standard en masse when some of the Solto whom Erjan Törö had come to face drove Erjan in toward the standard. [Some Qazaqs] were boasting that they had successfully surprised and routed the encampments on the steppe and all their inhabitants, who were getting their ears chopped off as they tried to escape. But the massed young men of the Solto and Sarıbağıš heard this, and saw Tülööqabıl, and heard so many of their comrades under Qalpaq howling as they had their moustaches and beards pulled out and met their death, that they could stand for it no more: they spurred their horses toward the standard that had been planted in Qalpaq's camp. The Qazaqs were furling the standard and withdrawing from the camp just as the Kirghiz clashed with them; leaving their lances behind, the two sides fought with swords, battle axes and maces. As the battle went on [elsewhere], Nooruzbay set Törökeldi to flight with his lance, but Törökeldi [turned and] charged Nooruzbay once more with his lance and landed a piercing blow on the Qazaq. The Qazaqs and Kirghiz were fighting along the Qara-suu, jumping with their horses as if the river were no more than an irrigation ditch. Then a drizzling fog descended, and the Qazaqs all got away; the Kirghiz did not give chase because of the fog.

The Kirghiz had outnumbered the Qazaqs in this battle, with some three thousand men taking part, mostly Solto. Among Qalpaq's relations who fought in the battle was Ormonbek. As he was coming home all awash in blood, he saw his elder brother Subanbek lying dead among the tethered lambs, and, without taking any food, took Taštanbek's damask blade (*bolot*) in his hand, once again mounted his horse Nayza-qızıl,[33] and picked up the

[32] The flow of the narrative suggests that Šerboto was the "one man" whom Törökeldi had beside him when he advanced on the Qazaqs.

[33] Ormonbek rides the same horse in Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," pp. 437–438.

trail of the Qazaqs' mass retreat in the fog. As Ormonbek made his way together with Jolčubay, they passed by a number of Qazaqs without turning back, and finally caught up with Kene Khan in the gorge of the Ïrġaytı river (the foot of the mountain slope on the north side of Čų[34]). Ormonbek called out, "If you're a commoner keep moving; if you're the khan, halt!"[35] Kene Khan drew his sword and turned his horse around to look. Ormonbek swung his sword, missing Kenen Khan but slicing through his saddle-pad. Kenen Khan swung his sword and struck Ormonbek on the temple. Ormonbek, falling on his horse's neck as he lost consciousness, urged the horse back with a cry of "gee-up!" and was lost again in the fog. In the reeds along the banks of the Čų he fell from the horse and was lying there losing blood when some Qazaqs who were fleeing [came upon him and] killed him,[36] and took away Nayza-qızıl and Taštanbek's damask blade. There is a song about this:

> Taštanbek's damask blade
> was in Ormonbek's hand
> when Kenesarı came upon him
> in the gorge of the Ïrġaytı;
> the hero Qalpaq was attacked
> on the banks of the Qara-suu.
> They took much booty,
> and drove on with the flag in a mass toward the Tököldöš.

When Kene Khan came home he gave the order to kill the Kirghiz envoys Atansart (Abıla) and Čoro (Moloy),[37] who had arrived and been taken captive with Tınaalı of the Tınay,[38] but a Qazaq named Toqjan freed them and

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[34] The text says *Čulu*, evidently in error for Čüy or Čų, the river that is in the right place for this reference.

[35] "*Qara bolsoŋ jürö ber, qan bolsoŋ toqto*" in Qalıġul's text; cf. "*Qan bolsoŋ qačpa, qara bolsoŋ qač*" in Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., p. 437.

[36] A propos this killing, Abdıraxmanov relates that it was horse-herds of the late Subanbek and Ormonbek who chanced upon the fleeing Kenesarı during his incursion the following year and brought him bound before the Kirghiz Ormon Khan, where he was killed (ibid., p. 455). Jantay, on the other hand, claimed that the capture was made by one of the men under him (*moi chelovek*: Kozybaev, *Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia bor'ba*, pp. 474–476); the two facts are not necessarily contradictory.

[37] The Abıla and Moloy are represented in recent times as subdivisions of the Jeti uruq, itself one of the four main divisions of the Sarıbaġıš, though the origins of the two groups are not by blood descent from Sarıbaġıš ancestors (Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5 and pp. 34–35; Ṣidiq ūġlī, *Tārīx-i qirġiz*, [1914] pp. 87–90/[1990] pp. 77–79). As for Čoro, Valikhanov lists a Čora as the leader of the Čičey subdivision (up to 80 tents: Valikhanov, "Zapiski o kirgizakh," p. 84); cf. Čečey on Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav," fig. 5, where it is a unit of the Jeti uruq on the same level as Abıla and Moloy.

[38] The teller of this story erroneously identifies Tınaalı as a Tınay Sarıbaġıš rather than a Solto; see note to line III.27.

helped them run away. Čoro and Atansart arrived home, and to return the favor done to them, they freed Toqjan's two younger brothers who had been taken captive by the Kirghiz and sent them away with great honor. Qarboz and Ešqojo had been captured from the Solto, but Ešqojo escaped, and a Qazaq of the Dulats had Qarboz set free some months later.[39]

After the battle the Qazaqs and Kirghiz exchanged envoys, and once the Čapıraštı and Šooruq Baatır had made a [first] attempt at reconciliation, the Bölökbay Solto sent fifteen men under Jamanqara Baatır and Bolot.[40] Jamanqara's elder brother Čıṅġıš[41] had been unaware of his departure and went chasing after him to keep him from going, but could not catch up. Kenesarı was making up his mind to kill these men, so when Ekey and Sarıbay went out to await the arrival of the Kirghiz, Kenesarı told them that he would wait for them himself, and sent Sarıbay back with his reassurances. That night, after Sarıbay left [and Jamanqara arrived, Kenesarı took hold of] Jamanqara, forced him to his knees, and cut out one of his kidneys. Jamanqara did not flinch, however; only when his other kidney was cut out did he collapse onto his back. [Kenesarı] killed another Kirghiz named Tursun along with him, but left their companions alive. Dumping the bodies in the camping-ground, he migrated away.[42]

When Kenesarı was staying in the Khan-tau mountains Jantay of the Tınay Kirghiz sent Qalıġul to him as an envoy.[43] When he arrived, Kenesarı was with about a hundred of his men, sitting upon a white felt spread on a hillock a short distance from his encampment, wearing a simple coat of undyed camel wool, upon his head a white felt hat finely trimmed in black, and a belt with gold plaques about his waist, and leaning on a sheathed sword that he held by the hilt. Qalıġul, dismounting and giving his horse to his companion, folded his hands in front of him and said, "Assalam aleykum, your majesty, sire," but Kenesarı made not a sound and sat there staring at him. The khan had before him piled some five hundred swords, and he had about a thousand jigits training in musketry, while others on

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[39] It is difficult to date the events in this sentence. Qarboz has not been found in the sources; Ešqojo was the father of Jaŋġarač, the manap of the Solto, and as such would have been an old man in 1846 if he was still alive then. Or the narrator may be referring to a past instance of clemency to hostages involving a younger Ešqojo.

[40] Cf. Abdıraxmanov, "Qırġız, Qazaq oquyası," p. 421.

[41] See notes to lines III.128 and III.41.

[42] Cf. the similar but fuller narration of the murder of Jamanqara in Abdıraxmanov, op. cit., pp. 420–422, which has different chronology.

[43] The low Khan-tau mountains are located between the Ču river and lake Balkhash around 44°10′N 74°00′E.

horseback spurred their mounts; swordsmen were formed up separately and displaying their skill at arms, as were the lancers.

"Who are you?" a Qazaq asked, and Qalıġul replied, "I have come from the Kirghiz on an embassy."

One of the khan's retainers indicated the stockpiled swords and the jousting, shooting soldiers circling around them, and said, "Since you've come on an embassy from the Kirghiz, we've prepared these lances and swords for you."

Qalıġul retorted, "Did you leave these lances and swords of yours at home when you made your raid on the Kirghiz a while ago?"[44]

"Stupid Kirghiz idiot, lower your voice and open your eyes when conversing in the khan's presence!" came the reply.

"When the Kirghiz sent me on this mission, they did not expect me to eat the Qazaqs' meat and drink their kumiss and return in vain; they expected me to come back having spoken correctly," Qalıġul said.

At that, a young, beardless, gray-eyed jigit wearing clean, close-fitting garments and a sleeveless jacket of red-patterned silk over his tall frame said, "Be our guest," and escorted him [to his yurt]. Even then Kenesarı uttered not a word. This jigit was the famous prince (*töre*) Nooruzbay, whom we have mentioned before.

After staying a few days, Qalıġul made this promise: "Let the Kirghiz and Qazaqs live in peace, and let us not stray too far from Kene Khan's counsel." Kene Khan then fulfilled the envoy's request and returned the horse Nayza-qızıl and Taštanbek's damask sword. At first they brought a different sword, not the damask blade, but Qalıġul noticed and refused to take it.

"Is this your precious sword?" they asked, flinging the damask blade down; Qalıġul replied, "What else?" as it sliced into a hearth-stone it had struck upon landing.

Qalıġul died in 1899 at a very advanced age. I wrote down the above account word for word sitting in Qalıġul's house, as he told it to a gathering of people, in 1895. Qalıġul son of Qubat[45] was a very well-spoken, modest,

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[44] The Qazaq courtier's comment and Qalıġul's answer, both quoted by Qalıġul, imply that the Qazaqs did not have these abundant weapons when they made their attack on the Kirghiz, and Qalıġul implicitly confirms that the weapons were not captured from the Kirghiz as booty, because the raid had encountered effective defensive force and the Qazaqs had barely got away with their lives. The most likely source for Kenesarı's acquisition of more weapons (after Dolgov and Gern saw his puny arsenal in April 1845) is Bukhara, where he had written to request them after Dolgov and Gern departed (Bekmakhanov, *Kazakhstan*, p. 277).

[45] Grandson in fact: see Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası*, vol. 1, p. 106.

vigorous man who did not tell lies. He was descended from a household of average means. He was never elected to any posts during the Russian colonial period, but he did have gold medals from the time he transported Kenesarı's head.[46] He showed them to the people he was entertaining, when they requested it.[47]

According to other old people and Qalıġul himself, the actual wording of the promise he made on that mission was thus: "If an enemy of the Qazaqs and Kirghiz appears, let us go to war together; let us live in peace; and let us submit our plenary council to Kenen Khan and not depart from his pronouncements."

[46] Qalıġul had been sent by Jantay to deliver the "head" (actually the skull; see Sereda, "Bunt kirgizskago sultana," part 3, pp. 689–690; Kasymbaev, *Poslednii pokhod khana Kenesary*, p. 141) of the executed Kenesarı to the Russian authorities at Omsk after the conclusion of their counter-offensive against Kenesarı's forces in 1847, a year after the battle narrated above (the errand is narrated at Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, pp. 327–328). The Russian text of the letter sent by the Governor-General of Western Siberia, Prince P.D. Gorchakov, to accompany the medal awarded to Qalıġul is quoted by Bekmakhanov (*Kazakhstan*, p. 339, quoting a source drawn from Qalıġul himself; Bekmakhanov repeats the additional claim that Qalıġul was Kenesarı's killer, a detail that seems to stem from an intentional distortion of the facts engineered by Jantay; see Soltonoyev, op. cit., pp. 327–328).

[47] The collector of the story who refers to himself in the first person, Belek Soltonoyev, worked on his *Qırġız tarıxı* 'Qırġız history' from 1895 to 1934; the comment that Qalıġul was not involved in the Tsarist-era administration would have been added to the text after 1917 in an attempt to clear the names of his informant and himself by association. But it was not the whole truth, as Qalıġul is known to have curried favor with the administration; he pointed up the role he had played in conveying Kenesarı's head to the Russians, and referred to himself as a manap, when writing to Vernoe for help in 1861 (see Prior, "High Rank and Power").

APPENDIX C

QALIĠUL *R* ON KENESARI'S INCURSION OF 1846

[See also the introduction to Appendix B. This account in Russian appears in K. Stepniak, *Materialy k istorii sultana Kenesary Kasymova* (*Vospominaniia kara-kirgiza Kaligully* [sic] *Alibekova …*), pp. 6–7. Pages 7–12 (end) of the same brochure deal with the final conflict, Kenesarı's death, and its aftermath. The preface by Stepniak (p. 5) includes the statement: "The narrative offered here was recorded from the words of the Kirghiz Qalıġul Alibekov, a participant in the events of 1845–1846; at the time of recording he was 85 years old." The purported recollections of Qalıġul recorded here differ substantially from those in Qalıġul *Q* (Appendix B), and even display seemingly pro-Kenesarı and pro-Qazaq undertones that are difficult to explain. Analysis of the differences between the two versions awaits further study.]

In 1845,[1] in the spring, the Kirghiz[2] nomadizing within present-day Pišpek *uyezd*, who were the enemies of Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov,[3] became highly alarmed by rumors that the daring baatır Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov was moving toward them. In fact the Kirghiz could not pull themselves together when Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov and his army of 5,000 men, armed with sabers, lances, battle axes, matchlocks, and several cannon, and mounted on splendid horses, entered their nomadizing grounds. Having come to the river Ču, Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov arrayed his troops on the right bank at the place called Qurġaq-aral ('dry island'). The Kirghiz, caught flat-footed, were in no condition to offer resistance to Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov right away. In order to buy some time they decided to negotiate with Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov. Two Kirghiz, Jantay Qarabekov[4] and Jaŋġarač Ešqojin,[5] were chosen for this. These, upon arriving at the camp of Sultan Kenesarı

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[1] The date is an error; the incursion narrated here occurred in the spring of 1846.

[2] Stepniak uses the term *kara-kirgiz* to distinguish Kirghiz from Qazaqs, as was still necessary in Russian usage in 1923.

[3] Kenesarı Qasım ŭlı.

[4] Jantay Qarabek uulu.

[5] Jaŋġarač Ešqojo uulu.

Qasımov, stated to the latter that they, the Kirghiz, expressed their complete consent to submit to all of Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov's demands. As a sign of submissiveness, the envoys presented Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov with costly gifts, horses, and a beautiful girl in a sumptuous headdress. Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov accepted the offering, but, apparently anticipating trickery on the part of the Kirghiz, detained the negotiators as hostages. Moreover, Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov announced that regardless of their apparent submission he intended to punish the Kirghiz, both for their actions in general and especially for the theft of a herd of dapple horses (the Sultan's favorite coat color[6]). Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov put his words into action. Binding one of the negotiators in chains and taking the other one as a guide, he advanced with his troops on the Kirghiz of the Bölökbay.[7] The negotiator he had taken along as a guide, being from the Bölökbay, wished to save his clan from certain death, so he brought Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov to the nomadizing grounds of another clan, the Tınay.[8]

The Tınay were subjected to a surprise nighttime attack and suffered badly, losing 300 dead and wounded. During the night they sent out messengers in all directions with requests for help.

The next day a mass of Kirghiz from various clans came to the Tınay, along with 200 Sarts sent to the Tınay by the *bek* of Pišpek fortress.[9] By midday the Kirghiz forces had grown so much that with concerted pressure they repulsed the troops of Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov, and even blocked the latter's retreat. Beaten, Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov was forced to withdraw to the east, toward the stream Qara-suu.[10]

Not knowing that the Qara-suu, owing to its muddy, swampy bed, was only crossable at a few points, the retreating forces, hemmed in on all sides, flung themselves into the stream. Hundreds of men under Kenesarı Qasımov, sucked in by the treacherous stream, drowned under the blows of the Kirghiz who set about them, but, as they died, they helped their beloved Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov out of danger, passing him from one drowning

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[6] The Russian horse coat term in the text, *chubaryi*, may denote either 'dappled with dark spots on a lighter ground', corresponding to English 'flea-bitten' (a subtype of dapple gray), or simply 'dapple'. The corresponding Kirghiz word, *čaar*, means 'dapple' in general.

[7] The Bölökbay Solto.

[8] The Tınay Sarıbağıš.

[9] Qoqandians are meant. This is the only source that mentions any participation by Qoqandian forces in the hostilities against Kenesarı.

[10] The Russian text says *Kara-suk*, which must be the Qara-suu mentioned in poem III and Qaliġul *Q*.

horse to the next. On top of all that, there was a hard frost all night; many of Kenesarı Qasımov's men who remained alive lacked warm clothes, and froze to death.

Having lost nearly his whole army, Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov left Pišpek *uyezd*.[11] The Kirghiz gained a large amount of booty. Two cannons they captured from Sultan Kenesarı Qasımov were sent as a gift to the *bek* of Pišpek fortress for the assistance he had given them. Almost a year passed [...]

[11] The reference to the Russian administrative district is anachronistic; Pišpek *uyezd* did not appear as such until 1878.

APPENDIX D

BALA AYILČI ON KENESARI'S INCURSION OF 1846

[Recorded by Abdıqadır Sarımsaqov (n.d.) and published in "Bala Ayılčı sanjırası," p. 195.]

Kenesarı[1] Khan [and the Qazaqs] came to exact blood-revenge for the killing of Baraq and Berdiqojo; they heaped up the calumnies uttered by Ablay. They camped at the Qızıl-tal mountains on the lower Ču. That year they fought with the sons of Qoŋurbay from Qara-balta, were sorely defeated by Urustam, and were forced to flee. The next year the Kirghiz got together and decided to live on friendly terms with their relatives the Qazaqs, and sent Tınaalı son of Čını and Bayterek son of Ükü to Kenesarı as envoys. Kenesarı would not agree, and had the tail of Tınaalı's horse fastened to his own horse's tail with a twisted piece of felt so that he could not escape, and took Tınaalı along with him and told him to lead him to the very center of the Kirghiz encampments. Tınaalı had no choice but to lead them; dusk had fallen when they reached Qalpaq's camp. "Your majesty, there is the core of the Kirghiz, now permit me to go." Kenesarı saw the grazing horses. Since they could not unpick the knot in the horses' tails they chopped it in two with a sword; as soon as they cut him free he went and informed Jamanqara. Kenesarı and his men caught the camp completely unawares. They killed Qalpaq,[2] Ormonbek, and Subanbek, set fire to their tents, and slaughtered their people. They cut open the bellies of pregnant women and hung the unborn children by their heels from the lattice-frames of the yurts. But Kenesarı Khan did not approve this himself.

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[1] The text has *Kenensarı* throughout.

[2] *Qalmaq* in the printed text is clearly an error for Qalpaq; see Appendix B.

APPENDIX E

IAKOV MIKHAILOVSKII ON THE BUDDHIST MONASTERY AT SÜMBE

[The following account by Ia. Mikhailovskii[1] was published under the headline "Poiezdka v Sumbe" in the newspaper *Sievernaia Pchela* on 10 November 1862. Mikhailovskii's description of Sümbe illuminates the lives of the victims of the 1864 raid.[2]]

"A Trip to Sümbe"

In July and August of this year, I happened to spend some time with a small detachment of Cossacks and two howitzers on a high mountain plain by the lake Boro Dabusun.[3] This plain is located at the crest of some low mountains that divide two valleys, those of the Kegen and the Tekes, the first of which flows from east to west and the second from west to east. In occupying this plain I could determine, by means of pickets set over several versts along the heights next to these valleys,[4] what was going on in them, and, if needed, could rapidly screen the volosts of the black Kirgiz Buġu tribe, subjects of Russia[5] who were then migrating west through the valleys to lake

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[1] The author, Ia[kov] Mikhailovskii (d. 1886), was an artillery officer in the Russian army (*Wikipedia*, s.v. Михайловский, Яков Лаврентьевич, last modified 11 September 2011, http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Михайловский,_Яков_Лаврентьевич).

[2] Cf. Golubev, "Kratkii otchet," pp. 190–191; Golubev, "Otryvok iz puteshestviia," pp. 97–102 (the latter a circumstantial description of a visit to Sümbe by members of a scientific expedition to Issyk Kul in 1859 accompanied by a Cossack detachment—very similar in detail to Mikhailovskii's account); Valikhanov noted the location of Sümbe but did not see the place: "Dnevnik poezdki na Issyk-Kul'," p. 323.

[3] Written *Borod-Absyn* in the Russian text. Boro Dabusun (Nor) is meant: *dabusun nor* means 'salt lake' in Mongolian. The lake is known in Turkic as as Tuz-köl.

[4] This position is now about 30 km west of the border between Kazakhstan and China; at the time of the report the international border on which this spot was situated cut through the annual transhumance route of the Buġu.

[5] *volost'* was the term applied by the early Tsarist administration in Semirech'e to the smallest administrative divisions of the Kirgiz (Kirghiz and Qazaqs), by the nomadic nature of whom the term often connoted the unit's population rather than geographic boundaries. The author's term *černye kirgizy* is equivalent to (and a calque of) *karakirgizy*, a commonly

Issyk Kul to harvest their ripened grain, and block Chinese troops from reaching these valleys.[6]

I passed a month moving from place to place. The Kirgiz volosts traveled past me; manaps and biys called on me to pay their respects, and brought kumiss and sheep; and Chinese Kalmyks[7] would come to the lake for salt, but seeing the detachment would stop to consider whether to risk going to the lake and meeting the Russians or to go home safe and sound but with no salt. I had to send Cossacks out with assurances that they wouldn't be harmed, after which the Kalmyks showed complete trust in my words and stayed right next to my camp without any fear. That wasn't the case with the black Kirgiz, however; they called on the detachment only if they were forced by direct necessity or if they happened on it by chance. To my assurances that neither they nor their livestock would be harmed, they bowed and thanked me for my promise, but then would take whatever opportunity arose to get away from the detachment as quickly as they could. These volosts, no matter how much it drew Russian disapproval, would cross over to the nomadizing grounds of the Chinese Kalmyks, to the extreme displeasure of the latter, because the herds of the Buġu would trample down the fodder that the latter were saving for winter. The Kirgiz, ignorant of the reason why my detachment was staying near them, expected me to leave any day; they sent men out to keep an eye on my movements, whom I occasionally succeeded in catching. In general the Buġu show a great deal of mistrust toward the Russians,[8] the name of whom alone elicits a sort of involuntary fear here.

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used term of the era in disambiguation from the actually erroneous Russian designation *kirgizy* for the Qazaqs. The Buġu "tribe" was *podvlastnyi* 'subject' to the Tsar in so far as their lords had taken oaths of submission; they were classed as *tuzemtsy* 'aliens'. Certain Buġu subdivisions, mostly under Balbay Baatır, had summer pastures in the Tekes valley, which necessitated the return journey to the Issyk Kul basin described here.

[6] The first few paragraphs sketch some aspects of the political and military situation in the Russian–Chinese border region prior to the raid on the Qalmaqs narrated in poem I. Below, agriculturalist Sarts are seen fleeing hunger and oppressive Chinese taxes and trying their luck in Russian territory; as alternatives narrowed for those who stayed behind, the Chinese Muslim Uprising swept through the region. The Buġu Kirghiz, subjects of Russia, were less well-behaved and friendly toward the Russian military than were the Qalmaqs, who were under Chinese suzerainty. The author displays a certain prejudice against the Kirghiz, as when he impugns the motive of the biys in providing assistance to a poor Sart family, and when he characterizes the Kegen and Tekes valleys under Kirghiz transhumance as "wasteland" (*bezliud'e*), the improvement of which is (according to Mikhailovskii) to be anticipated in the settling of the valleys by agriculturalists from China.

[7] The Qalmaqs are meant.

[8] It will be remembered that the head of these Buġu formations that nomadized in China was the inveterate raider Balbay, who figures in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*. The border-

Taking advantage of this, our rascally Cossacks make their way into the volost without the knowledge of their chief (*načal'nik*) and rob the poor Kirgiz.

The time passed tediously and monotonously. Sometimes a few Kirgiz[9] with stolen horses would unexpectedly run into a picket or night perimeter (*nochnaia tsep'*), and these events would cause a certain amount of activity in the detachment; pursuit of the thieves, more often than not unsuccessful, gave the Cossacks an occasion to stir their bones and a subject of conversation for a few days.

Once I went down to the valley of the Kegen and set up camp on a peninsula formed by the tightly winding stream, which, although it was neither wide nor deep, was not crossable at all points due to a muddy streambed.

This valley is bounded on the north by a range of mountains called Čampanın-tau (Čampan mountains).[10] They got this name from the fact that it was *čampan*, or exiled convicts, that some time ago mined deposits that were located in these mountains and down to the Kegen valley: a lead deposit in the Kumurči canyon and a gold mine along the stream Ketmen. Due to insignificant metal yields, neither of these mines is being worked now. On the other side of the Čampan mountains live emigrants from Tashkent who are usually called Sarts.

One evening, after it had got rather dark but before the night perimeter had been posted, a man came right up to the camp, though on the other side of the stream, and asked in Kirgiz, "Who's there?" A Cossack shouted, "Urus (Russians)." The questioner was completely dumbstruck. He stood in one spot and for a long time could not summon the strength to answer the Cossacks' questions, he was so shocked by this unexpected encounter with Russians. Finally realizing that he could not outrun us on foot, he had to accept the invitation of the Cossacks to ford the stream and enter the camp. It turned out that he was one of a family of Sarts consisting of three

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crossings that Mikhailovskii mentions gave the Buġu the kind of topographical knowledge of which the Sarıbaġıš raiders availed themselves by taking the guide Tınıstam from Balbay's camp; see I.501–504.

[9] Here and in other instances it is impossible to tell from the text (*kirgiz*) whether Kirghiz, or Qazaq, or both are meant (whether referring to the people or the language). Qazaqs of the Senior Horde, primarily belonging to the Dulat tribe, had nomadizing grounds in the area.

[10] This name is not found on Russian maps of about the time of the report (or later), where the range and its subdivisions are known, with some inconsistency as to placement, as Ketmen and Temirlik. Both these Turkic designations ('mattock' and 'ferrous', respectively) evoke metallurgical interest.

men, four women, and a great many children, each smaller than the last, who were fleeing from the other side of the mountains looking for a way to register in one of the Kirgiz volosts, because locusts had destroyed their grain that year and the Chinese were demanding a heavy tax in wheat, which they had no way to pay. This unhappy family was walking on foot; their property was loaded on one pitiful horse and a hinny, which showed that the owners did not enjoy well-being even in a good harvest year. These poor people had approached our firelight never thinking of running into Russians, and were badly frightened by the unexpected meeting. They were utterly amazed and overjoyed at my generosity when I gave them meat, rusks, and tea. The next day I had at my camp an important meeting of biys to discuss several matters, and asked them to contribute to the poor family. The biys, so as to appear philanthropic in the eyes of the Russians, provided the Sarts with food and gave them an escort to accompany them to volosts farther away from China. Subsequent cases of fleeing Sarts recurred more than once. From this one may suppose that—upon completion of the delimitation of the border between Russia and China, when the lands of the Tekes and Kegen finally are secured from the Chinese and come under Russian control—the good places for planting grain will gradually be populated by sedentary inhabitants fleeing poverty in China. Whatever people populate the area, it will be better than total emptiness.[11]

The valleys of the Tekes and Kegen are so high that despite their southern location and the fact that I was moving about them outdoors in August—the hottest season—there was not an evening when one could go out without warm clothes on. On the south the valley of the Tekes is bounded by the foothills of the Tian Shan (the celestial mountains), the enormous peaks of which were visible with their covering of eternal snow.

Choosing a time when it was possible for me to absent myself from the detachment, I quickly decided to take about fifteen Cossacks with me and go see Sümbe, the Kalmyks' lamaist monastery located no more than thirty versts from Lake Boro Dabusun.

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[11] The author's fantasy of prosperous Russian rule over the area did not come true. After the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881, Russia ceded the Ili region back to China; after his expedition in 1886 A.N. Krasnov observed that the Tekes valley, "which by itself could feed and fed nine volosts", became the refuge of impoverished Kirghiz fleeing the Issyk Kul basin, where their lands had meanwhile been taken over for Russian peasant settlement (Krasnov, "Ocherk byta Semiriechenskikh kirgiz," pp. 478–479; on the date of the expedition's visit see Mil'kov, *A.N. Krasnov*, pp. 10–11); later Krasnov noted that the Kirghiz were no longer welcome in the Tekes valley and had resorted to the Tian Shan mountain wastes (Krasnov, "V sniegakh i l'dakh," pp. 24–25)—clearly an extreme situation for the affected nomads.

It was a cool day and the road was flat; we rode at a light trot. The closer we got to Sümbe, the more undulating the ground became, though without presenting the slightest difficulty for travel. The surrounding mountains were devoid of forest. In front of us was a high, steep mountain, at the bottom of which Sümbe was to be found, though it was not visible. After a while I met the Cossacks and Kirgiz I had sent on ahead, and they announced that the prior of the monastery was very glad to welcome Russians.

Riding on another verst or two from hill to hill, we came out on a high crest of land, from which we saw at once, several sazhens away but a little lower, the entire little monastery, which was separated from us by only a small meadow.[12]

The exterior of the tiny monastery is very tidy and pretty. It is built to Chinese taste and, probably, by Chinese workers, since one could never imagine such developed building arts among the Kalmyks. The monastery is constructed in a rectangle, of which one side has two stories (*odin fas v dva riada*): this is the main chapel. The other three sides are made up of buildings with latticework instead of walls on the interior of the rectangle; these are chapels for when there is a great confluence of pilgrims.[13] On the side façades above each chapel is a two-story tower, built, it would seem, not so much for the pilgrims as for the beauty of the overall appearance. The main chapel side and the one opposite it each have small forecourts enclosed by wooden lattice, giving the monastery an elongated appearance. The attractively curved roofs are laid with patterned gray tile; along their peaks run detailed grillwork ending in winged dragons. Such dragons also adorn the lower ends of the corners of the roofs; under them run cornices of gray brick with patterned reliefs. At the corners hang little cast-iron bells that swing in the breeze and produce a melancholy tinkling. The windows—round, with intricately patterned sashes over which thin paper has been pasted—all open to the interior of the rectangle. The walls are whitewashed and decorated with red borders and designs.[14] I was so interested in the pleasant exterior appearance of the monastery that I paid no attention to the monks' quarters, which consisted of about fifteen small adobe houses, with cramped yards enclosed by low walls, which were built up one next

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[12] The old Russian *sazhen'* was 7 feet in length.

[13] Golubev ("Otryvok iz puteshestviia," pp. 97–98) adds that the layout of the four buildings was almost square, and that the main building was on the north side.

[14] On the remains of decorative elements excavated at the site of Sümbe, see Akishev and Grigor'ev, "Buddiiskii monastyr' Sumbe," pp. 18–19.

to the other without any order. These structures were in no way in keeping with the monastery, either in cleanliness or in order.

Beside these hovels stood two yurts of poor Kalmyks, the only inhabitants not belonging to the monastery. We were met by a Kalmyk woman in a long, blue tunic with extremely long black braids and a skullcap on her head; on her ears were round earrings almost as big as saucers; she was smoking tobacco in a Chinese brass pipe and staring with curiosity at the Russians. This representative of the fair sex among the Kalmyks gave a very unpleasant impression with her slovenliness. There wasn't another soul in sight; everyone who was interested awaited the Russians in the courtyard with the prior.

The apartments of the prior consist of two small rooms, one for praying and sleeping and the other a reception room; besides these there are various official buildings in the courtyard. The reception room was fairly neat. A plank-bed covered in carpets occupied about half of it; the pitched ceiling was made of narrow, peeled spruce beams. Besides one bench covered in carpets and a small desk one and a half *chetverti*[15] in height, which rested on the plank-bed, there was no other furniture in the room.

The head of the monastery, Samtyn by name, of the higher ecclesiastical rank of *kesku*,[16] received me in this room with an expression of happiness that he was meeting Russians; but the pallor of his face and the trembling of his lips and hands showed that he was more frightened than gladdened at this visit by Russians.

Samtyn was in vestments reserved exclusively for higher ecclesiastics: a short, red worsted wool robe with a blue lining, sewn like a cassock; on top of this a wide jacket of yellow cotton material with short, broad sleeves and fastened on the breast with a few round, brass buttons; on his head a Chinese cap covered in yellow material, with an upturned brim revealing black velveteen. The knob of the cap, which in the military designates the various ranks by the different colors of the stone from which it is made, was in his case made of knotted thick red cord. Chinese shoes of black *kamfa* (Chinese satin) with soles half a *vershok*[17] in thickness completed his outfit.

The questions began: Who was I, from where, headed where, and why? I wanted to look at the monastery quickly, but simply could not steer the conversation to that subject. In the end I cut off the conversation without

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[15] The old Russian *chetvert'* was ¼ of an arshin in length, or about 18 cm.

[16] Mongolian *geskü, gebkü* (< Tibetan *dge-skos*) 'master of a discipline, proctor in a temple' (Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*, p. 372).

[17] The old Russian *vershok* was about 4.5 cm.

ceremony and asked Samtyn to show me his chapels. He answered that there was nothing in them of interest to me, and that if he let me go in he would get grief for it from his superiors; in a word, he showed an unwillingness to satisfy my curiosity. My insistence, however, led him to ask that we put off inspection of the monastery until the next day, while he promised to think overnight about how to do it. So skillfully did he draw out the conversation that, glancing out at the courtyard, I was convinced that further insistence on my part would be of no use, for it had already become totally dark.

I asked to be shown a room to spend the night. The prior asked me to stay with him, because there was absolutely no other available accommodation; but fearing that he would be tiresomely curious I asked to be given any sort of empty room. After long negotiations they finally put me up in the small room of a mullah.[18]

The *kesku* is subordinate to the governor of Qulja, heads by himself all the ecclesiastics in the volosts of the Kalmyks that nomadize around Sümbe, and enjoys a significant amount of secular power.

Samtyn is, as the Kirgiz say, a rich man: of horses alone he has nearly five hundred. If the Kirgiz, who usually exaggerate everything terribly, say that he has five hundred horses, then one may suppose he has probably a hundred and fifty of them, which is also a lot in comparison with the general poverty of the Kalmyks.

Sümbe, besides the monastery, is a sort of religious seminary. Up to twenty boys study there, preparing to become mullahs in the volosts. The total number of people living at the monastery, together with the pupils, reaches fifty. All of them, not excluding the boys, shave their heads, not leaving a forelock as ordinary Kalmyks do, and wear yellow hats with red tassels. This is an outward sign of their spiritual calling. Women are strictly forbidden from entering the monastery, even to pray.

In their life the Kalmyk monks are distinguished, first, by their literacy—other Kalmyks are not acquainted with [writing]; second, by their monastic vows: celibacy and chastity, fasting for three days each month, and no eating of horse or camel meat or carrion; third, by their sobriety.

It must be noted that the Kirgiz and Kalmyks live absolutely on livestock alone,[19] which gives them clothing, food, and shelter (felt yurts); even some

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[18] *Sic* in the original. The author's repeated use of the term *mulla* shows that he meant a Buddhist divine analogous in his mind to a Muslim mullah.

[19] Elsewhere Mikhailovskii's usage of the term *Kirgiz* is in keeping with the contemporary imprecision of meaning, though here he may have meant specifically the Qazaqs, for the

of their dishes are made of leather. Things that they themselves cannot produce, for example iron implements and cotton cloth, they buy for sheep, which takes the place of the money that is unknown to them. This way of life, it seems, should have developed their livestock-raising to such a degree that they would have no shortage of meat or solid food; but in fact, they rarely eat it. The Kirgiz subsist in the summertime on various fermented milk products—mare's, sheep's, and cow's—and the Kalmyks on tea; only in winter do they use meat, and then in only the most limited quantity. But what is strangest of all to see in a land of livestock-rearing is that the black Kirgiz and the Kalmyks eat carrion. This type of food falls particularly to the share of the women; not all men eat it.

The mullah's shack where I was given a spot for the night, though it was the best after the prior's, was slovenly in the extreme, especially the first room, which was separated from the prayer room by a thin partition. The prayer room was a little better. In it stood a high table, covered with a carpet, on which rested a cabinet of very elegant Chinese workmanship with *burkhan*s or idols. Near the large table stood a small table, on which were many wooden, clay, and bronze idols and various requisites for prayer: an intricately decorated little brass pitcher for holy water, seven little silver-gilt brass bowls in which holy water is poured for the idols, which after prayer is drunk by the supplicant; a little bell, and a lamp with an inextinguishable flame. At my request my host opened the cabinet, inside which stood bronze idols, and a few gilded ones, in various little compartments behind glass. The mullah took them out, muttering prayers, and touched each one to his forehead before giving it to me. All of the idols were of distinctively Chinese workmanship, each had its own name, and the *burkhan-baš* (senior idol) occupied the most honored position. Some of them depicted women sitting cross-legged with swords in their hands; others, some sort of fantastic beings with six or twelve arms; others, with wings; others sat atop dragons or lions. The order, cleanliness and even richness of the idols contrasted sharply with the squalor, dirtiness and poverty of the highly honored mullah. Before the tables stood a brazier, into which, as a sign of reverence for the gods, my host sprinkled berries and leaves of heather; the smoke from these freshened the stuffy, unpleasant air in the room. I took advantage of this and asked my host to let me express my reverence for his idols in the same manner. The mullah

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Senior Horde Qazaqs were known to grow grain on a much smaller scale than the (true, that is "black") Kirghiz (Bardashev, "Zamietki o dikokamennykh kirgizakh," p. 389), who, as Mikhailovskii himself mentions, were harvesting crops at the time.

liked this very much, but when I began uncharitably to exhaust the mullah's supply of heather, his face showed that he found my attention to his deities excessive.

People curious to get a look at me came and went in the room. Every article of mine was favored with the compliment of their attention: a stearin candle, sugar (which they sniffed) and matches all simply delighted them. In the end they all went away and only my old host was left. […] I could not sleep the whole night due to the stuffiness in the room, and I very much regretted that I had not availed myself of the prior's invitation to stay with him. But my fear about his dogged curiosity was well-founded: he recruited one of my Cossacks and kept him up till first light with his questioning.

Early in the morning I went for a walk around the monastery. The rapid river Sümbe flows in a deep cleft by a high, steep cliff; by its bank were my Cossacks' shack and their grazing horses. The Kalmyks, with brass and wooden pitchers in their hands, were crowding up to some sort of building: I was curious to have a look at what had attracted nearly all the inhabitants of Sümbe to that spot. It turned out to be a tea-hut. In an enormous cast-iron cauldron[20] about forty or fifty *vedra*[21] in capacity tea was being brewed for the entire brotherhood of the monastery; milk, salt and fat were mixed in. This mixture constitutes the sole sustenance of the monks; only on holidays is meat boiled for them, which they eat in the chapels after prayers. From the tea-hut I turned my attention to a narrow path that twisted up the steep slope of a cliff on the other side of the stream and ended on a small ledge that was stuck all over with white flags on poles. I had no interpreter with me, so I could not inquire what it was, and set off to have a look for myself. It turned out to be a cemetery. The poles with white flags stood by corpses. The area was scattered with bones; two still-fresh corpses lay right there; several dogs gnawed at them with great appetite. The Kalmyks do not bury their dead in the ground, but leave them on the surface. Only the bodies of rich people are put in graves, and they lower them into a tomb which is not buried, and when the body has totally decayed they take the bones out of the grave and burn them. Having visited the cemetery I went over to Samtyn. He did not speak Kirgiz, so his interpreter translated from Kalmyk into Kirgiz for my Cossack, who translated into Russian for me; in consequence of this our meeting was slow, tedious, and tiresome. Not wishing to offend my host by

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[20] See note to lines I.629–630.

[21] The old Russian *vedro* was approximately ten liters. Golubev ("Otryvok iz puteshestviia," p. 99) gives the diameter of the cauldron as two arshin, or about 140 cm.

ignoring his hospitality, I had to force myself to down a cup of the revolting tea prepared in the above-described hut. On the desk in front of Samtyn was a book, about three *vershka* wide and three *chetverti* long, with unbound pages and very large, clear printing running the length of the pages. The first line is read from right to left, the second from left to right, the third from right to left again, etc. The language of religious books differs from ordinary speech to the degree that not only laymen, but also even some mullahs, do not understand it. The ordinary language has no script.

At last I succeeded in persuading the highly honored *kesku* to show me his monastery. In the first chapel everything was arranged with extraordinary orderliness and strict symmetry. To the right and left of the door stood a large number of the most variegated insignia something like our ecclesiastical banners, while around the walls were erected something like tables, on which stood clay idols taller than an average person's height. All of them had extremely ugly faces painted in various colors in imitation of lacquer, with naked bodies covered only in a few places with bits of silken material. Several of the idols consisted of two figures, a man and a woman; their poses proved that what is forbidden to the monks is permitted of the gods they worship. Opposite the door were two cases with books, each one of which was wrapped in yellow silken material and tied up with a little cord. Between the cases was a table with the small bronze idols and prayer requisites of the kind I saw at the mullah's; in front of this was a rotating lamp covered with holy texts. On top of this were brass plates and a drum.

The other chapel differs from the one just described by the fact that inside it, instead of idols of clay, there are idols drawn on huge pieces of paper hanging from the pillars, and across the whole width of the room, in several rows to the right and left, are soft benches covered in carpets for the supplicants. This chapel for some reason is held in more esteem than the first; only those who are literate and completely conversant with the rituals and precepts of the religion enter it. In the gallery of this chapel an enormous, many-colored cylinder of painted wood was fixed on a vertical iron spindle. It was explained to me that spinning this cylinder while praying serves to expiate the sins of the supplicant.

Other parts of the chapel were completely empty, containing only benches for supplicants.

In the middle of the square of buildings was set a stone brazier in the form of a small tower, with [burning] heather continually giving off its smoke, and two lions carved out of stone as decoration.

Having looked over the monastery I went to the *kesku* to take my leave. He asked what contribution I had made to his monastery. I replied that I

hadn't known that custom, and therefore hadn't made any contribution, but was ready to correct the error right away. Samtyn said that it didn't matter to him whether I left it in the monastery or gave it right to him. I poured out three rubles in small silver coins onto the desk. Samtyn acted as though he was paying no attention to this, but in fact it was clear from the oblique glances he cast at the desk that he was mentally computing the value of the pile of silver.

"It's a great pity you are leaving so soon; I wanted to give you hospitality."

I thought, not tea again! I really had to leave quickly.

"What will you give me for a keepsake?"

I begged his pardon for the fact that since I was constantly moving around I had nothing with me that was worth presenting to him.

"It's a pity. You see, Kirgiz and Chinese come here, and I would have liked to show them your gift and tell them that I'm acquainted with a Russian *tiure* (chief)."

I again begged his pardon and hastened to leave.

"What a waste to leave so soon; I've sent to the volost leaders to come here to meet you. And do you have absolutely nothing to give me?"

"Positively nothing, unfortunately."

"A pity; it's not the gift itself that's valuable to me, but it would be valuable to be able to show it to the Chinese and Kirgiz."

The close air in the room, the limp conversation through two interpreters, and the lack of sleep at night greatly fatigued me, while fear of Kalmyk refreshments had me seriously worried; I hurriedly left for home. In the end, having received yet another unmistakable hint about the gift, which I in truth could not give, I somehow got to the final farewell with the *kesku*, and in about three hours was back in my own camp.

APPENDIX F

NIKOLAI ARISTOV ON THE RAID ON THE QALMAQS IN 1864

[Nikolai Aristov traveled widely in the Ili region after it was occupied by Russia in 1871 in the wake of the Muslim disturbances. His description of a rash of attacks by Qazaqs and Kirghiz from Russian Semirech'e, who crossed the border into the areas where fellow-Muslims were throwing off Ch'ing rule in 1863–1864, is drawn largely from a report by Colonel Gerasim A. Kolpakovskii to the Governor-General of Western Siberia, dated 15 February 1865 (cf. Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, pp. 312–313). The following account by Aristov is translated from his "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam, Kashgaru i Kul'dzhe" (1873), pp. 171–172; cf. Aristov's reworked version of this account in his *Usuni i kyrgyzy*, pp. 526–527.]

[...] In fact, all Kirgiz[1] along the border—the Bayjigit, Qızay, Suan, Alban, Buġu, and even the Sarıbaġıš from the Ču valley—as soon as the Muslims of Čugučak and Qulja rebelled [in 1863–1864], rushed across the border, in part out of a desire to assist their Muslim coreligionists, and in part out of craving for profit at the expense of the Chinese, Qalmaqs and Solons.[2] In the winter of 1864/65, all Kirgiz who were nomadizing near the border took advantage of the absence of our detachments on the border (which were stationed there only in summer[3]) and joined up with the insurgents. Not only the ones along the border, but practically the entire mass of Kirgiz as well, including those who had been completely submissive up to that point, obviously sympathized with the rebellion, communicated secretly with the insurgents, and undoubtedly would have stood with them had it not been impossible to migrate away in winter owing to the lack of grazing for their cattle. In the spring our detachments were rushed out to the border, and the Kirgiz could no longer escape en masse.

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[1] Both Qazaqs and Kirghiz are meant; of the groups named, all but the last two are Qazaq divisions or subdivisions of the Senior Horde.

[2] Solon: a Manchu people, large numbers of whom had comprised troops and their families who were relocated to Sinkiang by the Ch'ing after the destruction of the Junghar Empire in 1758.

[3] See Appendix E.

Nevertheless, many of them who could not escape across the border for good but who wished to enjoy their share in the property of the Chinese and Qalmaqs, formed large parties from even the most distant areas (e.g., from across the Ču), and forced their way to the Tekes and Ili. In vain the unfortunate Qalmaqs strove to save their cattle and belongings, some by assembling in large masses and defending themselves with weapons in hand, others by hiding in small groups in the most remote and inaccessible gorges in the mountains; the Kirgiz, attracted like crows by their craving for booty, sniffed out the secret camping places of the Qalmaqs and fell in a frenzy on even their larger masses, and mercilessly attacked and robbed the Qalmaqs everywhere. At the beginning of December 1864, the Buġu, Segizsarı, and Sarıbağıš plundered the Buddhist monastery Sümbe,[4] by the stream of the same name, which flows into the Tekes. The monastery and the houses of the lamas next to this monastery were burned, the idols of gold, silver and brass carried off,[5] those of alabaster smashed, and the inhabitants of the monastery massacred or driven off, so that an eyewitness who was at the site of the raid a few days later found there only ruins, and about thirty old women covered in wounds and dying of hunger. In March, having gathered about 1,500 people, the Buġu utterly plundered the Qalmaqs of Zorġan-sumun[6] who had been hiding in the gorge of the Aġıyaz river.[7] On the Ili and around Čugučak the Kirgiz were extremely fervent allies of the Tarančis[8] and Tungans [...]

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[4] Aristov uses the spelling *Sumbo*, which suggests that he got the report from someone speaking Kirghiz.

[5] Cf. Kaul'bars, "Zamietki o Kul'dzhinskom kraie," p. 131.

[6] A village in the district of Kulja to the south of the Ili river, named for a division of the Qalmaq.

[7] [Aristov's note:] "In total no fewer than 68,100 head of cattle were stolen from the Qalmaqs by our Kirgiz, judging by the fact that this is the number that the Buġu paid to the Qalmaqs at the insistence of our administration in recompense for those stolen in October 1865. But the reckoning did not stop there; in 1869, the Buġu made another payment to the Qalmaqs for stolen cattle."

The final attack on the Qalmaqs of Aġıyaz was reportedly instigated by Kashghari khojas using Buġu raiders under Balbay (Dzhamgerchinov, *Prisoedinenie Kirgizii k Rossii*, p. 315, where the name of the river is misspelled *Aliyaz*). The Aġıyaz river flows into the Tekes at 42°56′50″N 81°10′50″E (Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, p. 32).

[8] The Tarančis were a Turkic agriculturalist peope of East Turkistan and Jungharia who make up a part of the modern Uyghur nationality.

APPENDIX G

BELEK SOLTONOYEV ON THE RAID ON THE QALMAQS IN 1864

[Soltonoyev was the copyist who produced the surviving ms. of the poem *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* that we possess today, and it is obvious from the following short account of the raid included in his historical work, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı* (ca. 1895–1934)[1] that he was familiar with the poem's contents. It is also clear that he made use of other sources of information that are now lost.]

The main profession with which the manaps occupied their days was horse-raiding, theft, robbery, and stealing from the herds of the poor,[2] and so in 1864[3] Šabdan Jantay uulu, Bayake Küntuuġan uulu, and Botbay of the Ösük led about 40 men to steal the horses of the Tekes Qalmaqs. They departed from Kiči Kemin on the upper Ču, and spent a night near the eastern end of the lake [Issyk Kul] with a man of the Buġu. He told them that when the Buġu nomadized toward Qalmaq territory they set guards in the rear, and that the previous year they had gone raiding as far as Sümbe, and he predicted that they would come to harm as soon as they got on the way. Then they went and stayed at Balbay's place.[4] Balbay gave them a warm welcome, supported their undertaking by attaching one of his men to their party as a guide, and sent them on their way to the Qalmaqs. They came to the dwellings in the Qalmaqs' winter settlement in the middle of the night,

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[1] The text translated here is published in Soltonoyev, *Qızıl qırġız tarıxı*, p. 373.

[2] The first sentence of this account resembles Šabdan's statement in his autobiography, "In those days the chief occupation of the Kirghiz and Qazaqs was raids and theft" (Dzhantaev, [Autobiography], p. 512).

[3] Independent sources must have given Soltonoyev the authentic date of the raid, 1864. Kim used an assortment of abstruse sources to date the fall of Qulja (see pp. 254–255 above and Kim, *Holy War in China*, p. 229 n. 100), from which the date of the raid can be established by deduction. No details in Soltonoyev's account of the raid resemble those in Aristov's attenuated references (Aristov, *Usuni i kyrgyzy*, pp. 512–515, = Dzhantaev, [Autobiography]; Aristov, "Otnosheniia nashi k dunganam," pp. 171–172; cf. Appendix F), so it is highly unlikely that Soltonoyev used Aristov's publications in preparing this account of the raid.

[4] This cautionary encounter with the unnamed Buġu man preceding their stay with Balbay rings truer than the scene in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs* where the raiders come up with the idea on their own to visit Balbay and obtain a guide (I.402–417).

and Bayake killed more than ten Qalmaqs and smashed the big bronze cauldron of the Qalmaqs of Sümbe, and [still] in the middle of the night they stole a huge number of horses. On the way back a great many Qalmaqs caught up with them, but the Kirghiz gave battle and beat the Qalmaqs, and got away with the horses. On their return journey they stopped with Balbay and gave him a large amount of the booty. It is said that on that journey Šabdan and Balbay discussed how to resist submitting to Russia.

APPENDIX H

VSEVOLOD ROBOROVSKII ON THE YULDUZ VALLEY

[Vsevolod I. Roborovskii passed through Yulduz on a scientific expedition in 1893, three eventful decades after the events narrated in *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*. Despite the passage of time, his description of the natural, ethnic, and political situation in the valley provides some useful illumination of certain aspects of *The Raid on the Qalmaqs*. The following excerpt is translated from Roborovskii, *Ot Tian'-Shania do Nan'-Shania*, part 1, section 1, pp. 52–53.]

[…] The Torġuts prize their excellent pastures on the Great Yulduz; they vigilantly guard access to the valley by their neighbors, and were utterly surprised by our arrival, because usually no one comes to them besides Tungan traders. When they found out that a Kirgiz had guided us, they beset him with questions about why he knew the way to Yulduz: "You must have come here in the past to steal horses—that's how you knew how to lead the Russians to us." The Torġuts even expressed an intention to detain him when we were finished employing him. Before evening the poor frightened Kirgiz began to ask our permission to leave at night so as to keep hidden from the Torġuts. He wanted to ride straight north, across the Narat mountains to the Küŋes river, which he reckoned he could reach in one night. We let him go as soon as it was dark, and he got away undetected—and probably not empty-handed, taking a fresh pacer from the Torġuts' herds to replace his tired horse. Great Yulduz is famed far and wide for such steeds, and the local Torġuts are very proud of them.

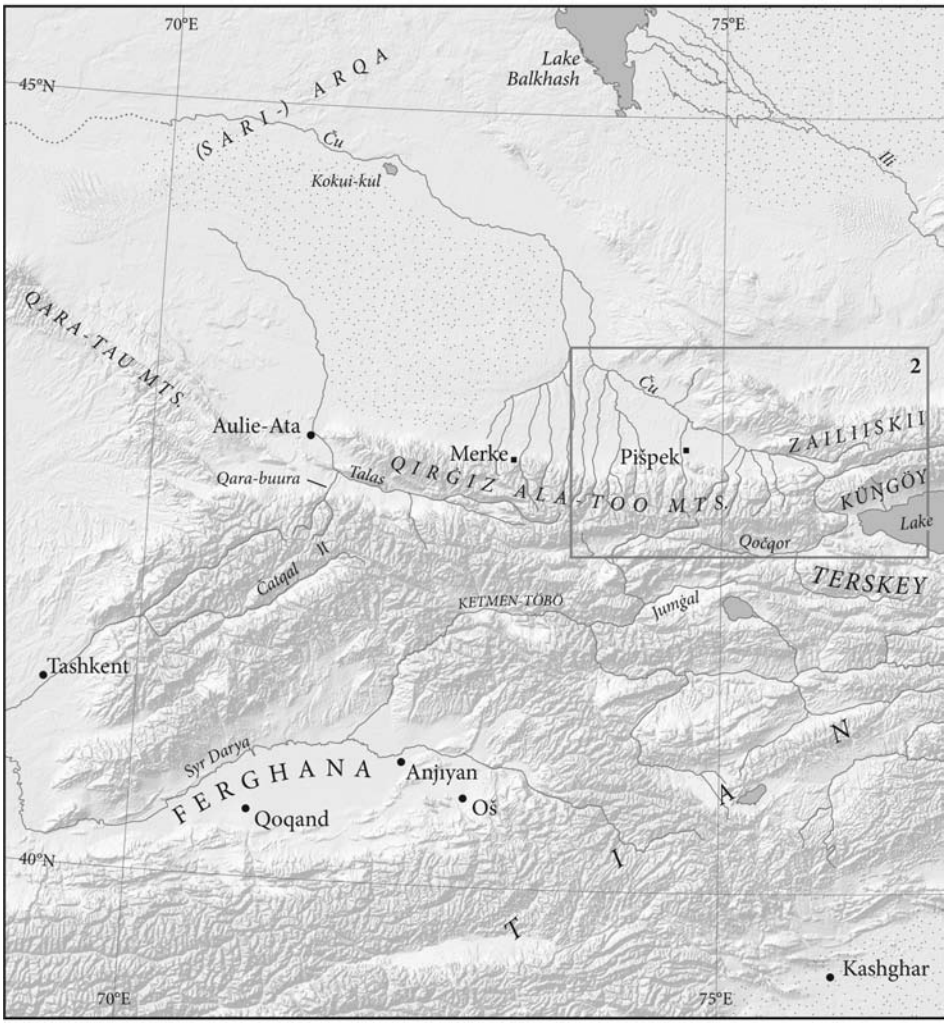
The Torġuts keep so aloof from neighbors that the Kirgiz are completely shut out from the side of the Narat on the north. All the passes in the southern mountains leading to Kashgharia are blocked by rockslides. From Qarašahr, only Tungan traders come to them with various goods of wrought and cast iron, brass, and factory make. These they profitably barter with the Torġuts in exchange for deer antlers and pelts, especially the fox pelts which are highly prized by the Chinese for their long, fluffy fur. The fur is preserved on the animals so well because here on the Yulduz there are neither thick stands of thorn bushes nor tall, woody herbage on which the beasts' fur would be worn away. At least, that is how the Torġuts explain the fluffiness of their foxes' furs.

The main lure for the Tungans is the pacing horses, which they resell at high prices to Chinese traders who then drive them into China proper, where they are highly prized both for their inborn pacing gait and for their rather large size. The Chinese traders do not visit Great Yulduz, out of fear of the Torġuts, who have a dislike of them; if sometimes they do reach there, they do it disguised as Tungans.

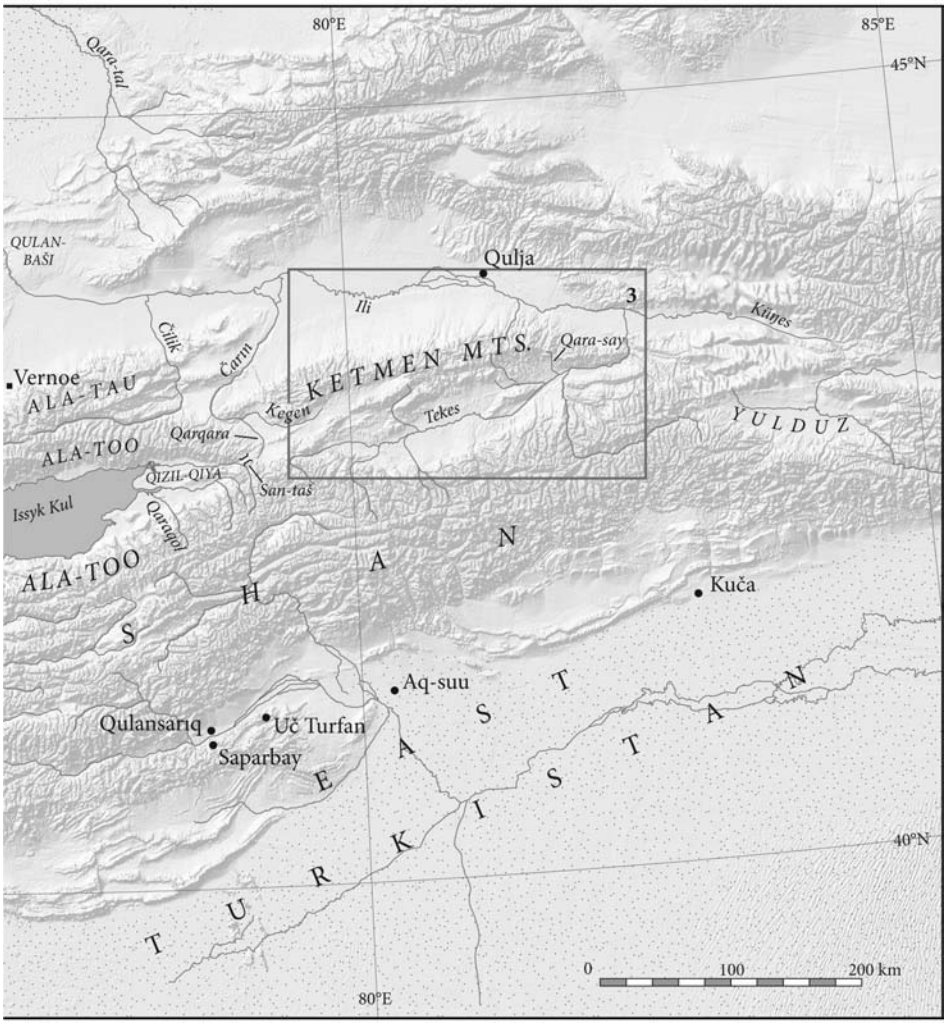
The Torġuts dislike the Chinese because during the last Tungan uprising, the Chinese demanded help from the Torġuts and made them take up arms against the Tungans, but left them unaided in their hour of need, and handed them over to be plundered by the Tungans. While of course they hold the Tungans in no great favor, they excuse them saying, "The Tungans were making war, and in war everyone steals! We would have stolen too; that's war! Also the Tungans are brave—they're *batırs*. If we hadn't been on the side of the Chinese, they wouldn't have touched us. The Chinese are our lords, but they couldn't defend us, they betrayed us to the Tungans!" So said the Torġuts with whom we conversed on this subject. […]

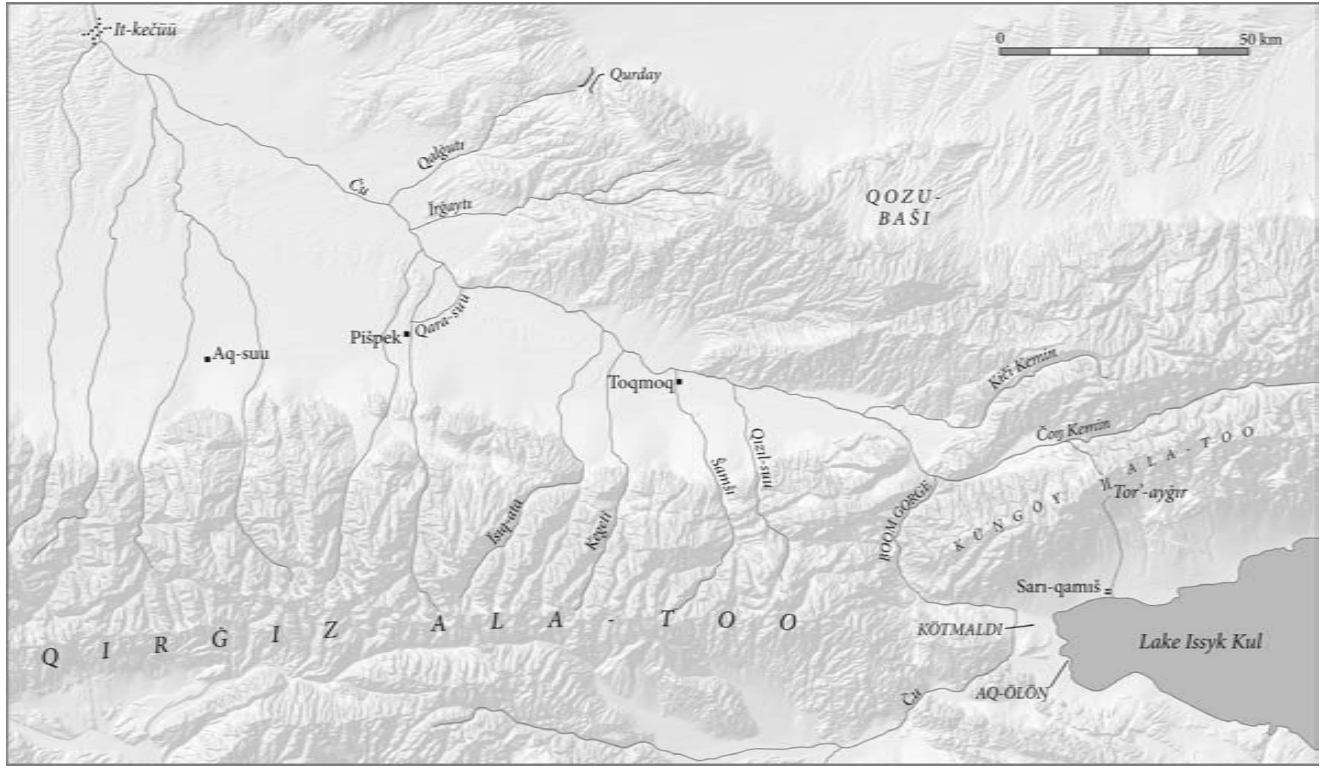
MAPS

Note on Maps 1–3: These maps illustrate the activities of elite, highly mobile Kirghiz warrior–politicians in turbulent times; the conventional political borders that they frequently challenged, remade, and ignored are not shown. In 1846–1847 the southern limit of Sultan Kenesarı's power abutted that of the Kirghiz on the north side of the Ču river. In 1864 the border of China ran approximately where it does today. Qoqand, Tashkent, and Kashghar were centers of Muslim powers. Vernoe, a Russian fortification, was built in 1854; by 1864 Russia had expanded southward to acquire Pišpek and other key positions in the Ču valley and Issyk Kul basin.

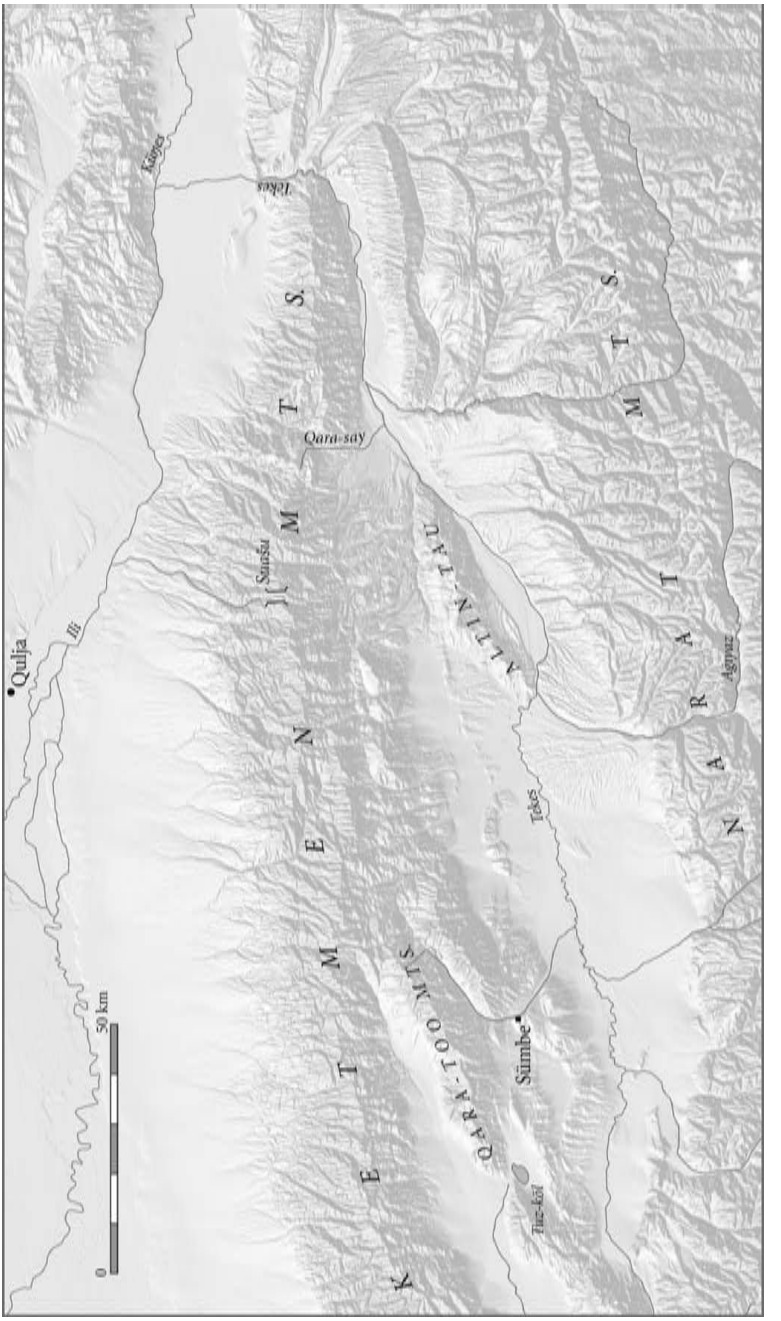


Map 1. The Region of Northern Kirghiz Affairs in the Mid-Nineteenth Century


80°E
85°E
45°N
Qara-tal
QULAN-BAŠI
Qulja
Ili
3
Künes
Čilik
Čarın
KETMEN MTS.
Qara-say
Vernoe
ALA-TAU
Kegen
Tekes
YULDUZ
ALA-TOO
Qarqara
QIZIL-QIYA
San-taš
Issyk Kul
Qaraqol
ALA-TOO
SHAN
Kuča
Aq-suu
TIEN SHAN
Qulansarıq
Uč Turfan
Saparbay
EASTERN
TURKISTAN
40°N
0
100
200 km
80°E



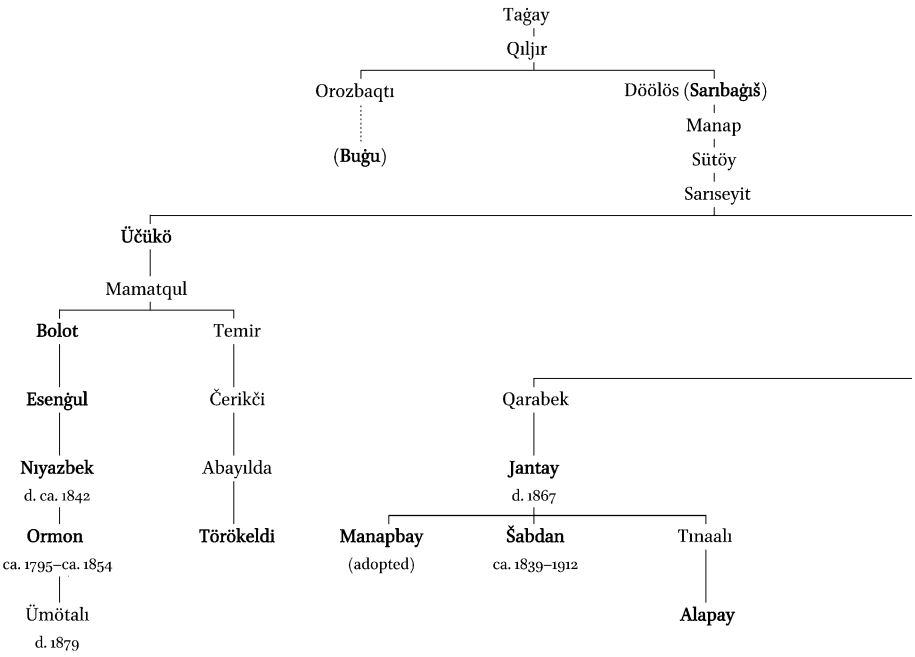
Map 2. Lands of the Sarıbağıš and Solto Kirghiz and the Qazaqs in the Ču Valley and Ala-Too

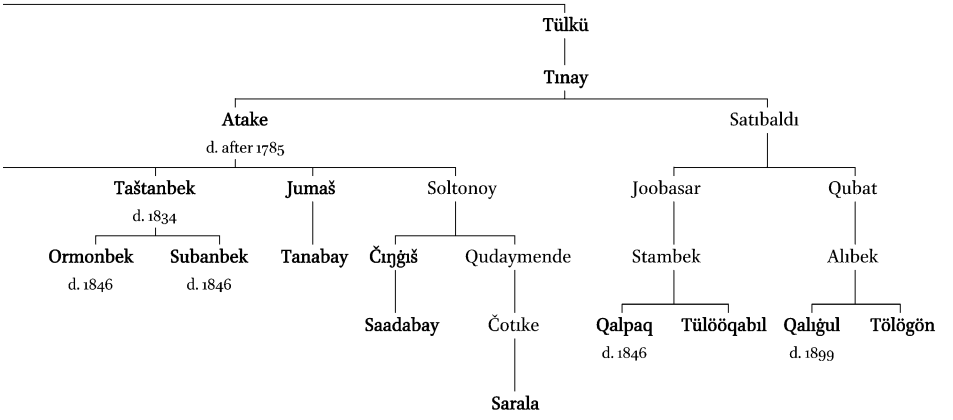


Map 3. Lands of the Buğu Kirghiz and the Qalmaqs in the Tekes Valley

GENEALOGICAL CHART

This partial genealogical chart shows certain male members of the Sarıbağıš lineage and the relationship between the Sarıbağıš and the Buġu. Names mentioned in the Šabdan Baatır Codex or in the Appendices to this book are shown in boldface. The main sources of information are: Abramzon, "Ėtnicheskii sostav kirgizskogo naseleniia Severnoi Kirgizii" (*Trudy Kirgizskoi arkheologo-ėtnograficheskoi ėkspeditsii*, vol. 4, 1960), figure 5; and Töröqan uulu, *Qırġızdın qısqača sanjırası* (Bishkek, 1995), vol. 1. Dates are drawn from a variety of sources; see the Notes and Commentaries.




Tülkü
Tınay
Atake
d. after 1785
Satıbaldı
Taštanbek
d. 1834
Jumaš
Soltonoy
Joobasar
Qubat
Ormonbek
d. 1846
Subanbek
d. 1846
Tanabay
Čıŋǧıš
Qudaymende
Stambek
Alıbek
Saadabay
Čotıke
Qalpaq
d. 1846
Tülööqabıl
Qalıǧul
d. 1899
Tölögön
Sarala

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Notes

Most diacritic letters (č, ı, ö, ṣ, etc.) are alphabetized as separate letters after the base letter.

The abbreviation "ms. NAN KR" stands for "manuscript in the Archives of the National Center for Manasology and Artistic Culture of the National Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic," followed by the archival shelf number.

In the Commentary and footnotes, the form of some of the bibliographic citations of mid-nineteenth century Kirghiz epics (recorded by Radloff from anonymous bards, published under separate headings in his *Obraztsy*/*Proben* [1885], and re-edited by Hatto in *The Manas of Wilhelm Radloff* [1990]) is nearly identical to the citations of analytical articles on the texts that Hatto published in various journals. These are the references to the Radlovian epic texts, which were coincidentally published by Hatto in his re-edition: "Almambet, Er Kökčö and Ak-Erkeč"; "Birth of Manas"; "Birth of Semetey"; "Bok-Murun"; "Köz-Kaman"; and "Semetey." Hatto's articles are cited as: Hatto, "Almambet, Er Kökčö and Ak Erkeč"; Hatto, "Birth of Manas"; Hatto, "Köz-Kaman"; Hatto, "Semetey."

Listed below by language are references to the main bibliographic entries of the dictionaries, grammars, and other aids used, sometimes without citation, in the preparation of this edition:

Arabic	Baranov, *Arabsko–russkii slovar'*
	Steingass, *A Learner's Arabic–English Dictionary*
Baškir	Akhmerov, *Bashkirsko–russkii slovar'*
Chaghatay	Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar' turetsko–tatarskikh narechii*
	Shcherbak, *Grammatika starouzbekskogo iazyka*
	Radlov, *Opyt*/*Versuch*
Eastern Turki	Jarring, *An Eastern Turki–English Dialect Dictionary*
(Uyghur)	Nadzhip, *Uigursko–russkii slovar'*
Kalmyk	Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*
Kirghiz	Batmanov, *Sovremennyi kirgizskii iazyk*
	Hu and Imart, *A Kirghiz Reader*
	Imart, *Le kirghiz*
	Iudakhin, *Kirgizsko–russkii slovar'*
	———, *Russko–kirgizskii slovar'*

Kirghiz (*cont.*)	Muqambaev, *Qırğız tilinin dialektologiyalıq sözdügü*, vol. 1
Mongolian	Hangin, *A Modern Mongolian–English Dictionary*
	Lessing, *Mongolian–English Dictionary*
Noġay	Baskakov, *Nogaisko–russkii slovar'*
Özbek	Borovkov, *Uzbeksko–russkii slovar'*
	Kononov, *Grammatika sovremennogo uzbekskogo literaturnogo iazyka*
Persian/Tajik	Gaffarov, *Persidsko–russkii slovar'*
	Kalontarov, *Kratkii tadzhiksko–russkii slovar'*
	Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian–English Dictionary*
Qaraqalpaq	Baskakov, *Karakalpaksko–russkii slovar'*
Qazaq	Balakaev, *Sovremennyi kazakhskii iazyk: Sintaksis slovosocheta-niia i prostogo predlozheniia*
	———, Baskakov and Kenesbaev, *Sovremennyi kazakhskii iazyk: Fonetika i morfologiia*
	Syzdykova and Khusain, *Kazakhsko–russkii slovar'*
Russian	Dal', *Tolkovyi slovar' velikorusskago iazyka*
	Gal'perin, *Bol'shoi anglo–russkii slovar'*
	Smirnitskii, *Russko–angliiskii slovar*
	Wheeler, *The Oxford Russian–English Dictionary*
Tatar	*Tatarsko–russkii slovar'*
Turkic (general and early)	Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyi slovar' turetsko–tatarskikh narechii*
	Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish*
	Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*
	al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*
	Radlov, *Opyt*/*Versuch*
	Rásonyi and Baski, *Onomasticon Turcicum*
Turkish (Osmanlı)	Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*
Türkmen	Baskakov, Karryev, and Khamzaev, *Turkmensko–russkii slovar'*
	Frank and Touch-Werner, *Turkmen–English Dictionary*
Tuvan	Pal'mbakh, *Russko–tuvinskii slovar'*
	Tenishev, *Tuvinsko–russkii slovar'*
Xakas	Baskakov and Inkizhekova-Grekul, *Khakassko–russkii slov ar'*

Abbreviations

CAC	*Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*
EI²	*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition
FMH	*Fragen der mongolischen Heldendichtung*
(I)RGO	(Imperatorskoe) Russkoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*

MSTK *Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskago kraia. Ezhegodnik*
PIA Papers on Inner Asia
TKAĖĖ *Trudy Kirgizskoi arkheologo-ėtnograficheskoi ėkspeditsii* (Moscow: Izd-vo Akademii nauk SSSR/Nauka, 1956–1968)

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Personal, ethnic, and place names found in the poems of the Šabdan Baatır Codex appear in boldface followed by poem and line number references, then the poem and line number(s) of any important Note(s) to the Text on the subject, and then further references (if any) to page and map numbers. A semicolon and dash (; —) separate poem and line numbers in the Text and Translation from page and map numbers in the rest of the book.

Besides names, a small number of important terms found in the Codex have been indexed by page numbers in the Translation; these numbers appear in italics.

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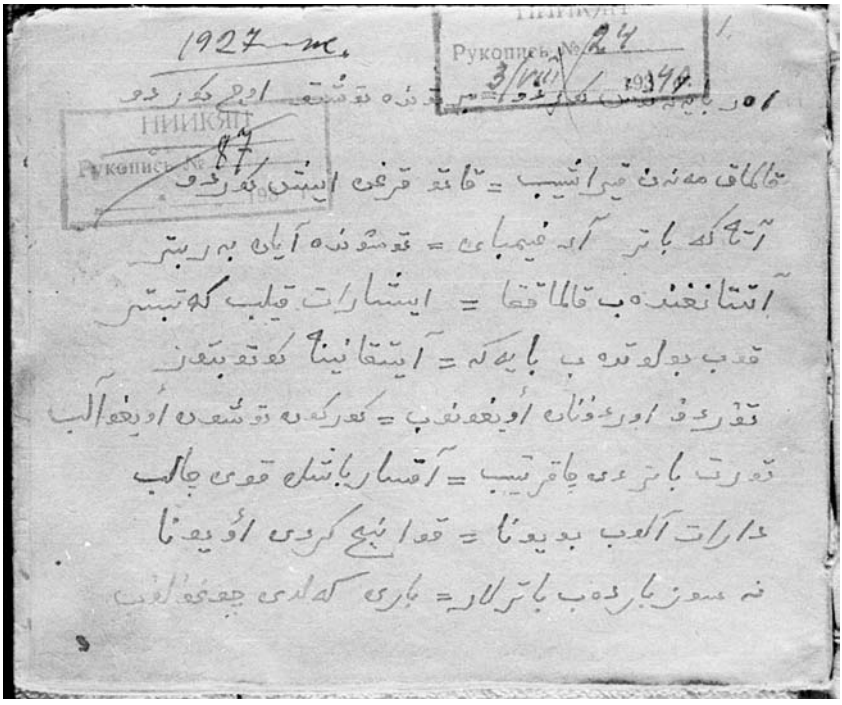

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I.2 ... یازیلغان توشقه اوچ کوردوم

قالماق مه‌نی قیراشیب = قاتق قرغی ایشتی کوردوم

آته‌که باتر آرغیمبای = توشقونده آیان به‌ربتر

آتلانغنده‌ب قالماقتا = ایشارات قیلب که‌تبتر

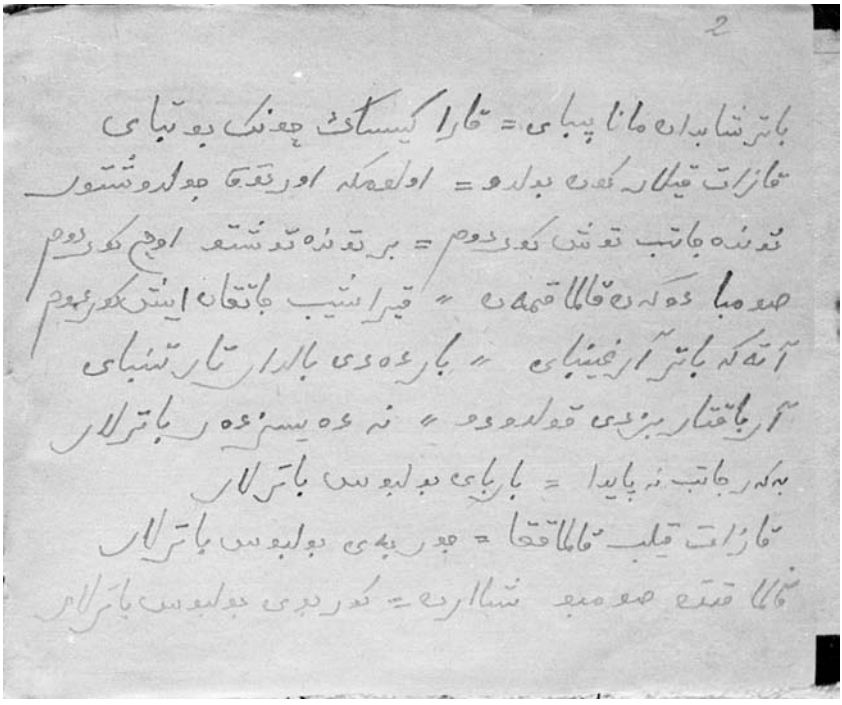
قب بولغنده‌ب بایه‌که = آیتقانینا کوتقبتغز

تقوزغ اوردنان اویغونقب = کورکه‌ده توشقه‌ن اویغالب

تقورت باتر ده‌ی چاقرتیب = آقسارباشلا قوی چالب

ذارات آلدب بویونا = قوا ایچ کردی اویونا

نه سوز یازده‌ب باترلار = باری که‌لدی چغه‌لغب



2

باترشابدان مانا پبای = قارا کیسه‌ك چغنك بوتبای

قازات قیلار کوده بولدو = اولمه‌که اورتقا جولدوشتور

توشقونده جانب توش کوردوم = برتوشقونده اوچ کوردوم

صوصبا ده‌که‌ده قالماقمه‌دن = قیراشیب جانتقان ایشتی کوردوم

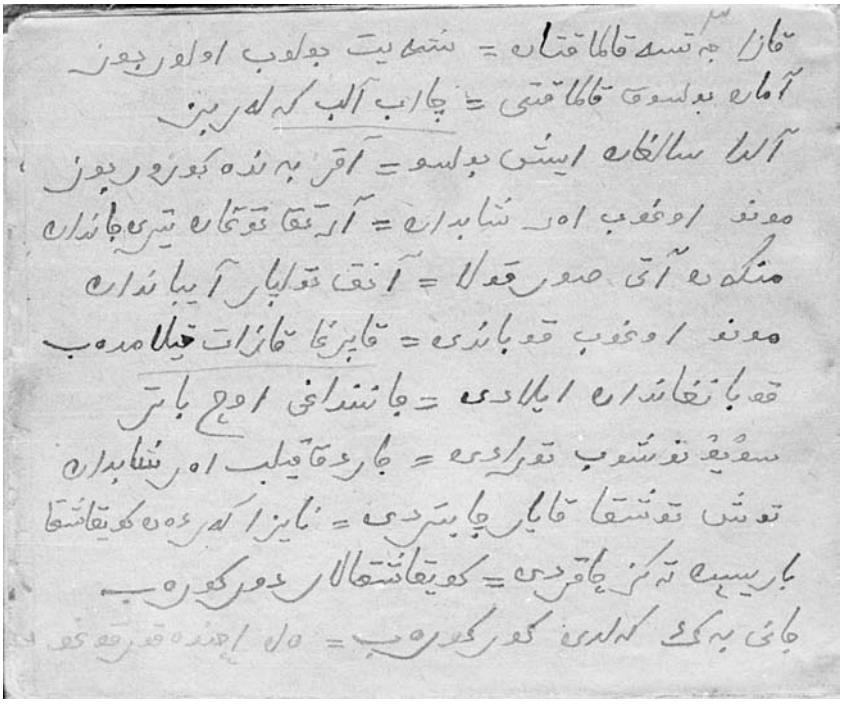
آته‌که باتر آرغیمبای = باره‌ده‌ی بالدار تارتمبای

آر جاقتار بزدی قولدوده = نه‌ده بیسره‌ده باترلار

به‌که‌ر جانب نه پایدا = باربای بولبوس باترلار

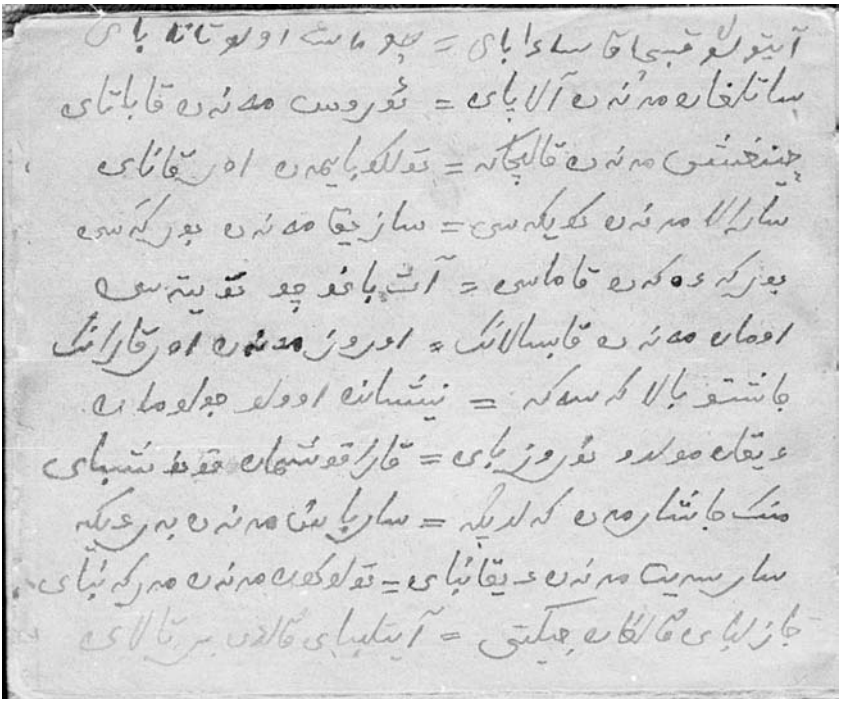
قازات قیلب قالماقتا = جوربه‌ی بولبوس باترلار

قالماقتا صوصبا شارده = کوربه‌ی بولبوس باترلار

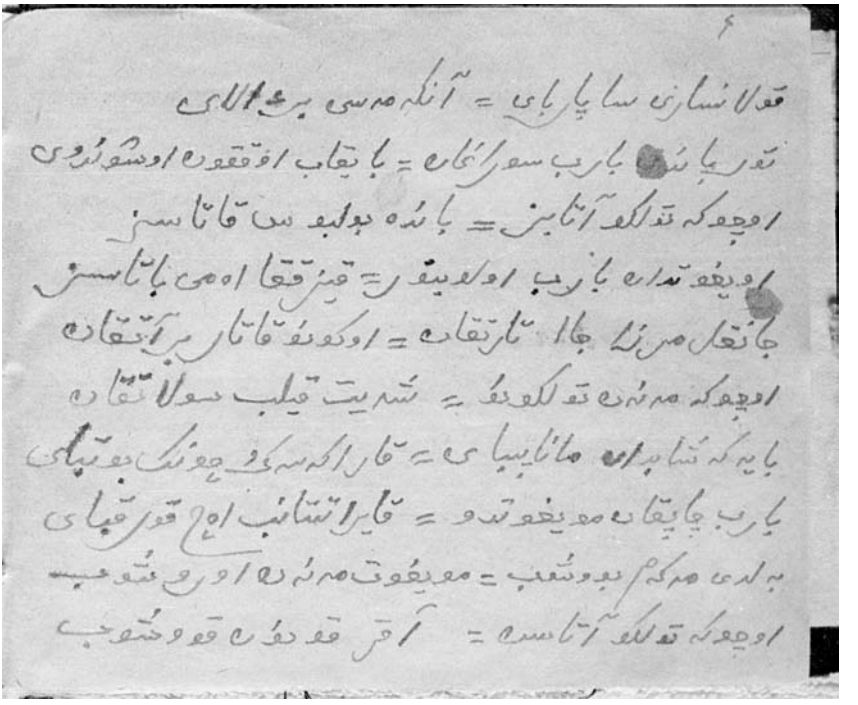


I.37 قازا جه تسه قاماقتان = شمه یت جولوب اولور بعز
39 آماه بولسوق قاماقتی = چاب آلب کله ریز
41 آلما سالقاه ایشی بولسه = آقر به نده کوره ریز
43 معنف اوغوب اه شنابدار = آرتقا قوتماه تیری جاندار
45 منکده آتی صوی قعلا = آنق قولبار آیباندار
47 معنف اوغوب قعبانده = قاپرنما قازات قیلامده ب
49 قعبا تغاندار ایلادی = جانشدانی اوج باتر
51 سقیق توشوب تورادی = جارد قاقیلب اه شنابدار
53 توش توشقا قایار چابتردی = نایزا کوزه ده کوقاشقا
55 باریسیه تکز چاقردی = کوقاشقالار دوکوره ب
57 جائی به کی کلدی کوکوره ب = ده اچنده قورقه کی

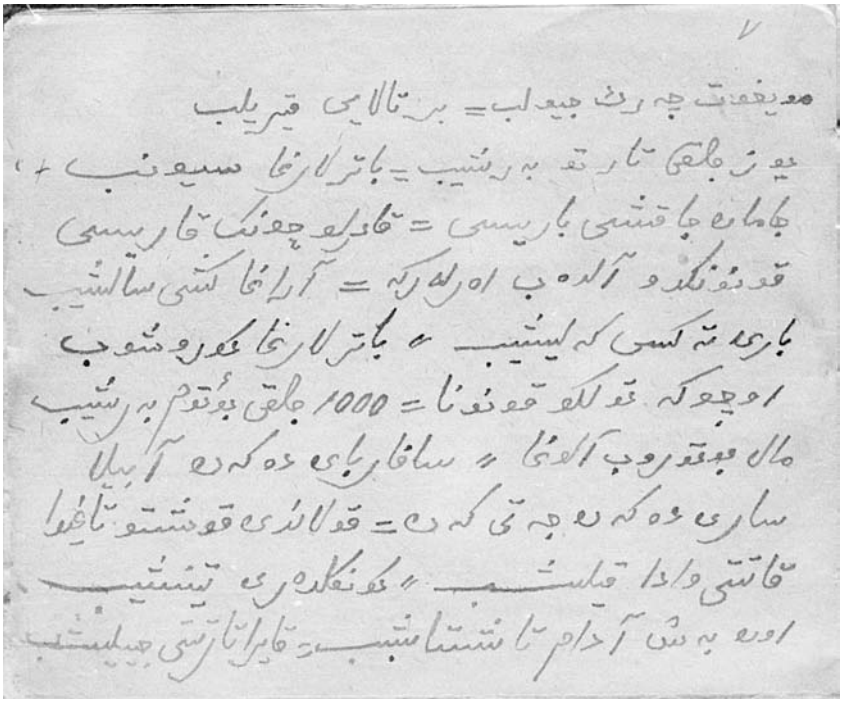
59 اویونده چقبات دوکوب = آنداش کلدی آقریب
61 جولدوشتوروه چاقریب = به یل جاماه دوشمانده
63 زاماناست سابریب =
64 تهمر کلدی کلدوقوب = آیلدی چه ته جولدوقوب
66 مینکده آتی چالقاشقا = چوغه لقوب جقردوقوب
68 قعدا یقولا مولدوسو = اوزو آدامدی جوخوسو
70 ~~بیچاره لی کوب جه ده~~ = باترلاری جولدوشو
72 ~~توروقا جاقا جیتاریه ت~~ = ~~بوتکه لری قریز مولدوسو~~
74 ~~شارات آیسا اه لده~~ = ~~مولدوتوز ماقه جوسو~~
76 ~~بوقارانی اوستونه~~ = ~~جامنب چقماه جولپوسو~~
78 ~~کیسه قالدی سارینقوب~~ = ~~ماناپتاروه قولدوسو~~



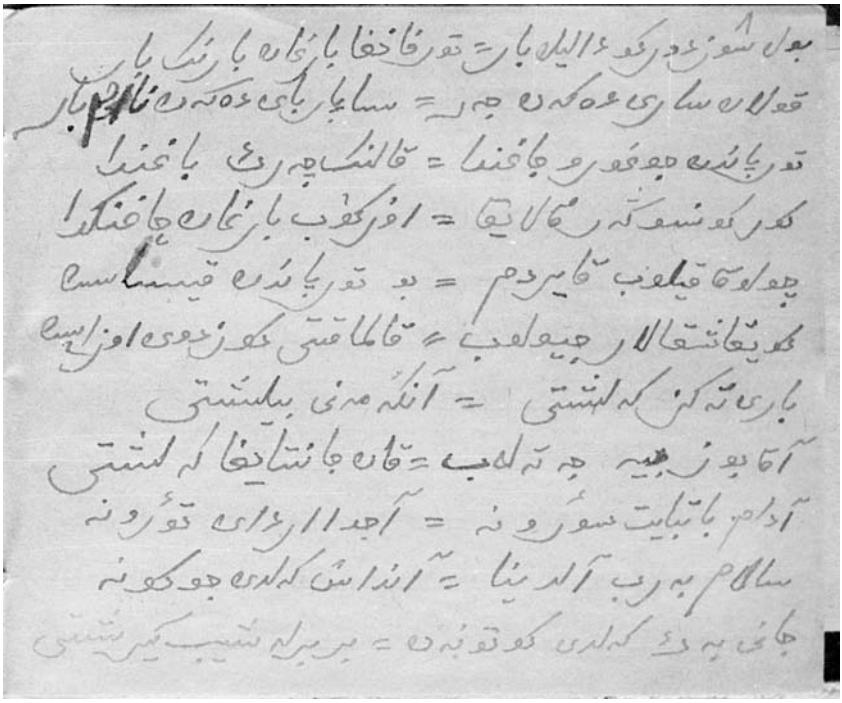
I.81 آیتولو قبجاقاسلاوایای = پدوماست اولوتانه بای
83 پساتلغاره مه نده آلاپای = تغروس مه نده قابانتای
85 چینغیشتی مه نده قالیچاکه = تقلکه پایمه ن اوچقانای
87 ساریلار مه نده کلیکه سی = سازیقا مه نده بورکه سی
89 بورکه ده کده قاماسی = آشپاغو چه تقیته سی
91 اومای مه نده قابسالانک = اوروز مه نده اوچقارانک
93 جاشتو بالا کسه که = نیشانه اوچک جولومای
95 عیقاق مولده تغروزیای = قارا قوشلمای قطنشیای
97 منک جانشار مه ن که لربکه = ساریاپش مه نده بورکه
99 ساریسیت مه نده عیقانیای = تقلکه مه نده مه رکه نیای
101 جازلیای قالقانه چیکتی = آیتلیای قالدی برتالای



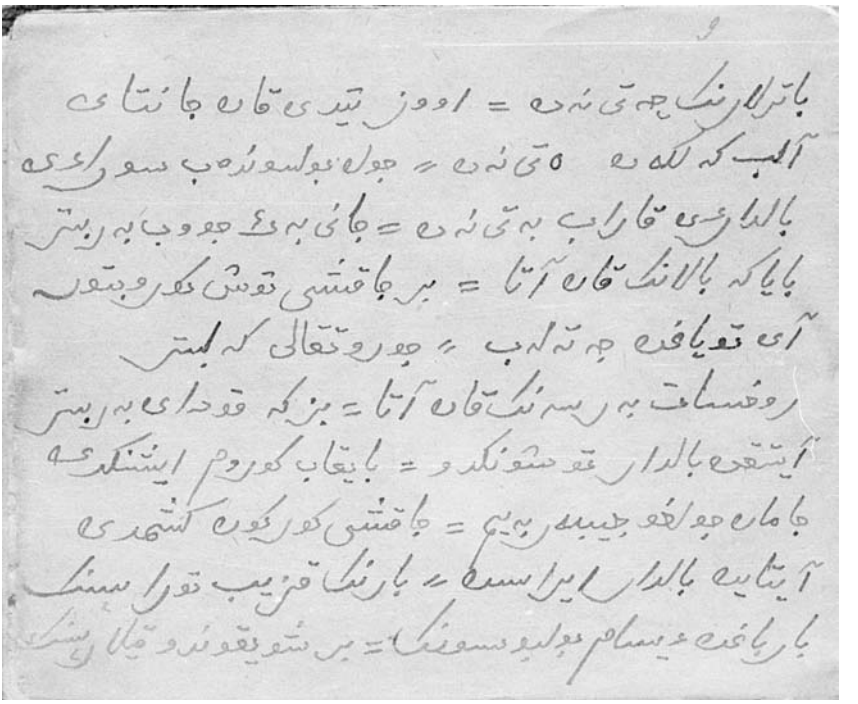
103 تقلانسازی ساپاریای = آنکه مه سی برتالای
105 تقریانه بارب سعرلغای = بایقاب اوقعده اوشقوده
107 اوچه که تقلکه آتابس = بانده بولیه سن قاتاسز
109 اویغه تداره بارب اولیقور = قیزقعا اومی باتاسز
111 جانغل مرنک جاا تارتقای = اوکونه قاتار برآتقای
113 اوچه که مه نده تقلکونه = شدیت قیلب سولاتقای
115 بایه که شابدان مانایبای = قارا که سه کی چونک بقتیای
117 بارب چاپقای معیغوتده = قایرا تشانب اوچ قوریای
119 بولدی مه کم بوشغب = معیغوت مه نده اوروشغب
121 اوچه که تقلکه آتاسه = آخر قعده قوشغب



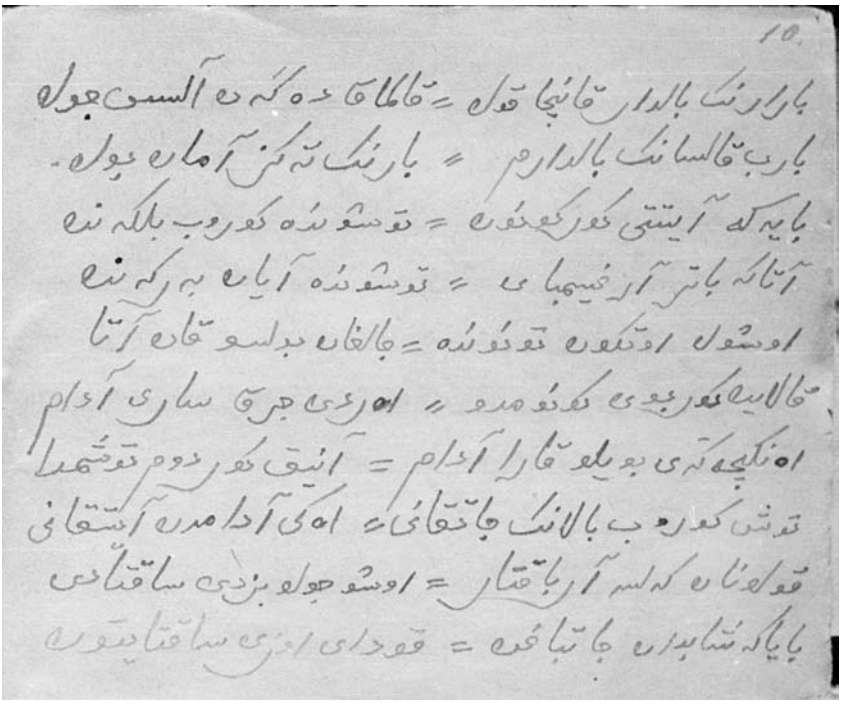
I.122
معرفت چه رنج جیعلب = بر تالایی قیریلب
124 یوز جلقی تارتقه بر شیب = باترلارنی سیعنب +
126 جامان جاقشی باریسی = تاوارلق چفنک قاریسی
128 قوفنکده آلده ب اوره رکه = آرانی قاشتی سالشیب
130 باری ته کسی که لیشیب = باترلارنی کوروشوب
132 اوچوکه قولکه قوفنا = 1000 جلقی بوقدم بر شیب
134 مال جیقوروب آلدنی = ساقاریای ده که ده آیلا
136 ساری ده که ده جه تی که ده = قولاندی قوشتو تاغدا
138 قاتتی واردا قیلشیب = کونکلده ری تیشیب
140 اوده یوش آدام تاشتا شیب = قایرا تارتی جیلیشب



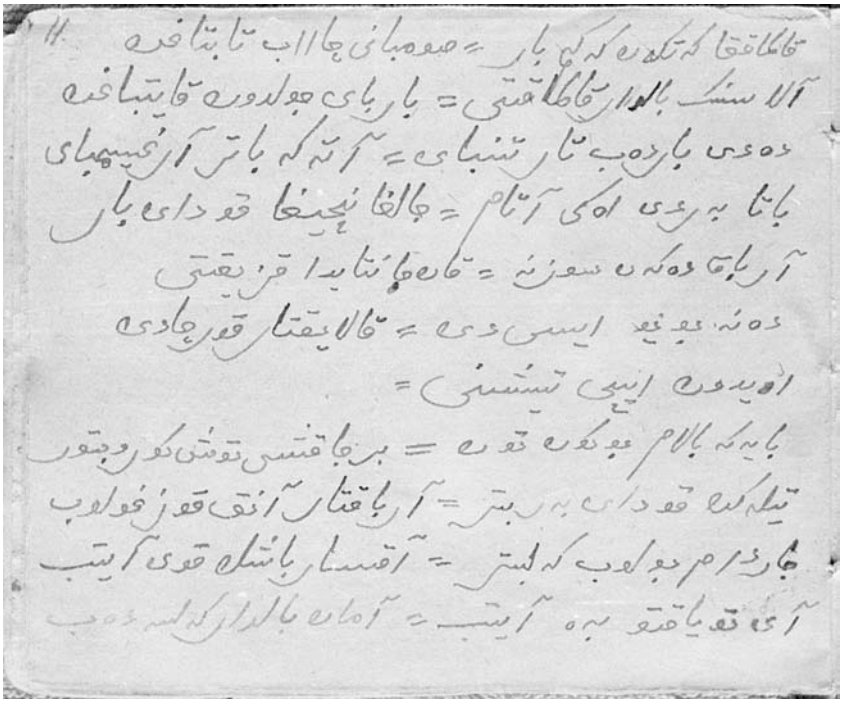
142 بول شوزده رکه ده ایلیار = قوزقاغا باغده باریک یار
144 قولاری ساری ده که ده جه = ساپاریای ده که ده تاغ یار
146 قوزیاندی جیقوروب جاغدنا = قالنگ جه ری باغدنا
148 کوز کوشه که ده گالیقا = اوزکوب بارنجان چاغدکدا
150 جیلوقا قیلوب تایردم = بو قوزیاندی قیمتلیسی
152 کوزیاشتالار جیلوب = تاماقتی کوزده ی اوزلیسی
154 باری ته کن که لیشتی = آنکه منی بیلیشتی
156 آقا یوز جیمه جه ته لب = تاغ جانتیغا که لیشتی
158 آدام باتیایت سوروشه = آجدا ارای قوروشه
160 سلام به رب آلدینا = آنداش که لدی جوکوشه
162 جانی به ری که لدی کوتوبده = بر بره شیب کیریشتی



باترلارنگ چه تی نه ده = اوزن تیدی قاده جانتای
آلب که لکه ده تی نه ده = جول بولسونده ب سوراری
بالداری قاراب به تی نه ده = جانی به ع جوب به ربتر
بایاکه بالانگ قاده آتا = بر جاقشی قوش کوروبتور
آی تو یاغده چه ته لب = جوروتعالی که لبتر
روفسات به ریسه نگ قاده آتا = بزکه قوداری به ربتر
آیتقی بالدار قوشقونکدو = بایقاب کوردم ایشنکده
جاماد جولغه جیبده ریبی = جاقشی کوریکوب کشمدی
آیتایه بالدار ایراسده = بارنگ قزیب تورا سینگ
بارباغده یسام بولیوسونگ = بر شو یقوندو قیلاسینگ



بارارنگ بالدار قانیجا قول = قالماقاده که ده آلسن جول
بارب قالسانگ بالدارم = بارنگ ته کن آماد بول.
بایه که آیتقی کوریکوقون = توشونده کوروب بلکه نه
آتاکه باتر آرخیمبای = توشونده آیاد به رکه نه
اوشول اوتکوده توقونده = جالغاد بولسو قاده آتا
قالایه کوریجی کوتومده = اوزی جرقا ساری آدام
اونکچه کتی بویلو قارا آدام = آنیق کوردوم توشمدا
توشن کوروب بالانگ جانقانی = اوی آدامده آیتقانی
قولاقناد که لسه آریاقتار = اوشو جول بزدی ساقتانی
بایاکه شابدار جاتیاغده = قوداری اوزی ساقتایتور



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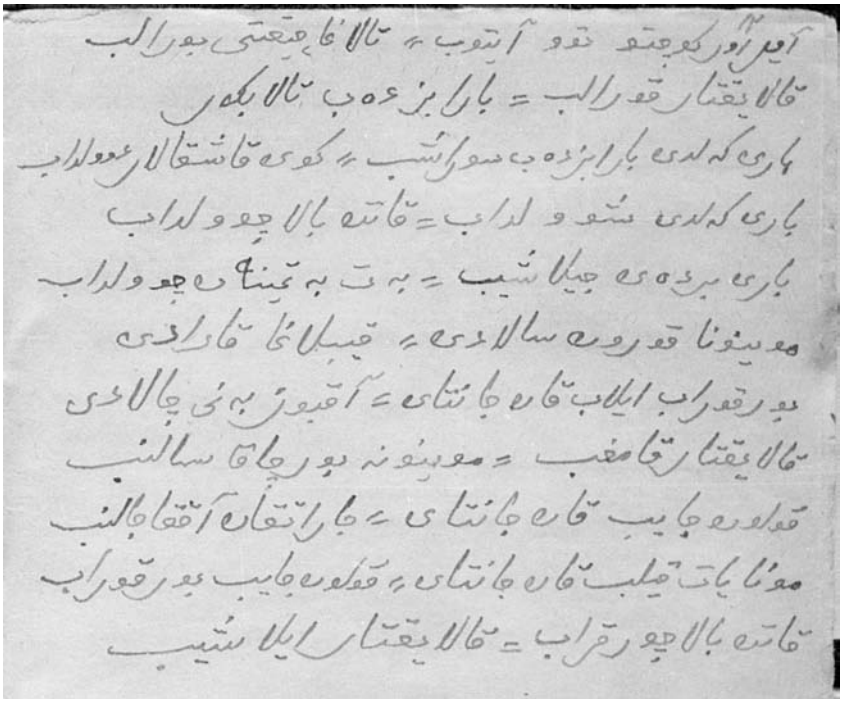
قاقاقا قاتکدی که کی بار = صوصبای چاااب تا بتاغده
آلا سنگ بالدار قاقاقتی = بارپای جولدوده قاتیباغده
دده دی بارده ب تار تشبای = آرته که باتر آرغیپیمای
بانا به بردی اده کی آرتام = چالقا نیچیغا قودای بار
آر باقا ده که ب سعرته = قاده چا تنابدا قرزیقتی
دده نه بوغیغ ایسی دی = قالایقتار قورچادی
اوبیدده اینی تیشتنی =
بایه که بالام بوکده قوده = بر جاقتس توشن کوروجقور
تیلکه کیا قودای بوربتر = آر باقتار آنق قوز قولوب
جاردام جولوب که لبتر = آقسنار باشلا قوی آیتب
آی قو یاقتو بره آیتب = آمان بالدار که لسه ده ب



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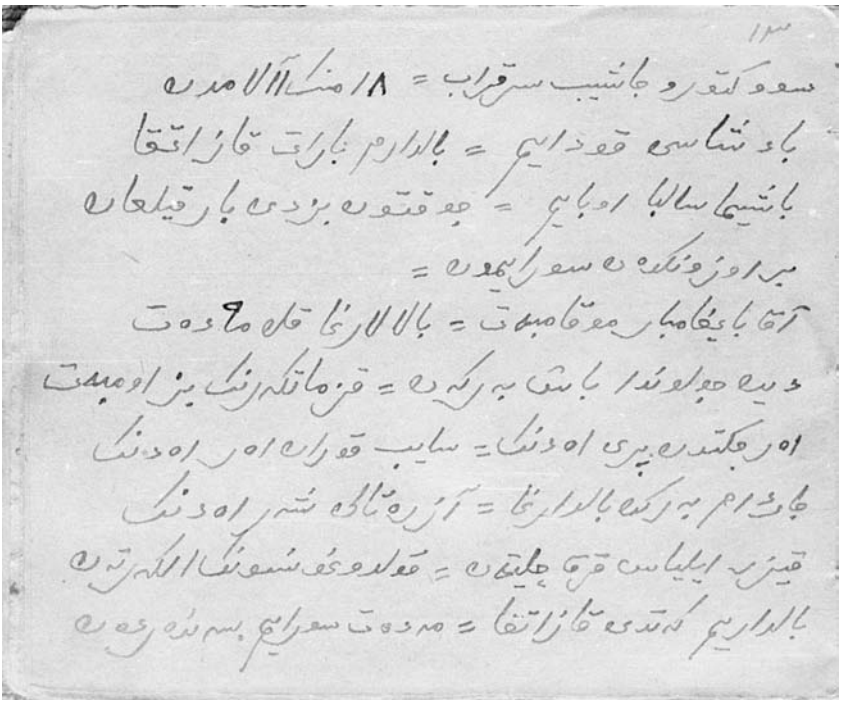
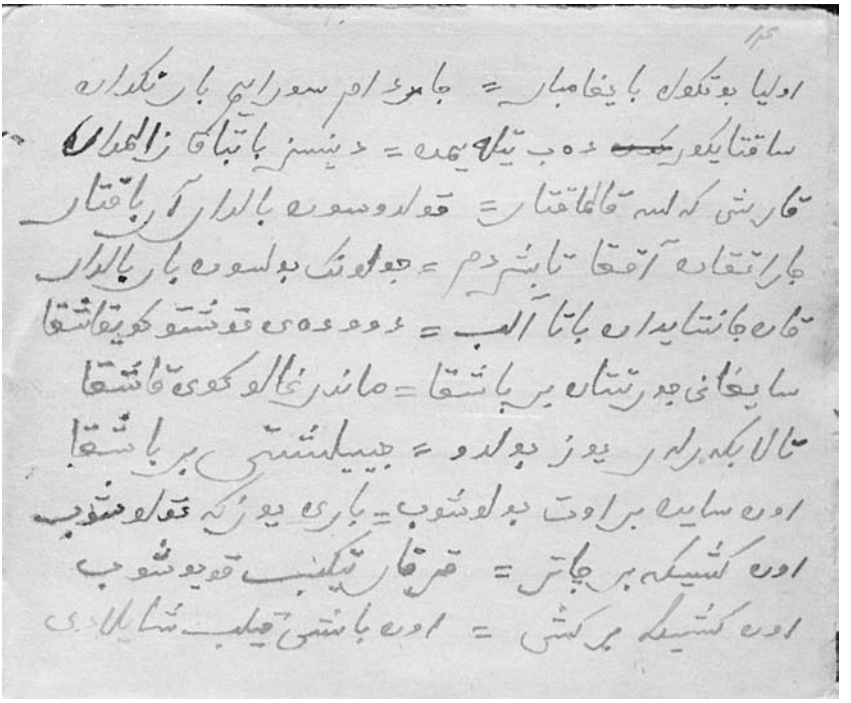
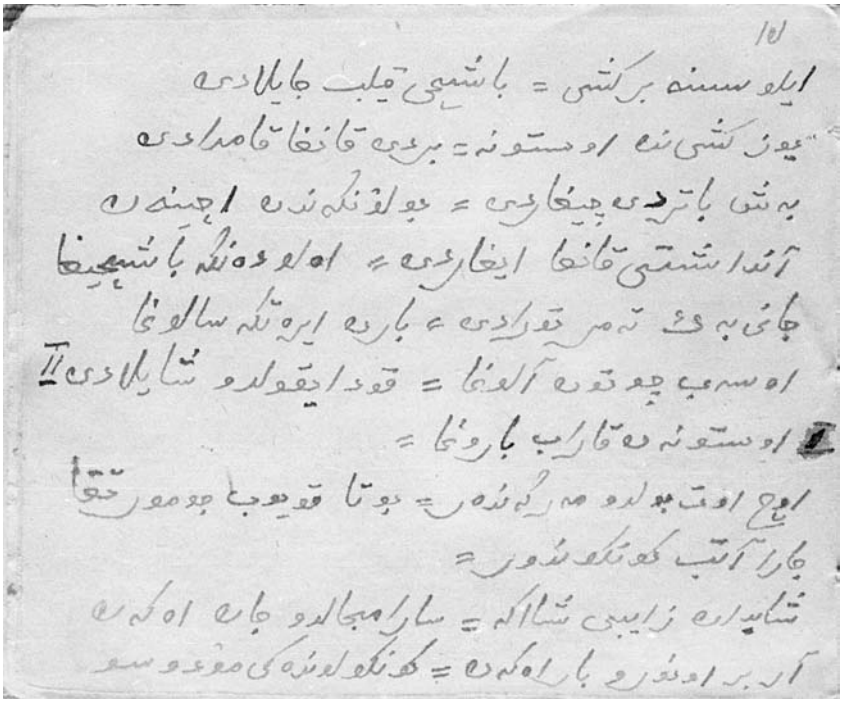
آیر آور کوچتو قو آیتوب = تالا قاچیقتی بورالب
قالایقتار قورالب = بار بزده ب تالا بکور
باری که لدی بار ابزده ب سوراشب = کوی قاشقالار عودلداب
باری که لدی شو و لداب = قاته بالا چو و لداب
باری بردده ی جیلا شیب = بر ت به تمنا ده چو و لداب
معینونا قورده سالادی = قیبلا نما قارادی
بورقوراب ایلاب قاده جانتای = آقبوز به نی چالادی
قالایقتار قاصغب = معینونه بورچاقا سالنب
قوله ده چایب قاده جانتای = جارا تقاده آقفا جالنب
معونا یاتا قیلب قاده جانتای = قوقله ده چایب بورقوراب
قاته بالا چورقراب = قالایقتار ایلا شیب



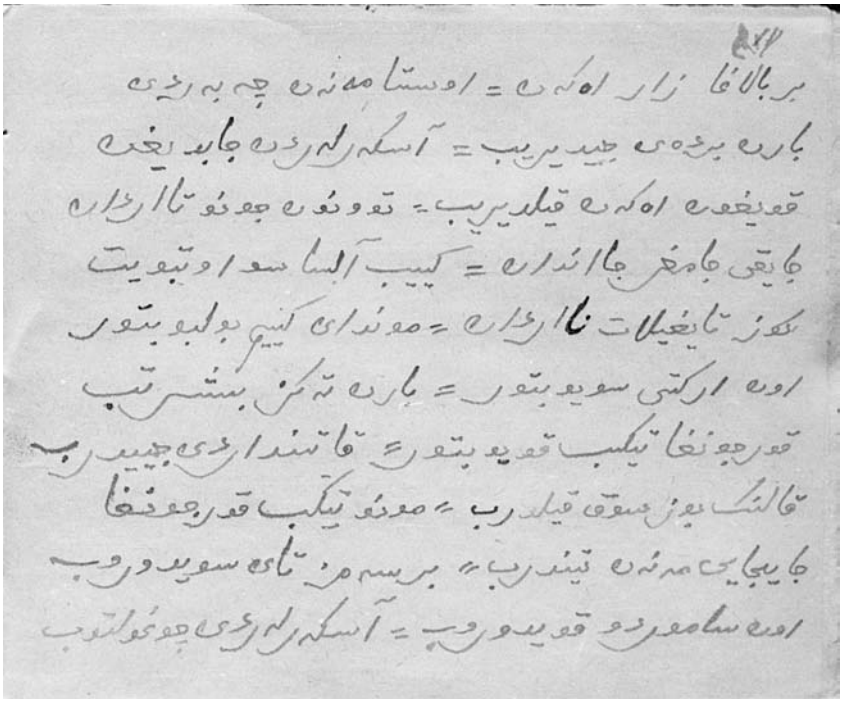
I.248 سعد کتغرو جانشیب سرقراب = ۱۸ منک آلا مدی
250 باد شناسی قوداییم = بالداریم بارات قازاقتا
252 باشیما سالبا اوباییم = جوقتوده بزدی بارقیلغان
بر اوزونکده سعرایمدی =
255 آقتا بایغامبار معقامبدت = بالالارینا قل معاوده ت
257 دییه جوابلوندا باشی بیرکه دی = قزماتکه رنگ بز اومبدت
259 اوز جکتده پری اودنک = سایب قوراق اوس اودنک
261 جاوزام بیرکه بالالارینا = آزره تالکه شهر اودنک
263 قیزیر ایلیاس قرقا چلیقدی = قولدوغی شوتنگ الکه رتدی
265 بالداریم کهتدی قازاقتا = مدده ت سعرایم بسه لده رمدی



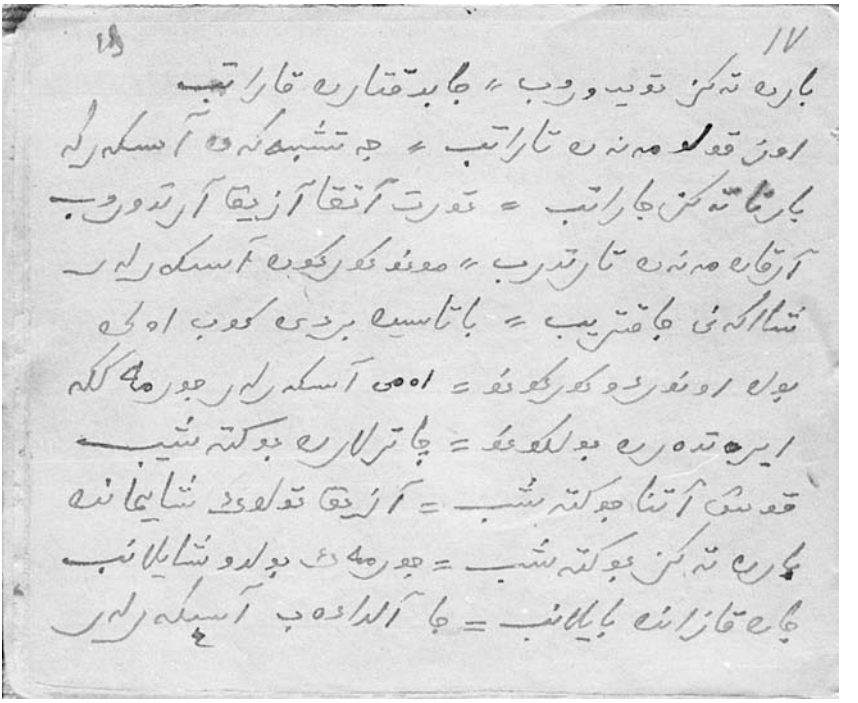
267 اولیا بوتکلن بایغامبار = جامرد اوم سعرایم بارتکلدار
269 ساقتایکوز ده ب تیلاییمدی = دینسز باتباقا زالمدار
271 قارشی کهلسه قالماقتار = قولدوسعده بالدار آرباقتار
273 جارتقاده آقتا تابشردم = جولوتک بولسوده بار بالدار
275 قاف جانشایدار باتا آلب = دوعده ی قوشتوکوبقاشقا
277 سایغانی جورتناب بر باشقا = ماندرنخالوکوی قاشقا
279 تالابکه رلهر یوز بولدو = جیبلشتی بر باشقا
281 اوس سایه براوت بولدشوب = باری یوزکه قولدشوب
283 اوس کشیکه بر چاتر = قرقار تیکیب قویوشوب
285 اوس کشیکه بر کش = اوس باشتی جیلب شایلادی



ایله سسنه برکشی = باشیمی قیلب جایلادی
یوز کشی نه اوستونه = برده قانغا قامدادی
به ش باتردی چیغاردی = بولوتلکه ندن اچیلدی
آندا شتی قانغا ایغاردی = اولوده تلکه باشیچیغا
جانی به ث تمر تقرادی = باردی ایرتلکه سالوغا
اوسه ب چقدی آلغا = قوداچقولده شایلادی
اوستونه قارب بارغا =
اوچ اوت بولده مرگنده = بوتا قویوب جومرتغا
جارا آتب کوتکه ندی =
شاپدره زایبی شاکه = سارا مجالدو جاپ اوکه
آربر اوتوره بار اوکه = کوتکه لرنده کی مقعد سه



برباللغا زار اوکه = اوستامه نده چه بره
باردی برده جیدیریب = آسکه لردی جابیغه
قویغه اوکه قیلدیریب = تقوتوده جوتو تالاردی
جایقی جامغر جالاندی = کیپ آلساسه اوتبویت
کوز تایغیلات تالاردی = صوندی کیپ بولبو بتور
اوده ارکتی سویه بتور = باردی تمرکز بشتر تب
قمرجوتغا تیکب قویه بتور = قاتندی جیدیریب
قالتک یوز سوق قیلدریب = صوتو تیکب قمرجوتغا
جایجایحه مه نده تیندریب = برسه مز تاه سویدوریب
اوده سامسونده قویدوریب = آسکه لردی چوتولتوب



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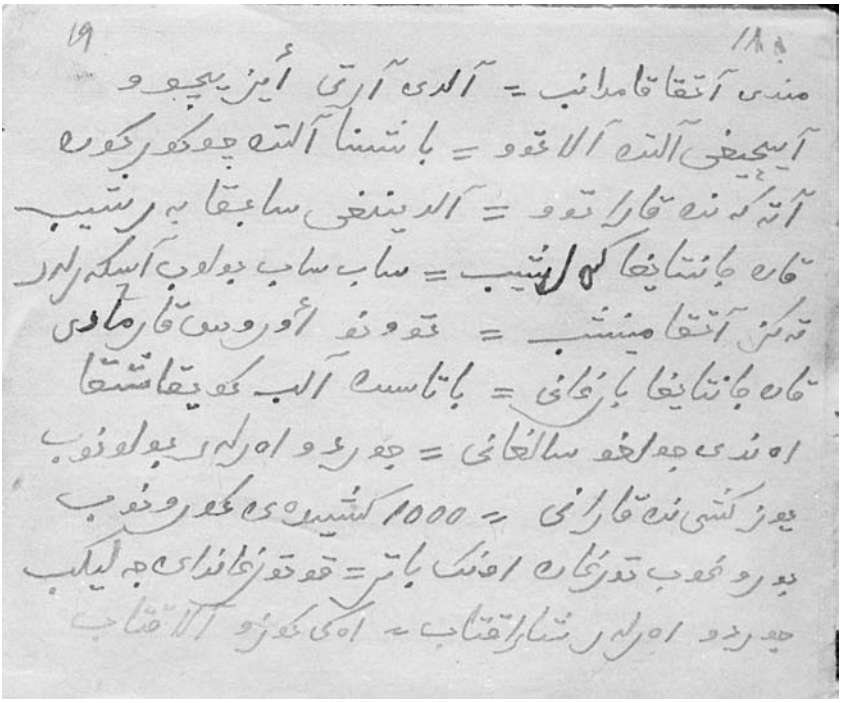
I.327 باره تەکن تقیدوب = جابدقتاره تارانب
329 اوز قەلەمەنەی تارانب = چەتشبەکەوە آسکەرلەر
331 بارتاتەکن جارانب = تقرت آنقا آزیقا آرتدوب
333 آرقاەمەنەی تارتدرب = معنفکەرکەوە آسکەرلەر
335 شاکەنی جاقتریب = باتاسیە بردی کوب اولی
337 بول اوتقردوکەرکەوف = اوی آسکەرلەر جورمەکە
339 ایرتەدرەی بولکەوف = چاترلارەی بوکتەشیب
341 قەوش آتناچوکتەشب = آزیقا تولودی شایمانە
343 بارەتەکن بوکتەشب = جورمەی بولدوشایلانب
345 جاەقازانە بایلانب = جاآلدەدب آسکەرلەر



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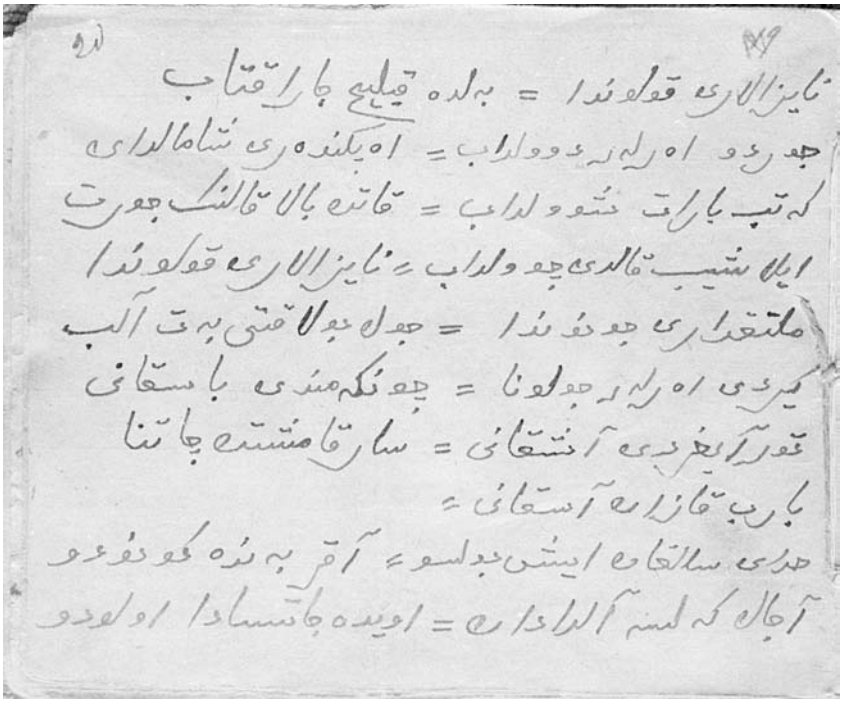
347 مندی آنقاقامرانب = آلدی آرتی آیز یچوو
349 آیچیغی آلتە آلاقوو = باشسنا آلتە چوکەرکوە
351 آتەکەنە تارارتوو = آلدینغی سابقا بەرشیب
353 تاەجانتایغاکەلشیب = ساب ساب بولوب آسکەرلەر
355 تەکن آنقامینشب = تقوونف اوروس تارمادی
357 تاەجانتایغا بارغانی = باتاسیە آلب کوپقاشتقا
359 اوندی جولغوسالغانی = جورێدو اولەر بولوتوب
361 یوزکشیندەتارانی = 1000 کشیندەی کوروتوب
363 یورو چوب تەزنجاەاوتک باتر = قوقوزغاندای جەلیلب
365 جورێدو اولەر شارقتاب = اوی کوزو آلاقتاب



نایزالاری قولقندا = بولده قیلیچ بارا قتاب I.366
جوردو اوریه دوولداب = اویکنده ری شاماللای 368
کیتب بارات شوولداب = قاتنه بالا قالنگ جورت 370
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ملتقداری جوقندا = جول بولا قتی به ت آلب 374
کیردی اوریه رجولونا = چونکه مندی باستقانی 376
قورآیغردی آشتقانی = سارقامشته چاتنا 378
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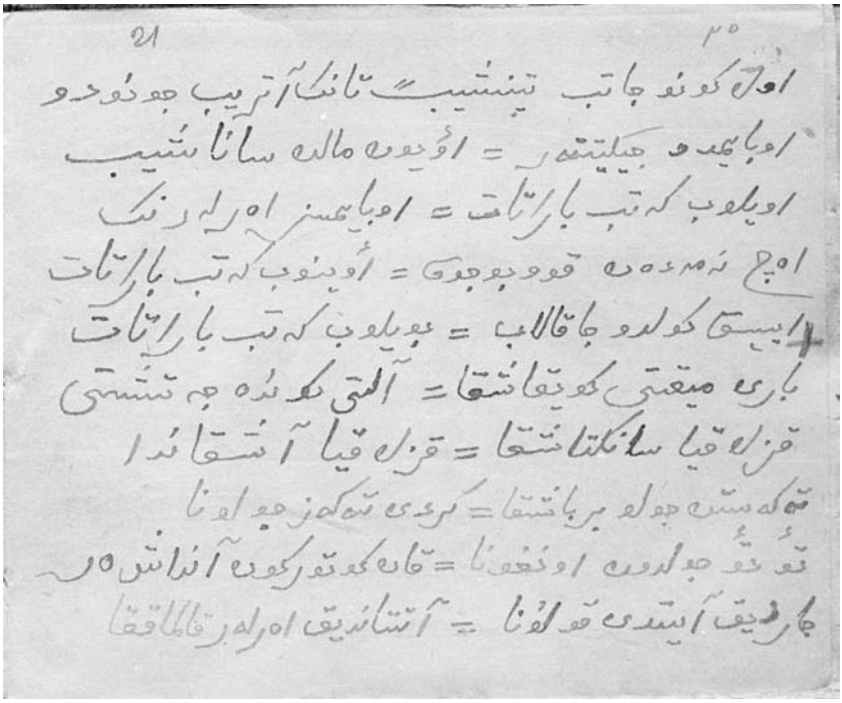
هدی سالتقاه ایشن جولسو = آقربه نده کونوزو 381
آجاق کیسه آلداری = اویده جانسادا اولدو 383



اول کونو جانب تینشیب تانک آتریب جونوزو 385
اویاچدو جیلیتدی = اوچوده مالده سانا شیب 387
اویلوب کیتب بارتات = اویاچمز اوریه رنگ 389
اوچ نه مده ده قوو بوجوق = اوینوب کیتب بارتات 391
ایسقا کولدو جاقالاب = بویلوب کیتب بارتات 393
باری میقتی کویقاشقا = آلتی کونده جه تشتی 395
قزل قیا سانکتاشقا = قزل قیا آشقاندا 397
تهکه ستن جولو برباشقا = کردی تهکه زجولونا 399
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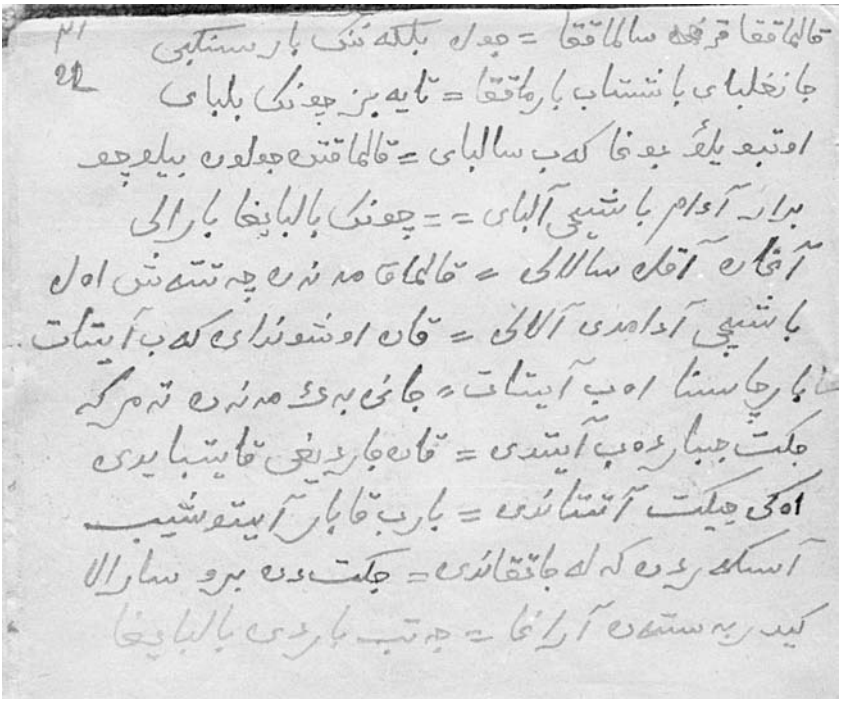
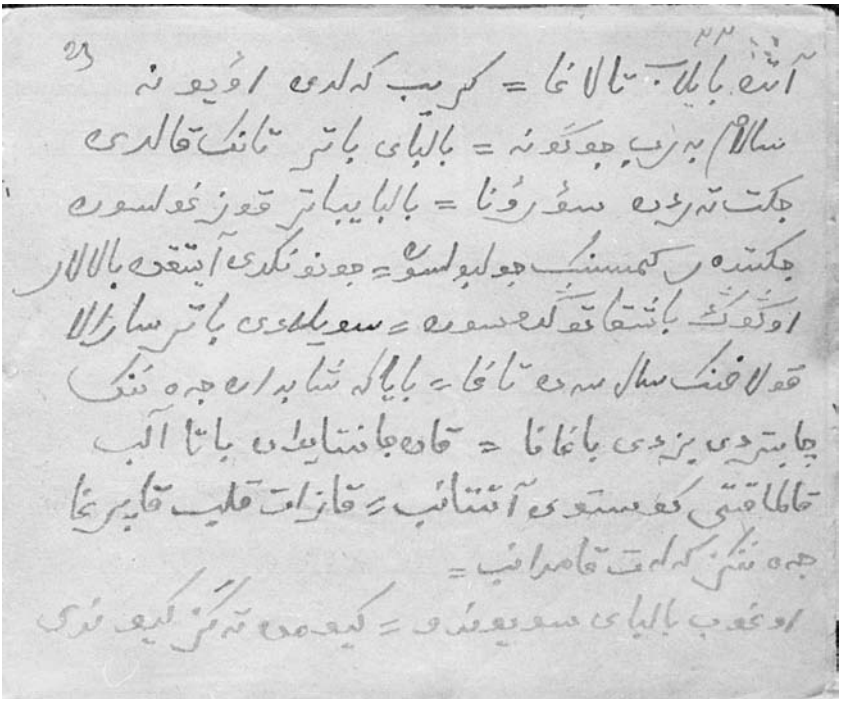
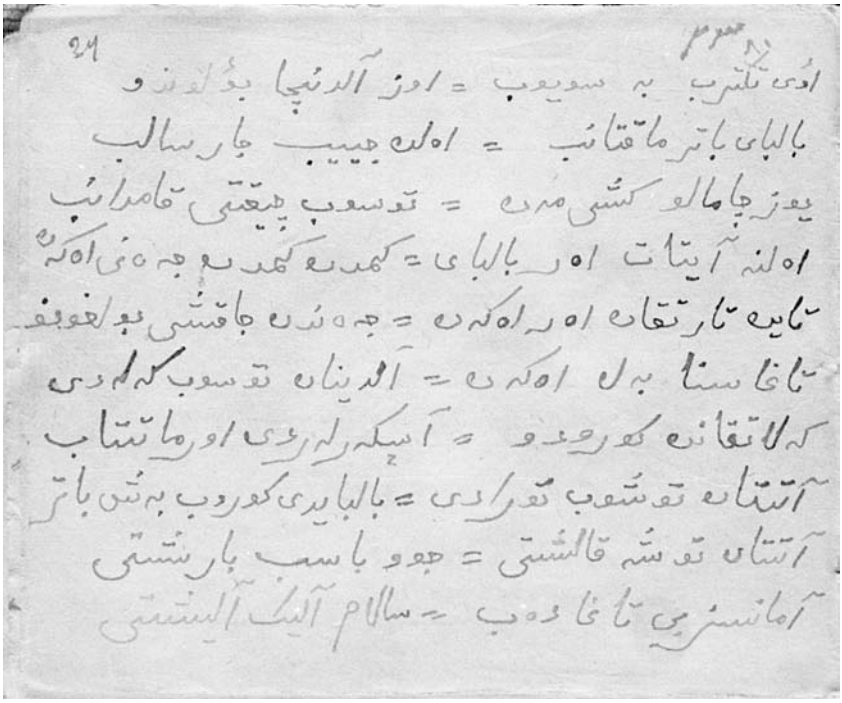
جاردیق آیتدی قولونا = آشتاندیق اوریه رقالماقتا 403



I.406 قالماقتا قرقه سالماقتا = جعل بلکه تنگ بار سنکبی
408 جانغلبای باشتاب بارماقتا = تایه بز چونک بلبای
410 اوتبع یلغ بوغا کدب سالبای = قالماقتی جعلوب بیلدچه
412 برار آدام باشیبی آلبای = = چونک بالبایغا بارالی
414 آنجاق آنکه سالالی = قالماقا مدنده چه تشه ش اول
416 باشیبی آدامدی آلالی = قاب اوشوندای کدب آیتمات
418 بارچاسنا اوب آیتمات = جائی بوک مدنده تمرکه
420 جلکت جبارده ب آیتدی = قاب جاریغی قایتبایدی
422 اولی جلکت آشتانده = بارب قابار آیتوشیب
424 آسکه رده کله جانقائدی = جلکت ده برو سارالا
426 کیدر به ستده آرانما = جه تب بارده بالبایغا



428 آنده بایلا تالانما = کریب کلدی اویونه
430 سالام بربه جوکونه = بالبای باتر تانک قالدی
432 جلکت تنده سوروتا = بالبایباتر قوزغولسوب
434 جکشه رکمسنک جولبولسون = جونکدی آیتوب بالالار
436 اوکوک باشقاقه کلسوده = سوبلدی باتر سارالا
438 قولاغنک سالسده تانما = بایاکه شایداه جه ه تنگ
440 چابتردی بزدی بانما = قاب جانتایلدی باتا آلب
442 حالماقتی کوستردی آشتانب = قازانت قلیب قایرنما
جه ه تنگ کلدت قامرانب =
445 اوغوب بالبای سوبوندو = کیدمده تمرکیوتدی



اوی تلترب به سویعب = اوز آلدینجا بولدوز I.446
بالبای باتر ماقتانب = اولدی جیبیب جارسالب 448
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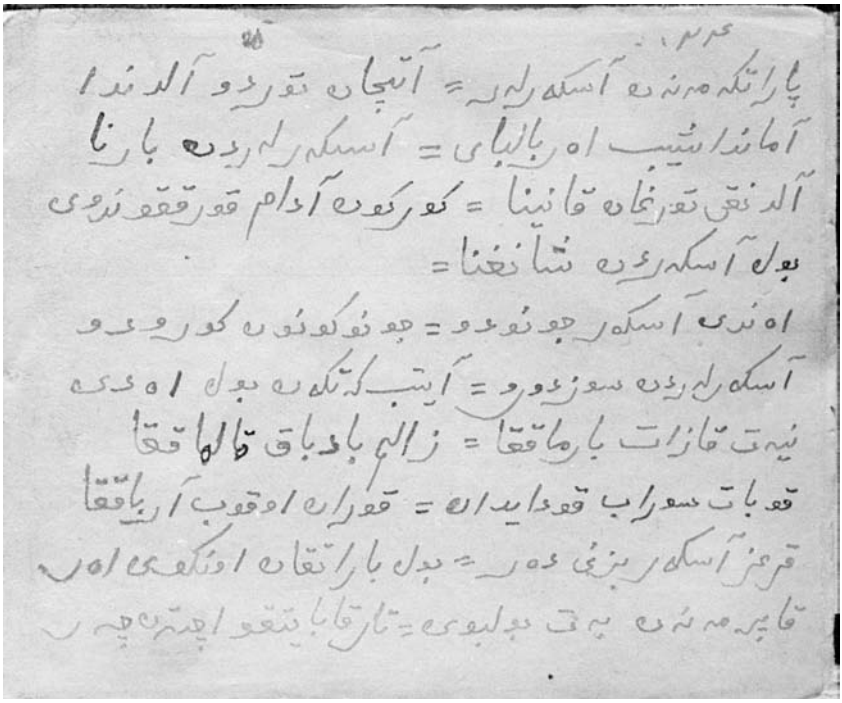

پارتکه مه نده آسکه رلیه = آنجاه تورودو آلدندا 466
آماندا شیب اور بالبای = آسکه رلیدی بارنا 468
آلدنقی تورنجاه قانینا = کورکدی آدام قورقه ندی 470
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نیه ت قازات بارماقتا = زالمه باد باق قالماقتا 477
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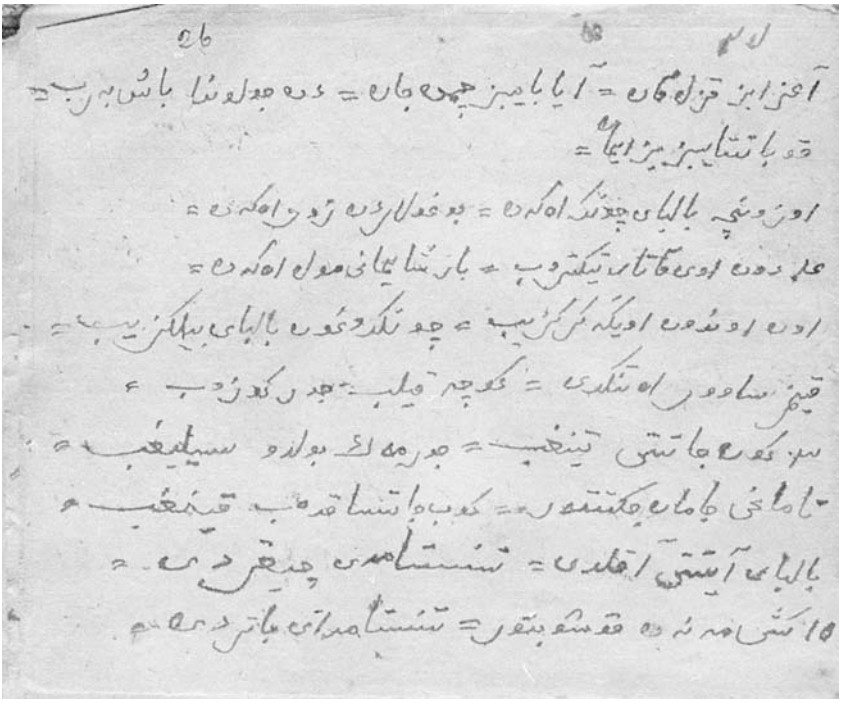
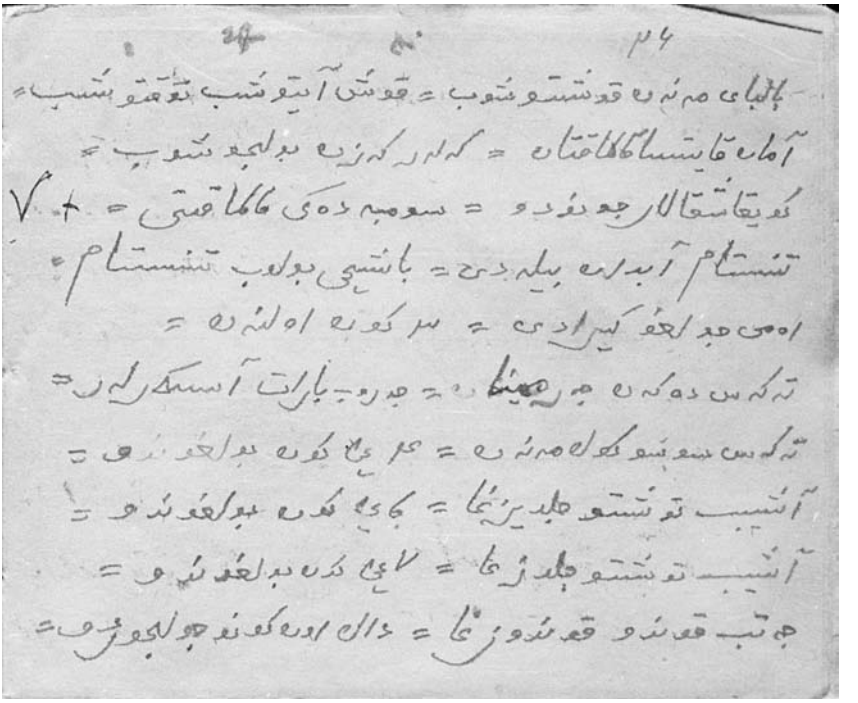
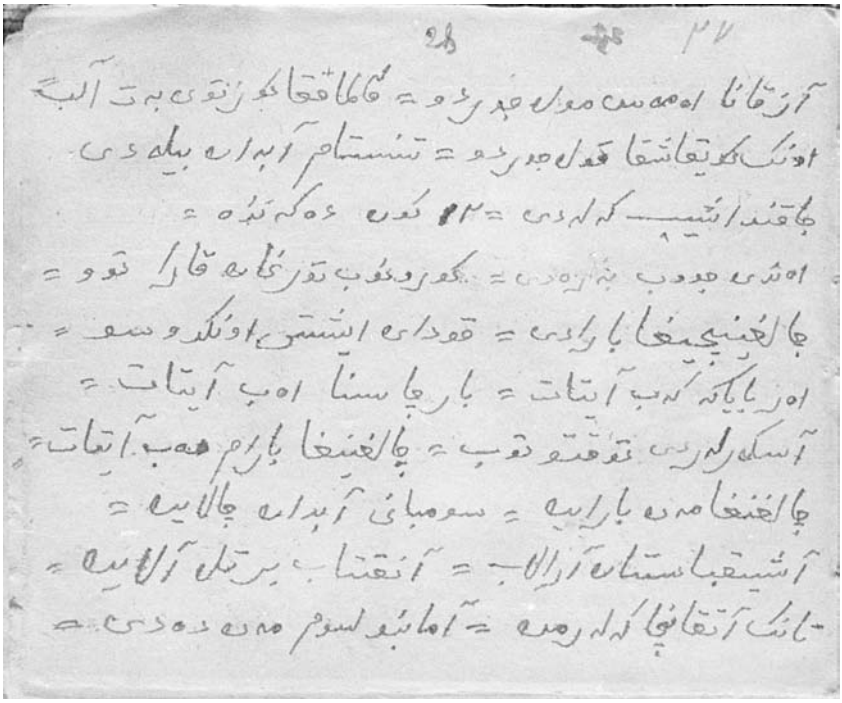
قاپه مه نده به ت بولدوی = تارقا بایتقو اچه ره ر 483



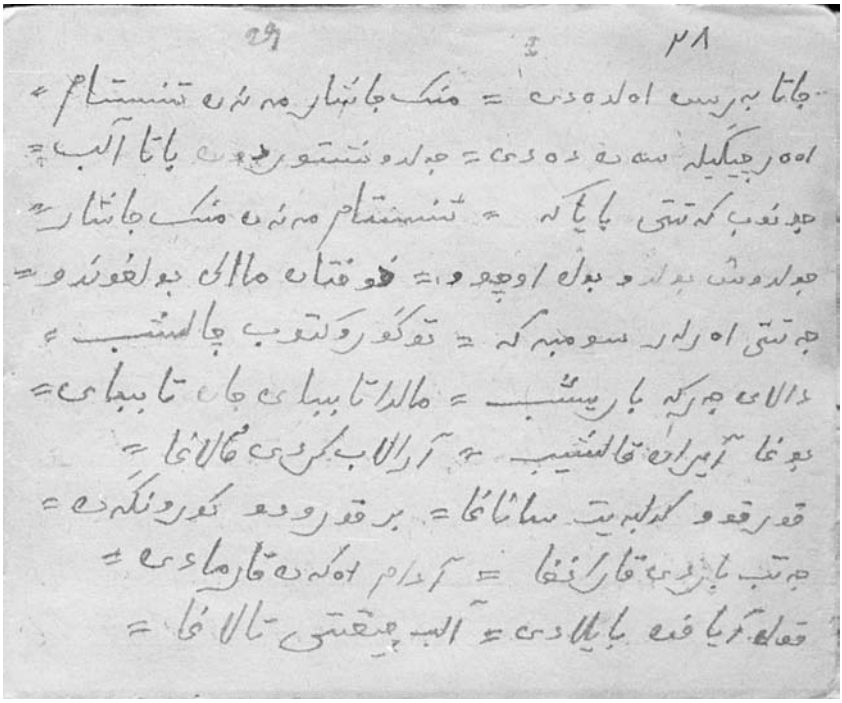
I.487 آخر از قزل گان = آیا بامیز چمن جان = دده جولوندا باش بر ب =
قوباتشا بیز بزایما =
490 اوزونچه بالبای چوتک اه کده = بوغدای ده زوراه کده =
492 عرده اوی قاتار تیکتروب = بارشایمانی مول اه کده =
494 اوده اوشده اویکه کرکیب = چوتکدوغوب بالبای بیلکزیب =
496 قیمز ساده ور اه تکدی = کوچه قیلب = جدر کدوزب =
498 سرکوه جاتش تینغب = جرمه لغ بولده سیلیغب =
500 تاماغی جاماه چکشتده = کوب باتشاقه ب قیغب =
502 بالبای آیتی آقلدی = تشستامدی چیغردی =
504 10 کش مه نده قوشقبتقر = تشستامدان باتردی =



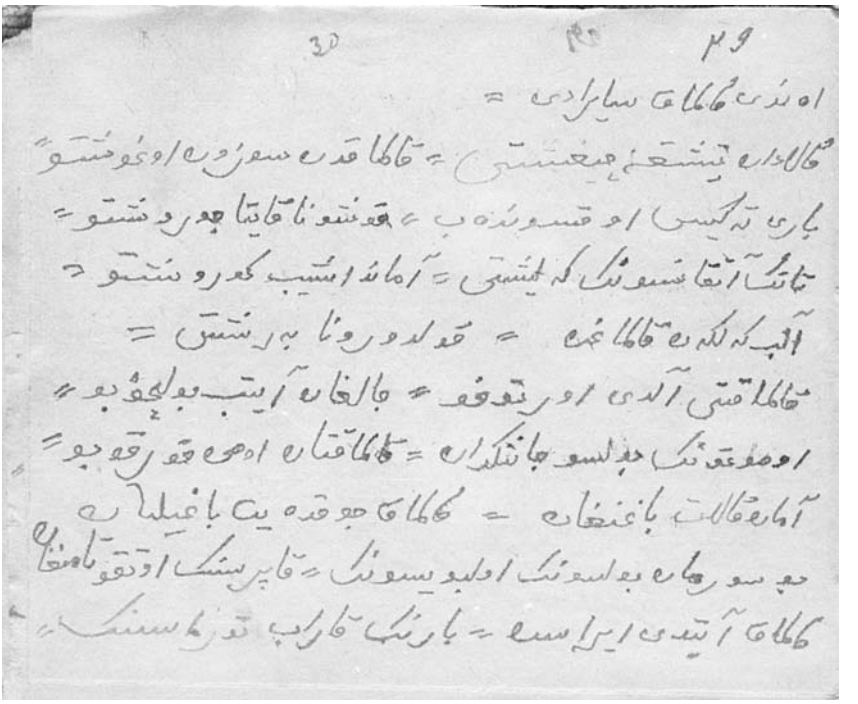
506 بالبای مه نده قوشتوشوب = قوش آیتوشب تقمتوشب =
508 آماه قایتسا کاکاتتای = کده کدزده بولجه شوب =
510 کویقاشقالار جوغده = سوموده دکی کاکاقتی = ٧ +
512 تشستام آبده بیله دی = باشچی بولب تشستام =
514 اومی جولغه کیرادی = سرکوه اه لنده =
516 تکه س ده کده جرمینا = جده = بارات آسکریلدی =
518 تکه س سوشوکه لمه نده = عرباکوه بولغنده =
520 آتشیب توشتوجلدیزما = بایاکده بولغنده =
522 آتشیب توشتوجلدزما = لایاکده بولغنده =
524 جتب قوشنده قوشنده وزما = دال اوده کوشنه جولجوزب =



آرزقانا اوه‌سه‌سه‌موں جدرده = قاماقعاقچ‌زنقوی‌بت آلب
اوتک‌کوتیقاشقا قعدل جدرده = تنشستام آبدای بیلەدی
جاقنداشیب کەلەدی = ۲۲ کون ەکەنده =
اوشدی جدوب بەرەدی = کوروقوب تورغاق قارا تعو =
جالغینچیقا بارایدی = قعدای ایشتی اوتکەدوسه =
اورپاکه کەب آیتات = بارجاسنا اوب آیتات =
آسکەلەدی تقتقتوقوب = جالغینقا بارام هەب آیتات =
جالغنقامەدە بارایە = سوەبای آبدای جالایە =
آشیقباستای آرالاب = آنقتاب برتل آلایە =
تانک آنقانقا کەلەمدە = آمانبو لسوم مەدەدی =



جاتا بەرسە اولەدی = منک جانیارمەندە تنشستام =
اوەرچیکیلە سەدەدی = جلدەتشتوردە پاتا آلب =
جەنقوب کەتتی پاپاکه = تنشستام مەندە منک جانیار =
جلدەوش بولدە بوک اوچدە = قوقتای مالای بولغوندە =
جەتتی اورلەر سوەبەکه = تقکوروکتوب چالشب =
دالای جەرکه بارپشب = مالدا تابیای جان تابیای =
بوقا آیرای قالشیب = آرالاب کردی قالاقا =
قەرقعدە کلبیت سانانقا = برقەرودە کوروتکەدی =
جەتب بارزی قارانقا = آردام اوکەدە قارماەدی =
قعلە آیافدە بایلادی = آلب چقتی تالاقا =



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اوندن گلمک سیارادی =

I.567 گلماز تیشتم میگشتی = گلما قدسعزدن اوخوشتو =

569 یاری نه کیسن اوقسوندوب = قوشتم ناقاتیتا چوردشتو =

571 تاتنگ آتاشسونگ کیتیشتی = آماندا شیب کوردشتو =

573 آلیب کلکدن گلماغه = قولدورونا بیرشتی =

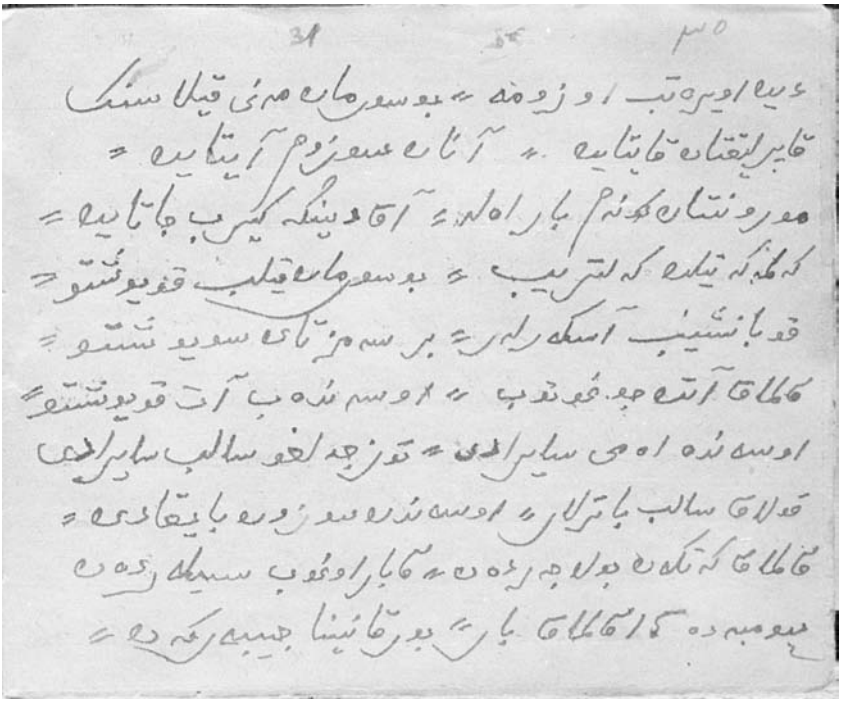
575 گلماقتی آلدی اورتوقوف = جالغاب آیتیب بولچوبو =

577 اوصوقتنگ جولسوجانگلدان = گلماقتان اوهی قورقوبو =

579 آماز قالات باغنغاب = گلماگ جوقدیت باغیلاب

581 جوسورماب بولسونگ اولیسونگ = قایرسنگ اوتقوتامغاب

583 گلماگ آیتدی ایراسن = بارسنگ قارب تورماسنگ =



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585 دیدا ایروتب اوزومنه = بوسورماب مدنی قیلاسنگ

587 قایرلیقتان قاتایین = آتاب سعزدن آیتایین =

589 سوزونتاب کوتنم یاراملا = آقادینگه کیرب جاتایین =

591 کلمگه تیکده کلتریب = بوسورماب قیلب قویوشتو =

593 قوبانشیب آسکه رلیر = بر سوزتاب سویوشتو =

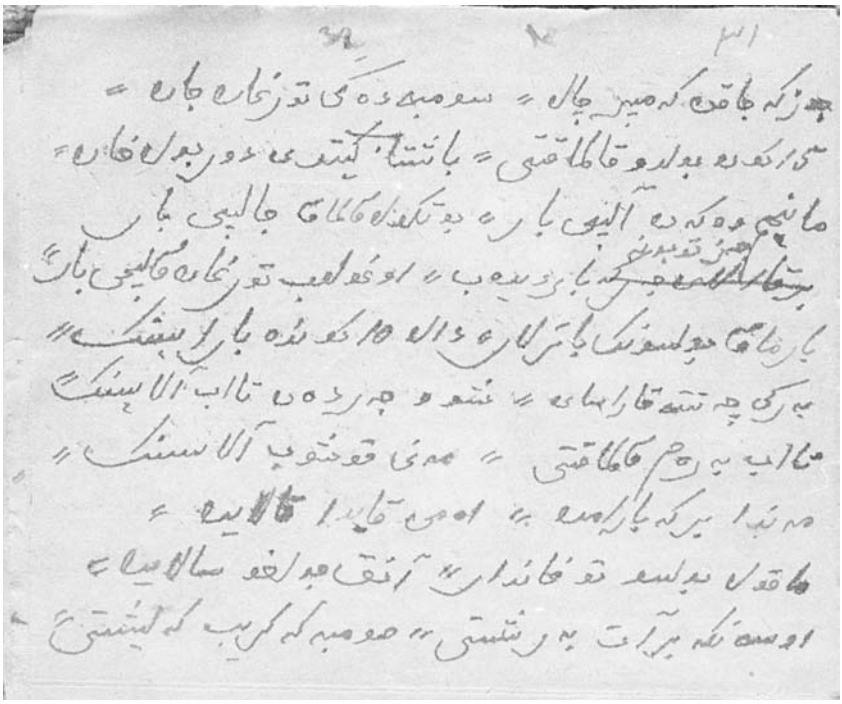
595 گلماگ آتنه جوقوب = اوسه نده ب آت قویوشتو =

597 اوسه نده اوهی سیارادی = توزجه لغو سالب سیارادی

599 قولاق سالب باترلار = اوسه نده سوزونه باینغادی =

601 گلماگ کلکدن بولاجه دی = گابارا وقوب سیکه زه دی

603 بیومبه دگلماگ یاری = بوقاتینا جیبه رگه دی =



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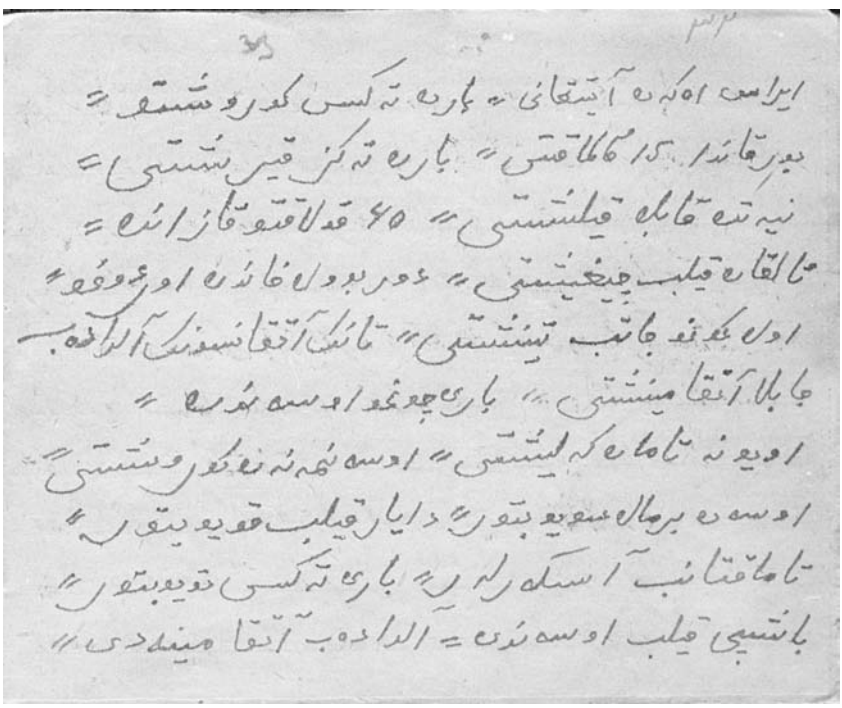

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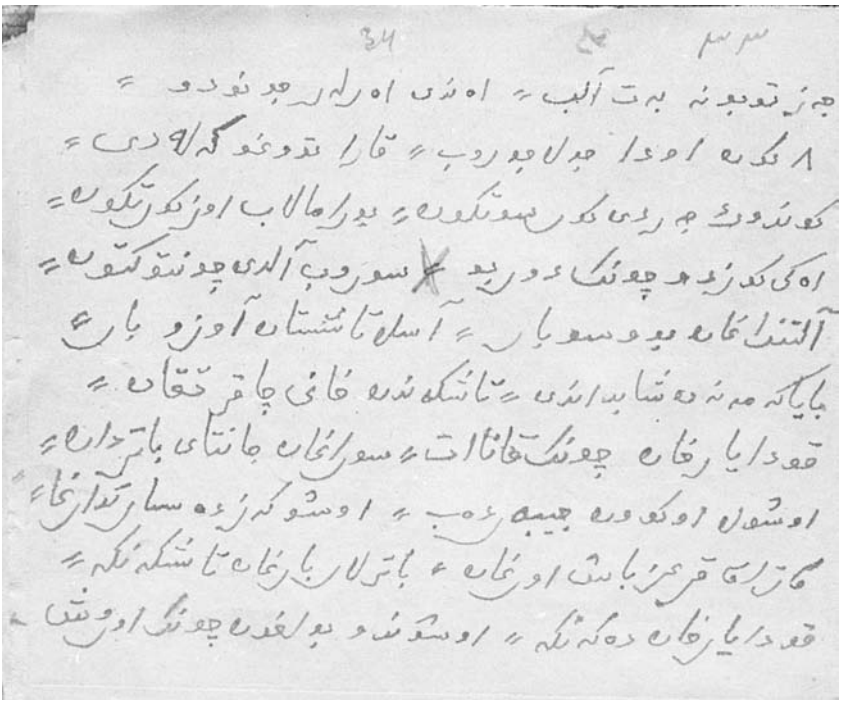
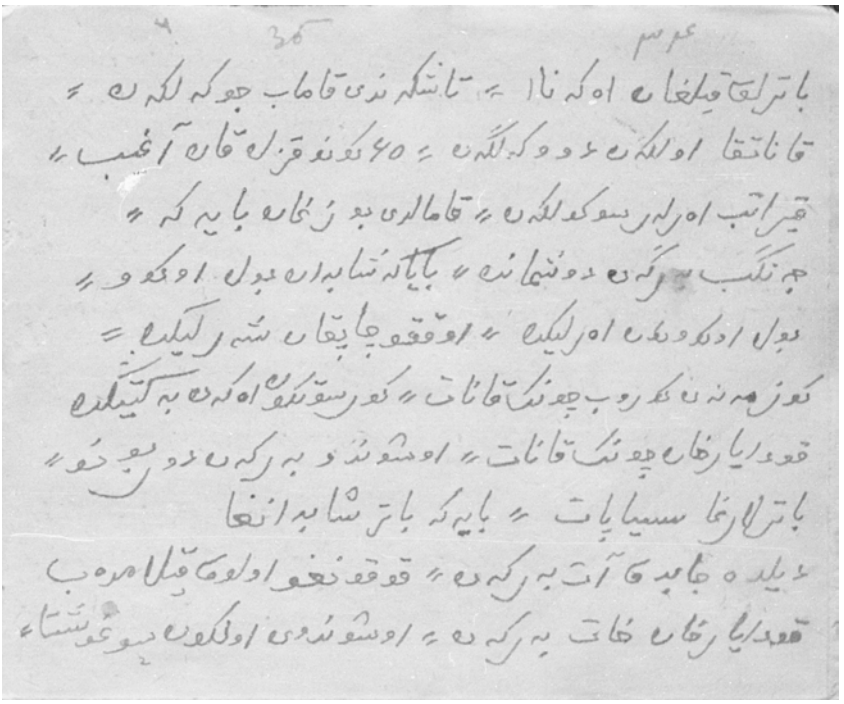
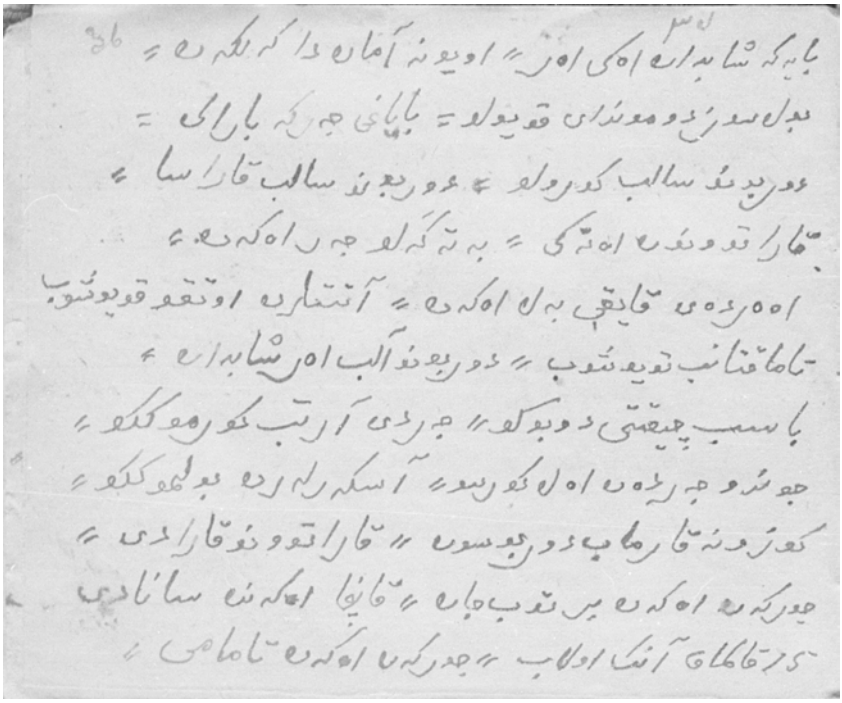


I.645 جه زنعبه نه بت آلب = اوندی اولر له جونغودو =
647 ۸ کوه اوغدا جدلا جه روب = قارا تقوغو کله دی =
649 کوندوغ جه ریدی کوسوتکوده = بوزاملاب اوزکوتکوده =
651 اوکی کوزده چوتک ادریه = سوروب آلدی چونقتکوده =
653 آلتنداغاده بوغوسوباز = آسلا تاشتسان آوزو باز =
655 بایاکه مه نده شابه اندی = تاشکه نده غانی چاقر تقاق =
657 قوغدایارغاق چوتک قانات = سوزغاق جانتای باترداق =
659 اوشغان اوکوده جیبه زوب = اوشوکه زده سارتداغاق =
661 قاتزاق قرعزبابش اوغاق = باترلار بارغاق تاشکه نکه =
663 قوغدایارغاق دکه نکه = اوشغنده بولغوده چوتک اوشتا



665 باترلق قیلغاق اوکه نا = تاشکه ندی قاماب جوکه لکه دی =
667 قاناتقا اولکه ده وکه لکه دی = ۶۵ کغنه قزل قاق آغنب =
669 قیراتب اولر سوکه لکه دی = قامالدی بوزغاده بایه که =
671 جه نگب بوکه ده شمانده = بایاکه شابه اربول اوکوه =
673 بول اوکوکه اولیکه = اوقفه چاپقاق شه ریکه =
675 کوزمه نه کوروب چوتک قانات = کوسوتکوه اوکه ده به کتیکده
677 قوغدایارغاق چوتک قانات = اوشغنده به رکه ده بوغنه =
679 باترلارغا سیاپات = بایه که باترشابه انغا
681 دیلده جابه قاآت به رکه ده = قوقفه نغه اولوقا قیلامروب
683 قوغدایارغاق غات به رکه ده = اوشغنده اولکوه بوغشتا



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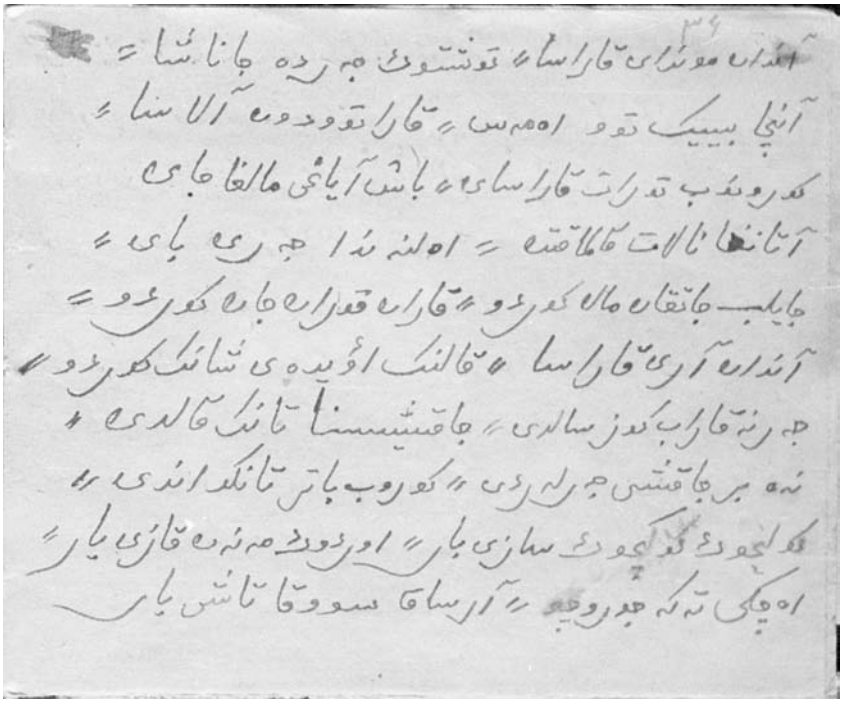

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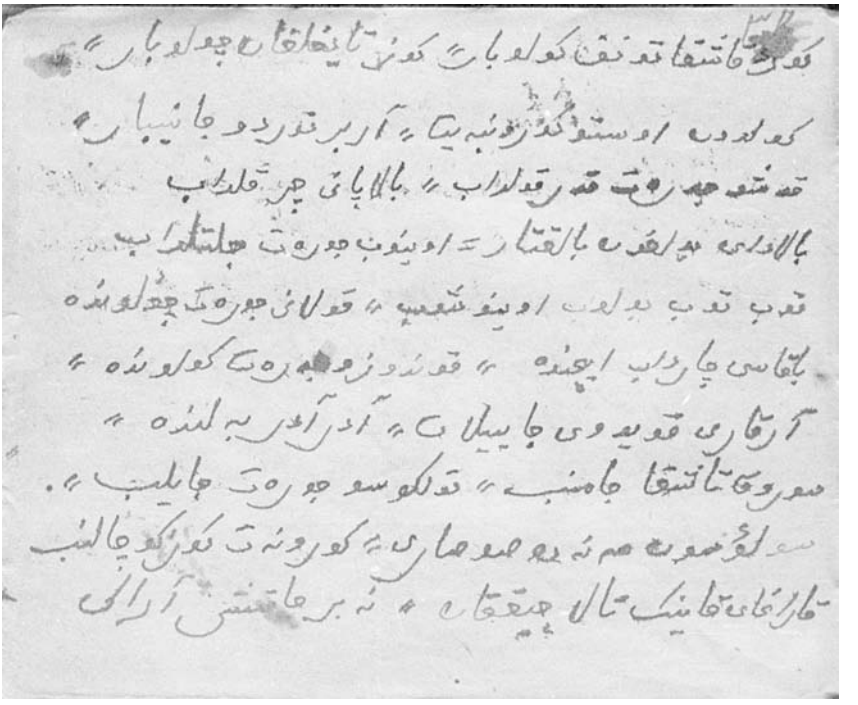
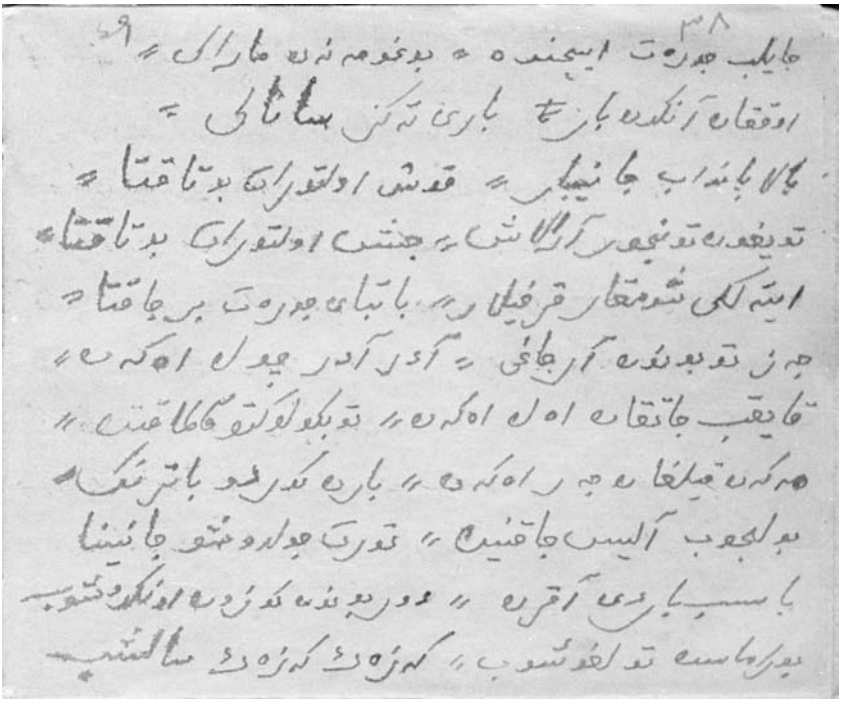
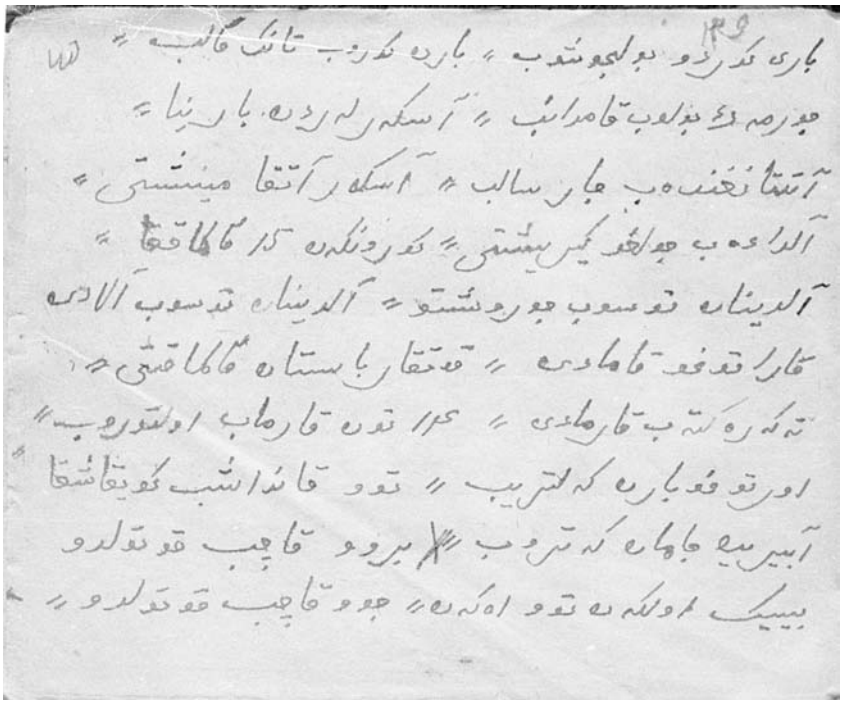


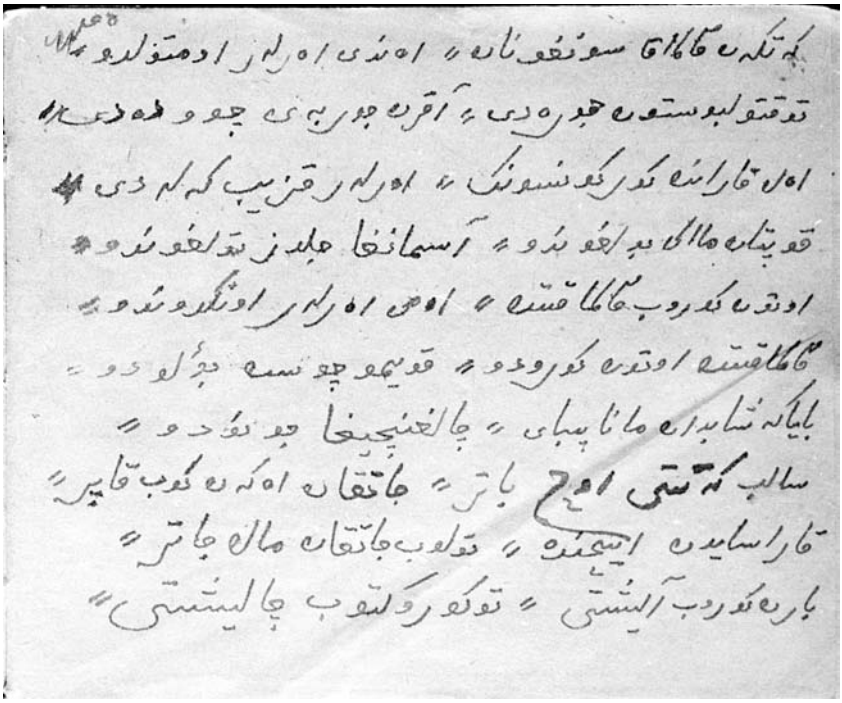
I.727 کوزه گر خاشقا تق تق کولدیاری کوزه تاپیلغای چولدیاری
729 کولدوی اوستو کوزه بیتی آریر تدریدو جانیباری
731 قدشی چیرت قدر قدلاب بالاپای چیرت قلدلاب
733 بالادی بیلغه بالقتار اویوب چیرت چلتلاب
735 قدب تدب بیلغه اویوشعیب قولای چیرت چدلوده
737 باقاسی چاردلاب ایچنده قدندوز چیرت کولوده
739 آرقاری قویدوی جاییلات آدر آدر بیلنده
741 صوروحاتاشقا جامنب تولکوسو چیرت جانلیب
743 سولغوصوت مه نه یه صوحاری کوروبه ت کوزکو چالنب
745 تارلغای قاینیک تال چیققای نه بر جاتشی آرالی



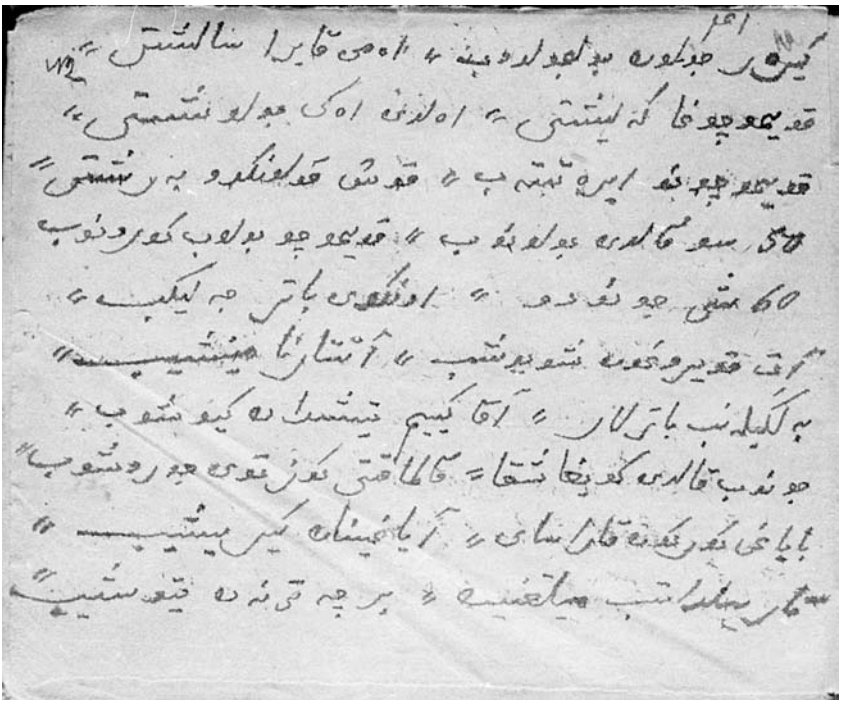
747 جانلیب چیرت ایچنده بوغومه نه یه مارالی
749 اوققای آنکده باری تکن ساتالی
751 بالا باندلاب جانیلیر قدشی اولتوراق بوتاقتا
753 تدیغوب تونجوس آرالاشی جنشب اولتوراق بوتاقتا
755 ایته لکی شومقار قرغیلار باتپای چیرت بر جاقتا
757 جرز تدبه نده آرجانی آدر آدر چدل اوکه ده
759 قایقب جاتقای اول اوکه ده تولکولوکتو قاقاقتی
761 مه کده تیلغا ده جر اوکه ده باری کدرده باترتک
763 بولجوب آلیس جاقتیه قدرت چولده شقو جانینا
765 باسیباری آقره دوریبه نه کوزه ده اونکو شقوب
767 بیرماسه تولغوشوب کوزه ده کوزه ده ساللنیب



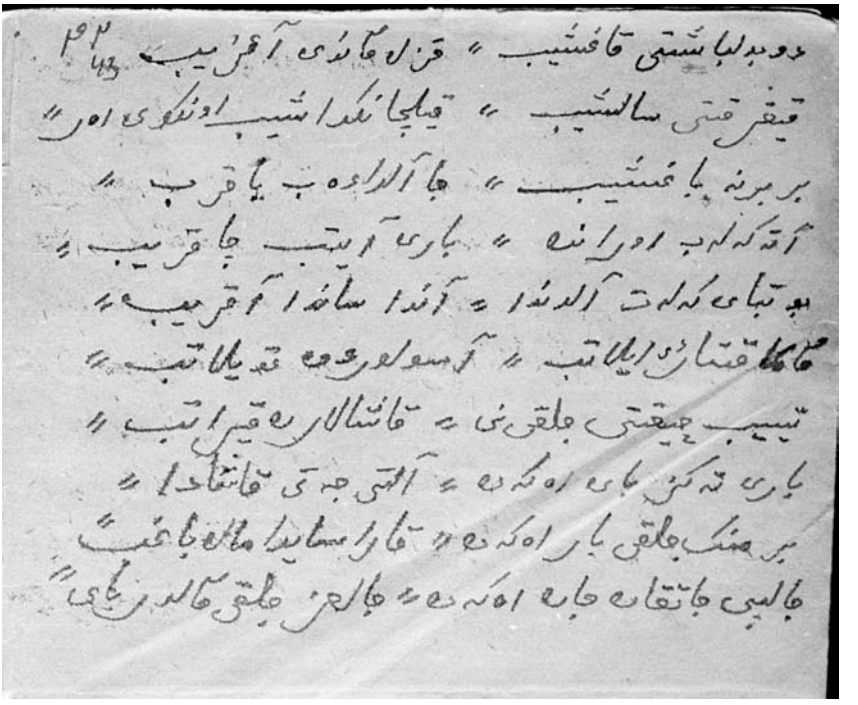
باری کدردو بولجوشدب ، باری کدرب تاشک قالب ،
جورمه دع بولوب قامدائب ، آسکه رلهردی باریبا ،
آستا نغنه ب جارسالب ، آسکه رآتقا مینشتی ،
آلداده ب جولغه کیرپشتی ، کدردنکده کد کاکاقتا ،
آلدینان قوسوب جوردشتی ، آلدینان قوسوب آلادی
کارا قوغه قامادی ، قوتقار باستان کاکاقشتی ،
تهکره کتب قارمادی ، همرا قدی قارماب اولتوروب ،
اورتوقه باره کلتریب ، تعو قانداشب کویقاشقا
آیبریلیب جاکان کتروب ، بروو قاچب قوتولدو
بیسیک اولکه ره تعو اکه ره ، جعو قاچب قوتولدو ،



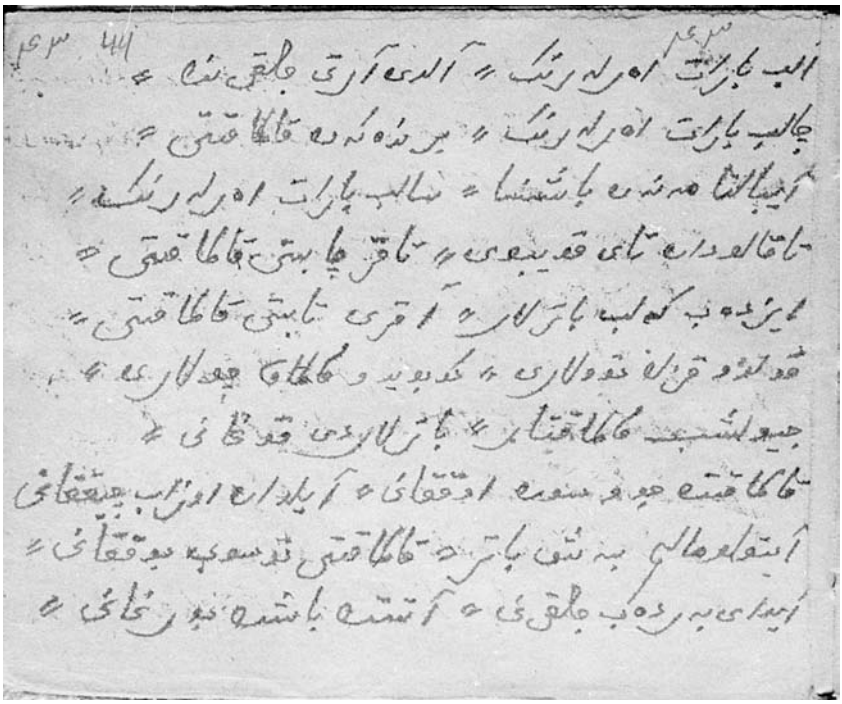
یه تکه ره کاکاقا سوغه نادی ، اکه ندی اکه لهر اوتوتولدو ،
قوتقولبوستوب جوره دی ، آقره جوریه ی جعو قه دی ،
اکه قارانی کدر کدشدونک ، اکه لهر قریب کلهدی ،
قوپتان مالای بولغه ندو ، آسمانغا جلدز تولغه ندو ،
اوتدی کدروب کاکاقشتی ، اکه اکه لهر اونکه ندو ،
کاکاقشتی اوتدی کوروو ، قوپمه چوسه بولدو ،
بایکه شابدای مانا پیای ، چالغنیچیغا جوتقدو ،
سالب کتشی اوج باتر ، جاتقان اکه ره کوب قاپتر ،
قارا سایدی ایچنده ، قولوب جاتقان مال جاتر ،
باری کوروب آلیشتی ، تو کوروکتوب چالیشتی ،



I.809 کیمسه جلکوده بولمجدی دیمه ۱۰ اومی قایدا سالمشتی
811 قدیمه چوغا کیشتی ۱۰ اولوغ اوک بولمشتی
813 قدیمه چوغه ایره تیمه ب ۱۰ قدمش قدلغلکده بوزشتی
815 سعد قالدی بولغه ب ۱۰ قدیمه چو بولوب کوروغه ب
817 ۶۰ مشی چوغدی ۱۰ اونکوی باتر چه لیکب ۱۰
819 آت قدیمه کوده شعیر شب ۱۰ آتنار نا میشیب
821 بولکیلنب باترلار ۱۰ آقا کیم تیشدا ده کیوشوب ۱۰
823 جوغب قالدی کوچاشقا ۱۰ قاماقتی کوز قوی جوروشوب
825 بایاغی کوکه قارا سای ۱۰ آیاغینا کیر میشیب
827 مار بیلدا تب میلغیه ۱۰ بر چه قونه ده قیوشیب



829 دوبولباشتی قاغشیب ۱۰ قزل قاندی آغزیب
831 قیقرقتی سالشیب ۱۰ قیلچانکداشیب اونکوی اوز
833 بربرنه یاغشیب ۱۰ جا آلداده ب یاقرب ۱۰
835 آته کله ب اورانه ۱۰ باری آیتب جاقریب ۱۰
837 بوتبای کله ت آلدندا ۱۰ آندا ساغدا آقریب ۱۰
839 حاماقتنای ایلاتب ۱۰ آسعلوغده قیلاتب ۱۰
841 تیشیب چیقتی جلقونی ۱۰ قاشالاری قیراتب ۱۰
843 باری ته کن بای اوکده ۱۰ آلتی جه تی قاشقدا ۱۰
845 بر صنک جلق بار اوکده ۱۰ قارا سایدا مالا باغب
847 جالپی جانقاده جاده اوکده ۱۰ جالغز جلق قالدی بای



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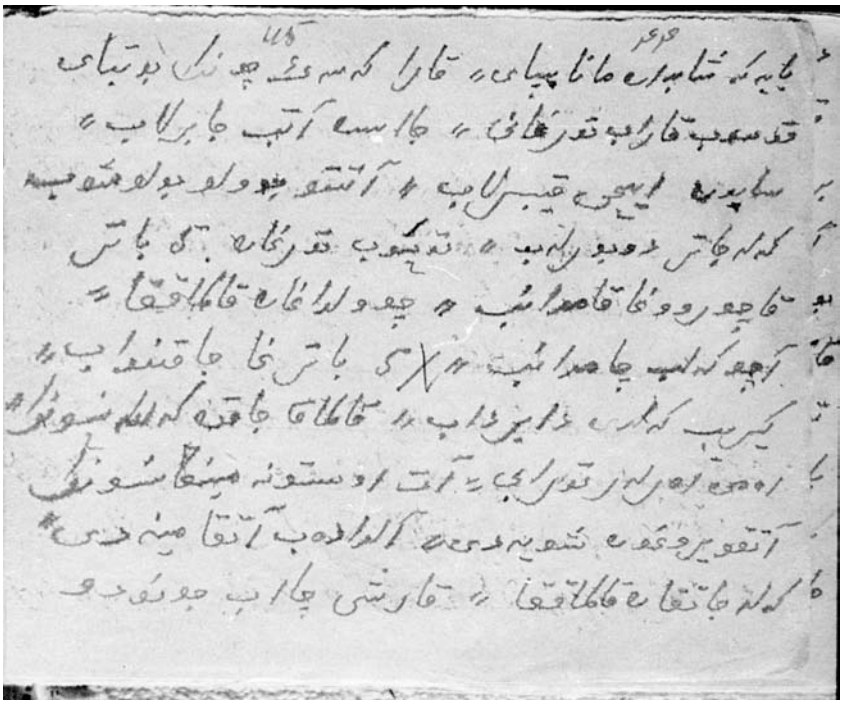

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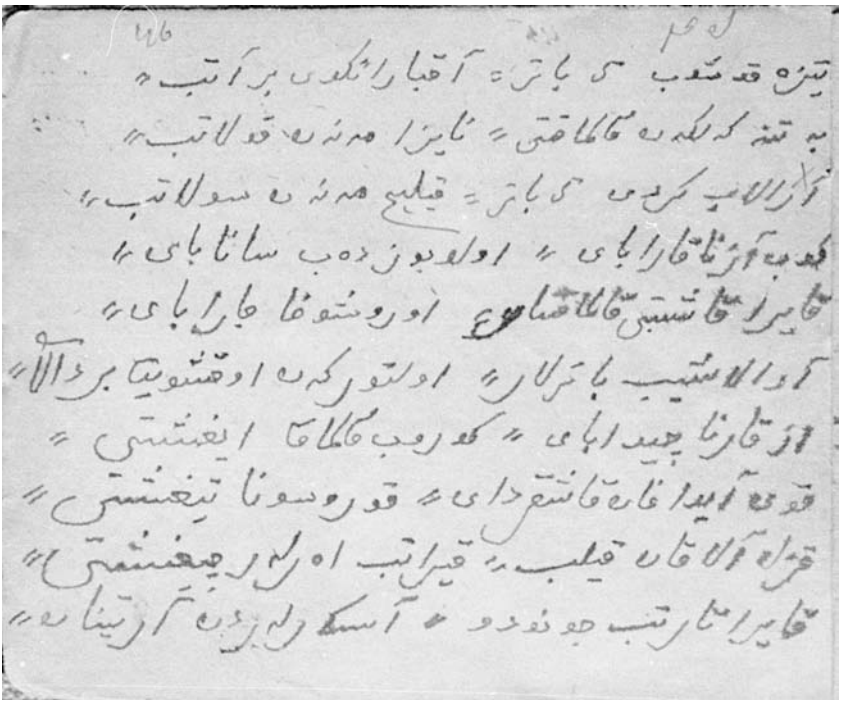
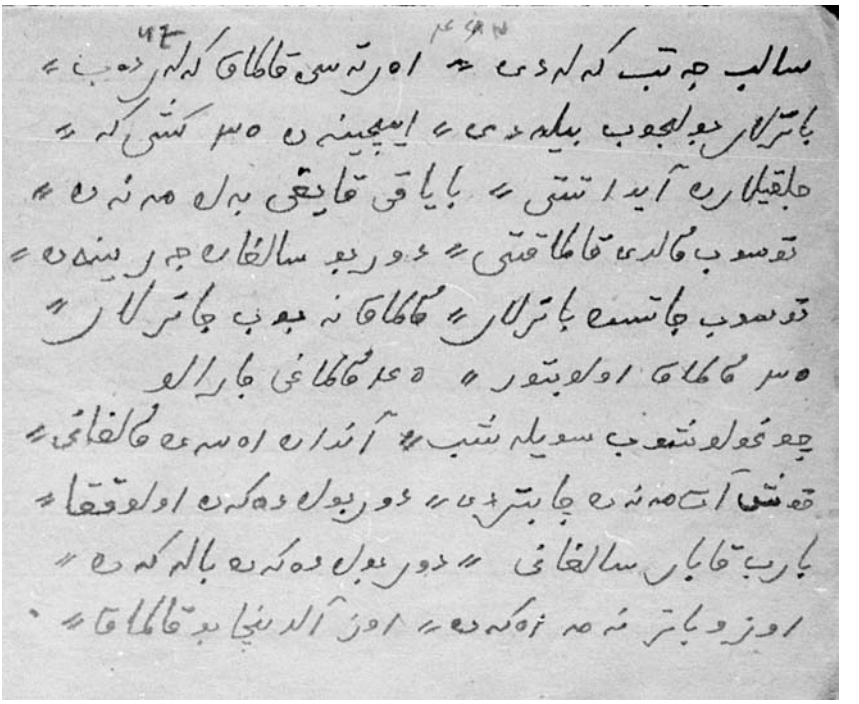
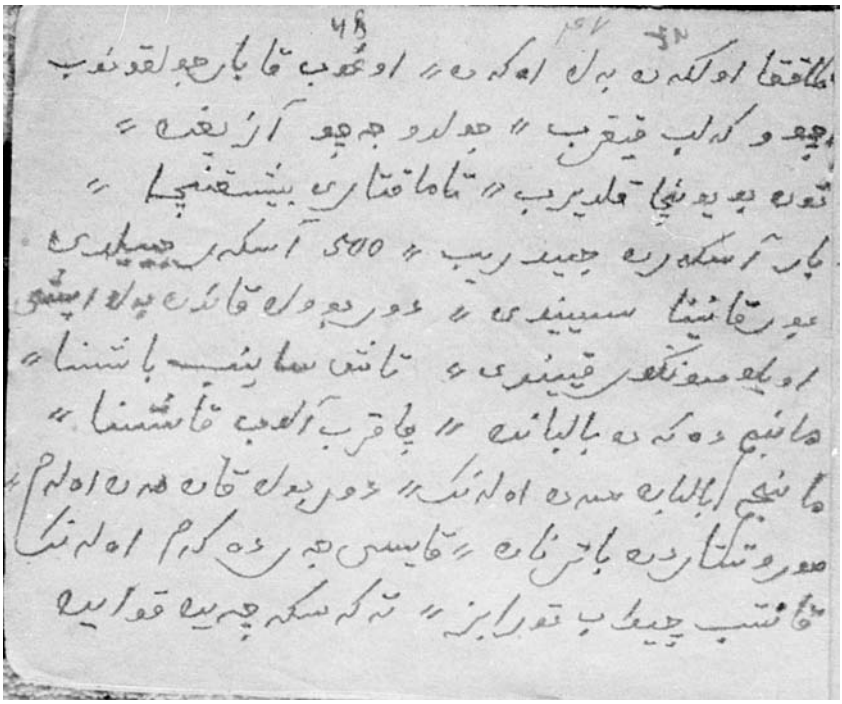


I.889 تیره قد شعب سی باتر = آقبارانکدی بر آتب =
891 به تنه کدکده قاقاقتی = تایزا مه نه ده قولاتب =
893 تاز اولاب کردی سی باتر = قیلیچ مه نه ده سولاتب =
895 کدب آرتاقارابای = اولبوزده ب سانابای =
897 قایرا قاشتبی قاقاشتاع اوروشتوقاجارابای =
899 آرالاشتیب باترلار = اولتورکده اوقتوبتا برالار =
901 آرتارناچیدابای = کوروب قاقاقا ایغشتی =
903 قوی آیدا قاقاشتوقدای = قوروسونا تیغشتی =
905 قول آلاقان قیلیب = قیراتب اولیر یغشتی =
907 قایرا تارتب جوندده = آسکریزدن آرتیناده =



909 سالب جه تب کدکدی = اورتهسی قاقاقا کدکده ب =
911 باترلار بولجوب بیلدی = ایچینه ده سی کشی کده =
913 جلقیلاری آیداتتی = بایاقی قایتی بولمه نه ده =
915 قوسوب قالدی قاقاقتی = دوریبو سالقان جه رینده ده =
917 قوسوب چاتسه باترلار = قاقاقانه بوب چاترلار =
919 سی قاقاقا اولبتور = ده ده قاقاغی جارالو
921 جه قولوشوب سویله شیب = آندان اوسه ده قالغانی =
923 قوشی آتمه نه ده چابتر ده = دوریبول ده کده اولوقطا =
925 بارب قابار سالقانی = دوریبول ده کده بالله کده =
927 اوزو باتر مه نه کده = اوز آلدینجا بو قاقاقا =



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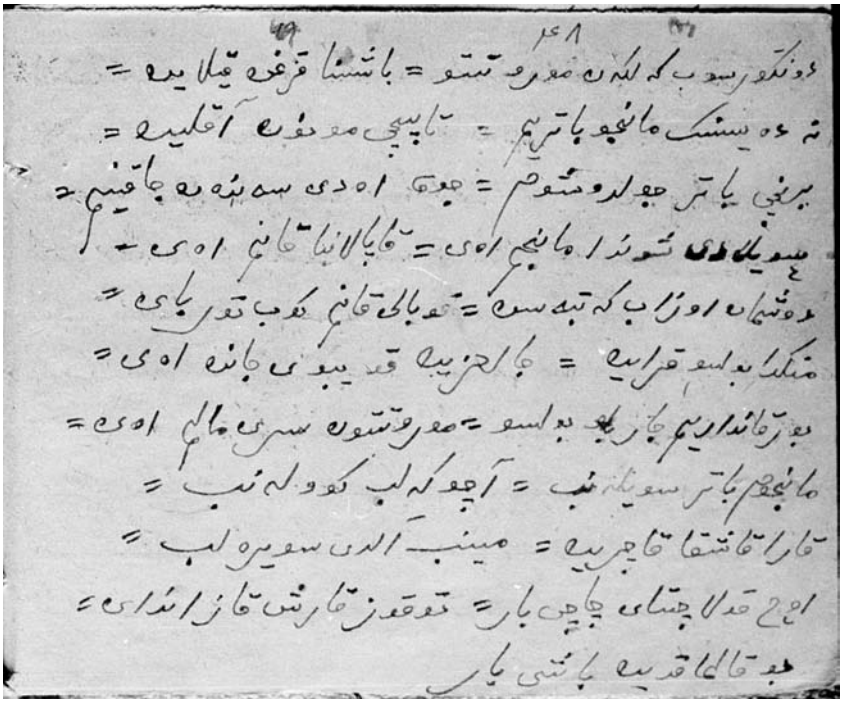

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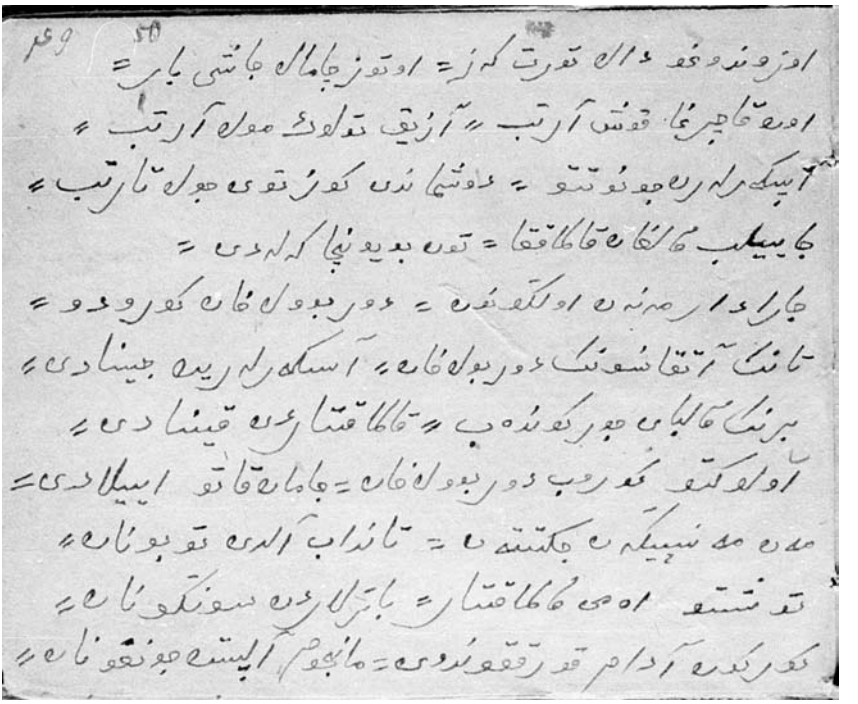
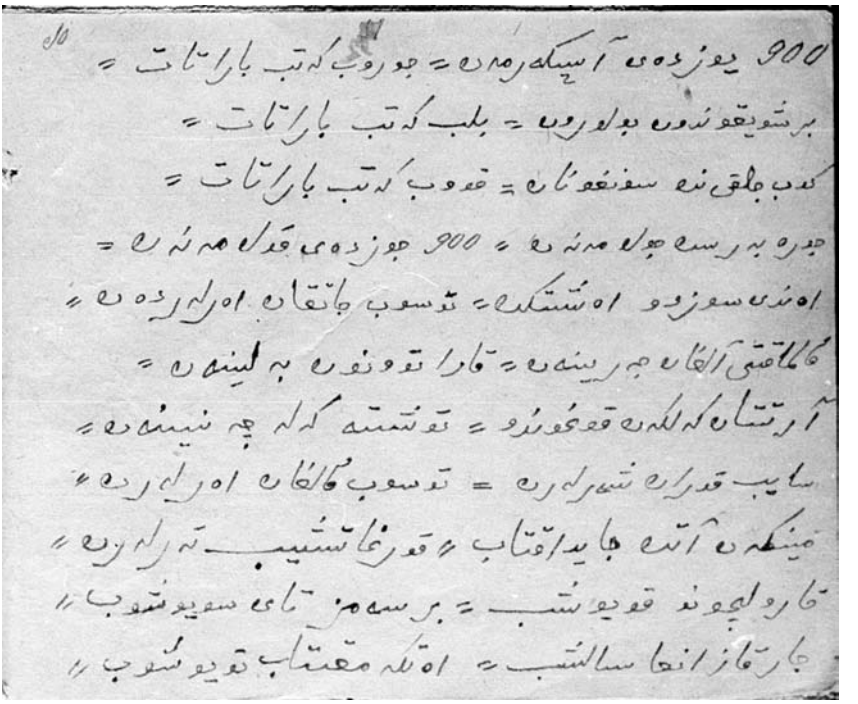
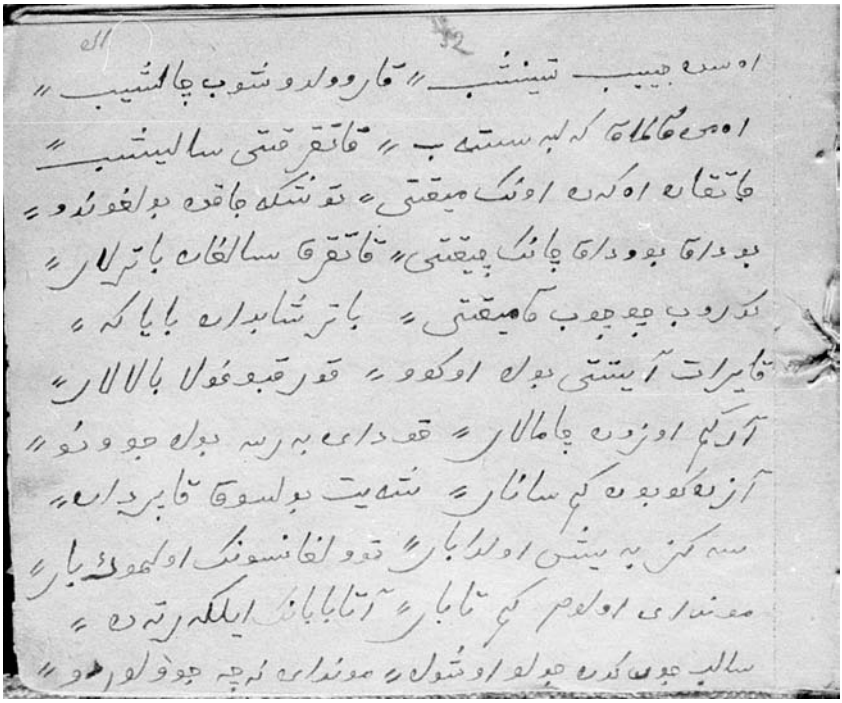


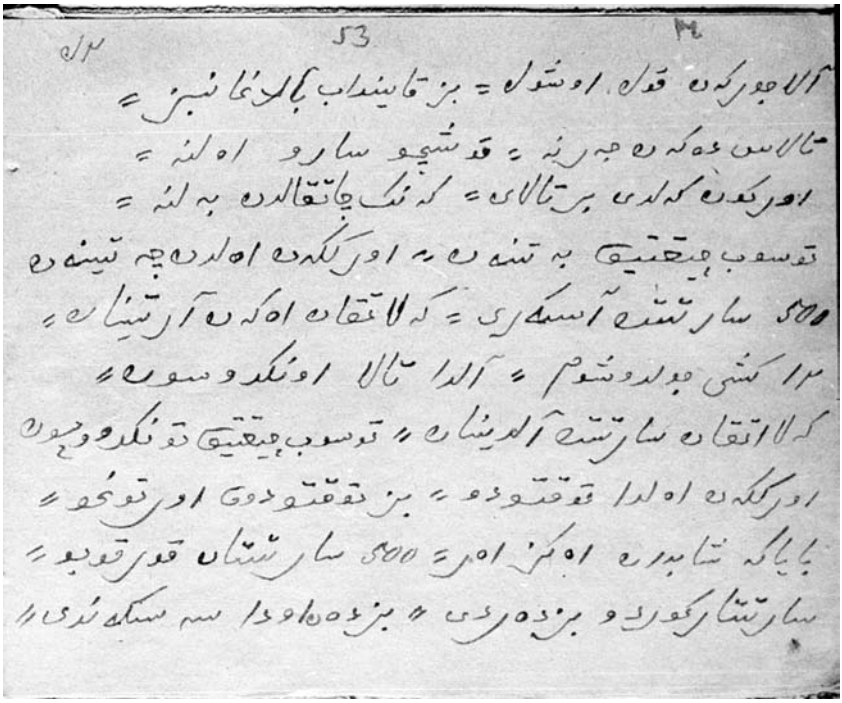
I.970 اوزوندوخف دال تقرت کرز = اوتوز چاماک جاشی بار =
972 اوچ تاجیرنگا قوش آرتب = آرزیق تولوک موی آرتب =
974 آسیکه رلهریی جوقتو = دوشمانلرن کوز تقی جوک تارتب =
976 جابیلیب ماکاکای قاقاقفا = تقی بدیع نیچا کهلدی =
978 جارادار مهنه اولکه نف = دوربوول خان کوروندو =
980 تانک آرتقا شوتک دوربوول خان = آسکه رلهریی جیناندی =
982 برتک ماکاکای جورکه نده ب = تاماکا قتاری قینادی =
984 اولکتو کوروب دوربوول خان = جاماک قاتو ایبلادی =
986 مدی مه سپیکه ن جکتنه ن = تاتراب آلدی قوبوتاق =
988 تقشتو اوی ماکاقتار = باترلاری سوتکوتاق =
990 کوریکدی آدام قورقوندی = مانجوس آیشتو جوقوتاق =



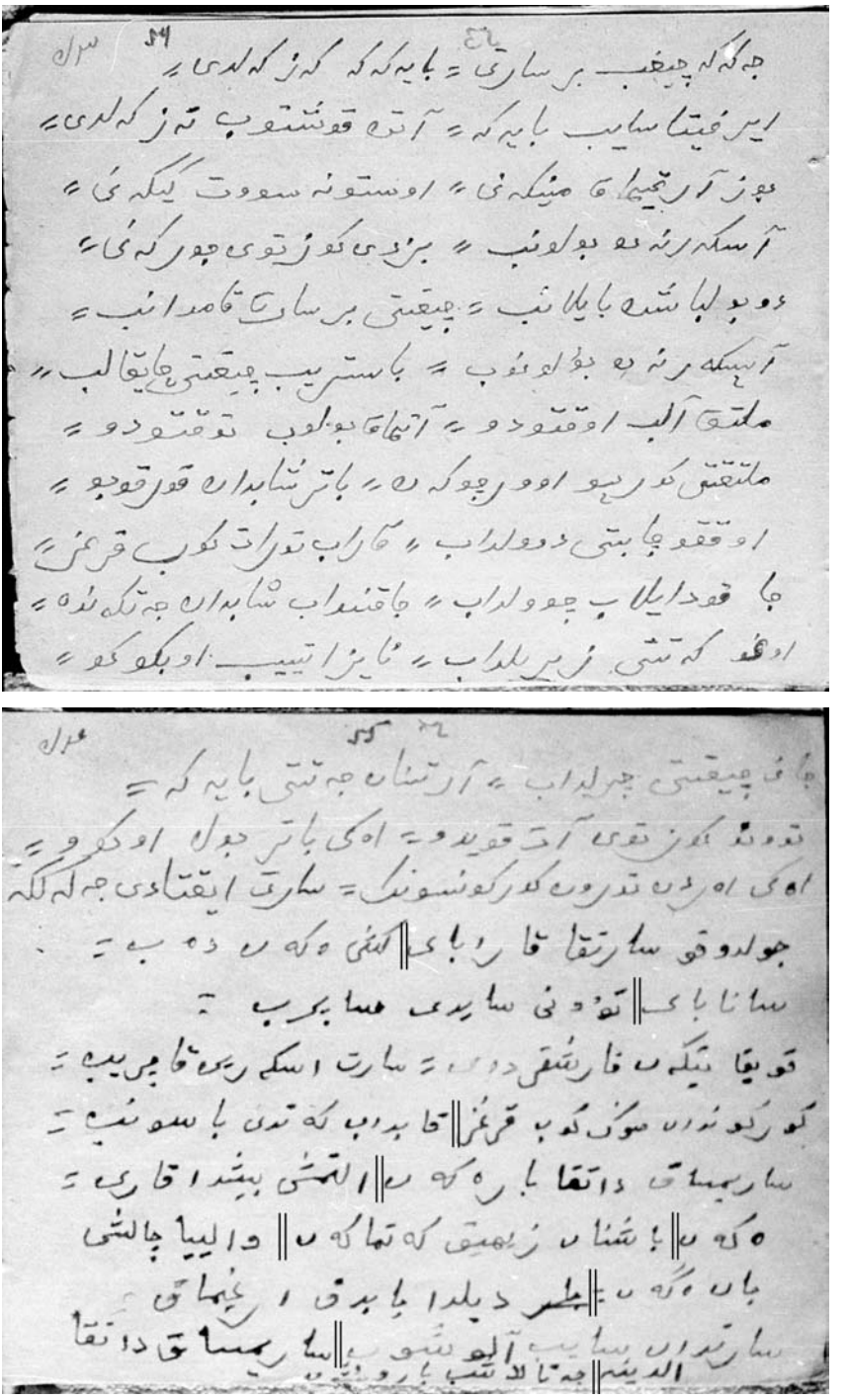
992 900 یوزدی آسیکه رمدی = جوروب کتب بارتات =
994 برشویقوندی بولوردی = بلب کتب بارتات =
996 کدب جلقنه سوتقوتاق = قدوب کتب بارتات =
998 جیره بریسه جولمه نه ن = 900 جوزدی قدلمه نه ن =
1000 اوندی سوزدو اوشتکدی = توسوب جاتقاق اوریدی =
1002 ماکاقتی آلقاق جیرینه ن = قارا توقوز بلینه ن =
1004 آرتتاق کهلکه ن قوخوندو = تقشتو کهلجه نینه ن =
1006 سایب قدری شیریدی = توسوب ماکاقاق اوریدی =
1008 جینکه ن آتی جایدا قتاب = قورخاشیب تریدی =
1010 قارولجوق قویوشتب = برسه مز تای سویوشوب =
1012 جارتاز انطاسالشب = اوتکه مقتاب تویوشوب =



I.1013 اوسده حبیب تینشب " قاروولدوشوب چالشیب "
1015 اومی قالاما که لبه سسته ب " قاتقر قتی سالیشیب "
1017 چاتقاده اوکده اونگ میقتی " تونشکه جاقده بولغوندو "
1019 بودا قا بودا چانگ میقتی " قاتقر قا سالقاده باترلار "
1021 تکروب چوچوب کامیقتی " باترشابدا بایاکه "
1023 قایرات آیشتی بول اوکدو " قورقبه قولا بالالار "
1025 آرکیم اوزده چامالار " قعدای به ربه بول جودنو "
1027 آزیکه بوده کیسانار " شه یت بولسوق قاپردا "
1029 سه کز به یشن اولدابار " قولقانسونگ اولموق بار "
1031 معنداری اولدم کیم تابار " آتابابانگ ایلکه ریته "
1033 سالب جوس کده چولو اوشول " معنداری نه چه چوقولدو "

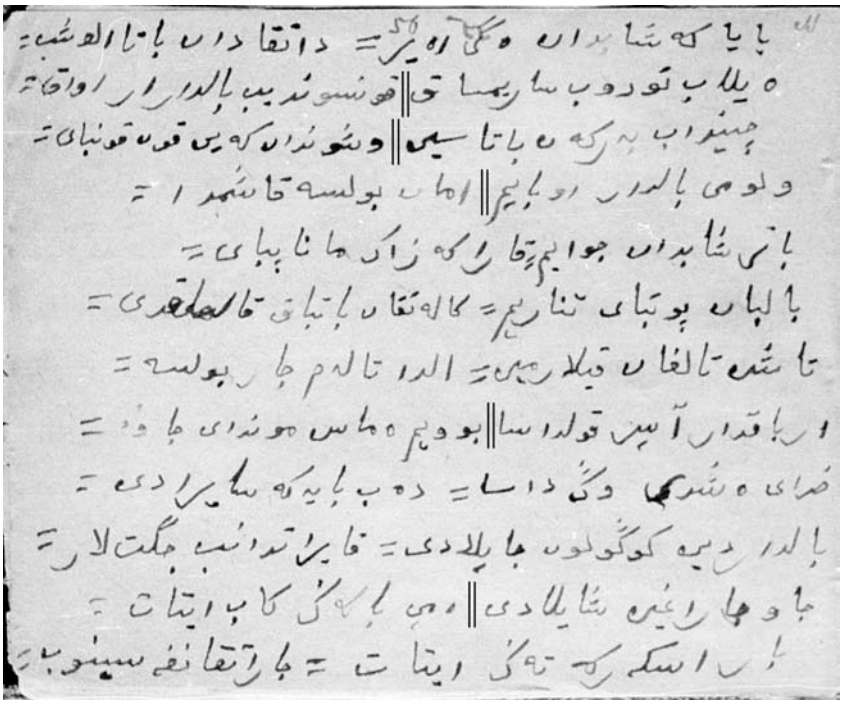


1035 آلا جورکده قول اوشول " بز قاینداب بالا نمانبز "
1037 تالاس ده که ده جه ربه " قوشیجو سارو اولنه "
1039 اوریکده که لدی بر تالای " که نگ چاتقالدی به لنه "
1041 توسوب چیقتیق به تنه ده " اوریکده اولدی چه تینه ده "
1043 ۵۵۵ سار تشده آسکری " که لاتقاده اوکده آرتیناب "
1045 ۱۲ کشی جولدوشوم " آلدا تالا اونکدوسوده "
1047 که لاتقاده سار تشده آلدیناب " توسوب چیقتیق تونکدوچوب "
1049 اوریکده اولدا قوقتودو " بز قوقتودق اوتوخو "
1051 بایاکه شابدره اوکز اوی " ۵۵۵ سار تشتان قورقوبو "
1053 سار تشتار کوردو بزده دی " بزده اولدا سه سکه ندی "



I.1056 جه که که چیغب بر ساری = بایه که که کهز که لدی =
1058 ایر غیتما سایب بایه که = آتی قوشتوب تهز که لدی =
1060 بوز آر تیماق مینکه نی = اوستونه سعوت کیکه نی =
1062 آسکه رنه بولونب = بزدی کوز توی جور که نی =
1064 دو بولباشده بایلانب = چیقتی بر سار تا مدانب =
1066 آسکه رنه بولونب = باستریب چیقتی چاقالب =
1068 ملتقی آلب اوقتودو = آتماقا بولوب توقتودو =
1070 ملتقی کوریو اوو رچوکه دی = باتر شابداق قورقودو =
1072 اوقتو چابتی دوه لداب = کاراب تورات کوب قرغی =
1074 چا قودایلاب چوولداب = چاقتداب شابداق جه تکه ده =
1076 اوقو که تشی زیر یلداب = تایز اتیب اوبکو کو =

1078 چاغ چیقتی چرلداب = آرتشان جه تشی بایه که =
1080 تو دنگ کوز توی آت قویدو = اوی باتر جول اوکو =
1082 اوی اوزن تدروس کوز کوشونک = سارت ایقتادی جه له کله
1084 جولدوقو سارت قارباق || کشی وکه ن ده ب =
1085 سانا باق || تو دنی سایدی مسابرب =
1087 قو یقا بنکه ن قارشقی دی = سارت اسکه ریه قاچیب =
1089 کوز کوندان سوک کوب قرغز || قابداب که تدی باسو نب =
1091 سار بیماق داتقا باره که ن || التمش بیشدا قاری =
1093 وکه ن || باشنان زیمیق که تماکه ن || دالیبا چالتی
1094 بان وکه ن || بطر دیلدا باید ق ارغماق =
1096 سار تداق بسایب آلو بشوب || سار بیماق دا تقا
1097 الدینه || جه تا لاتشب باره دیبه



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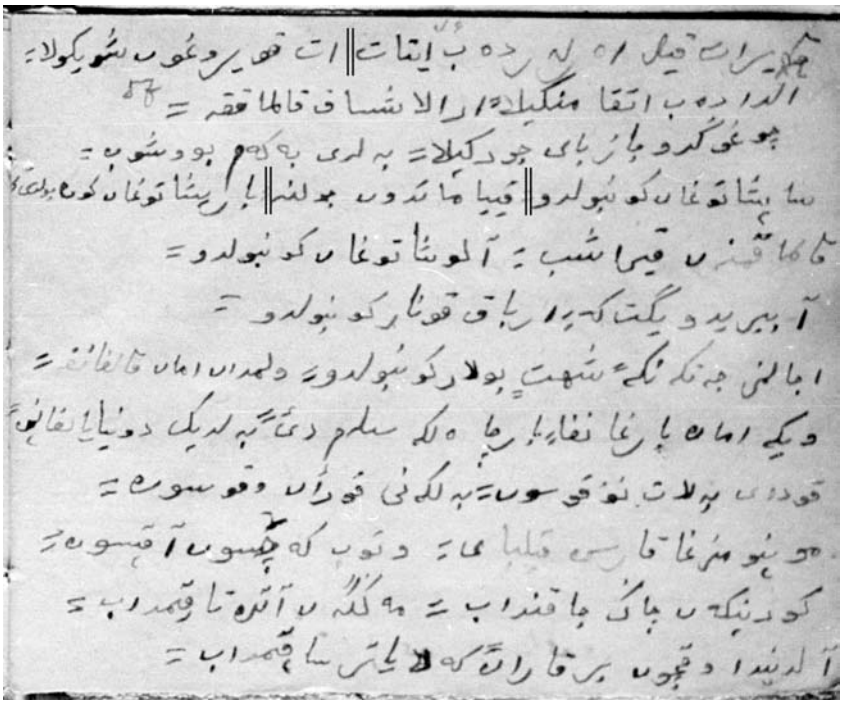

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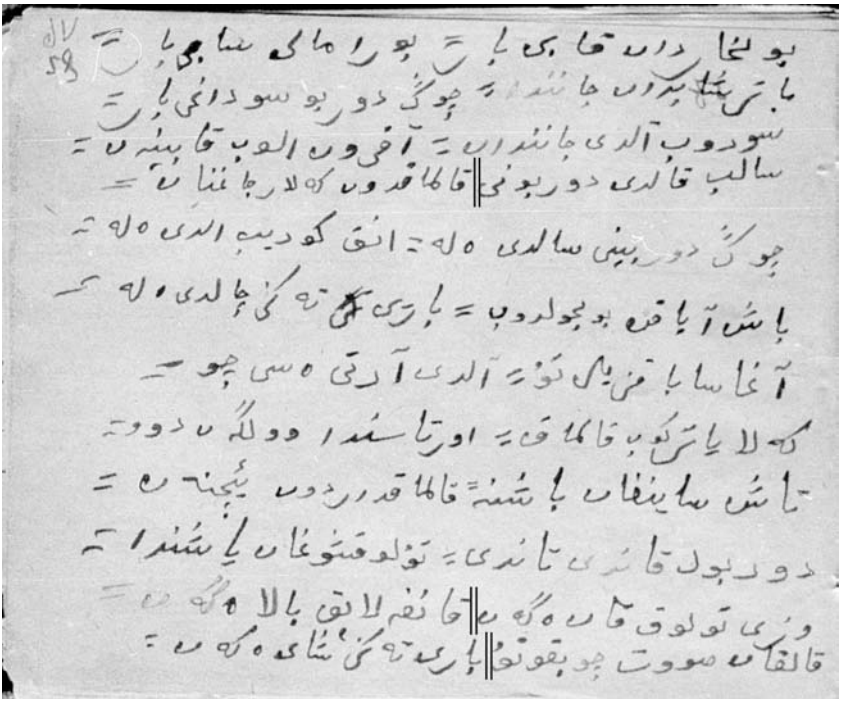
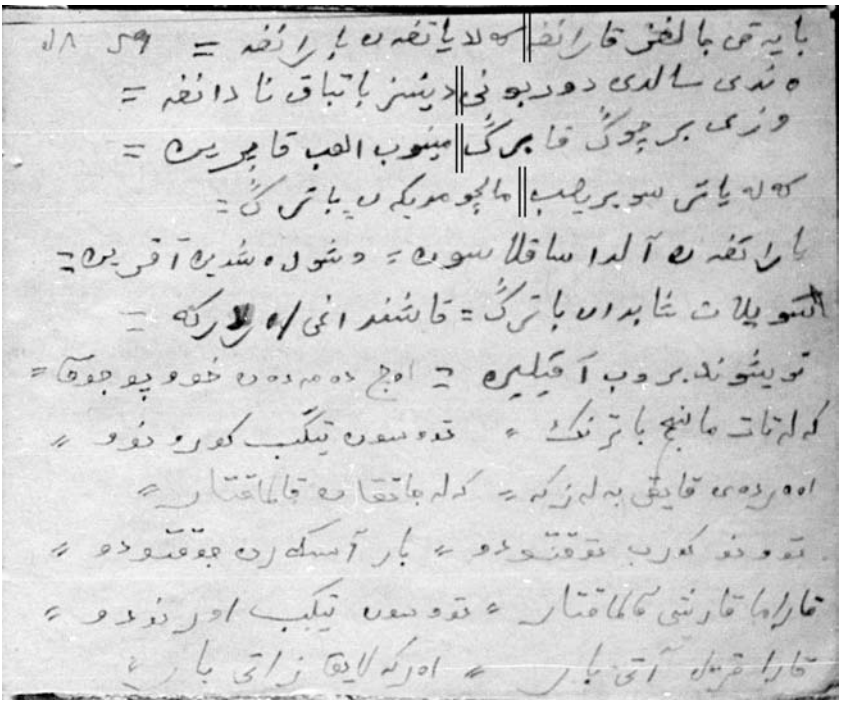
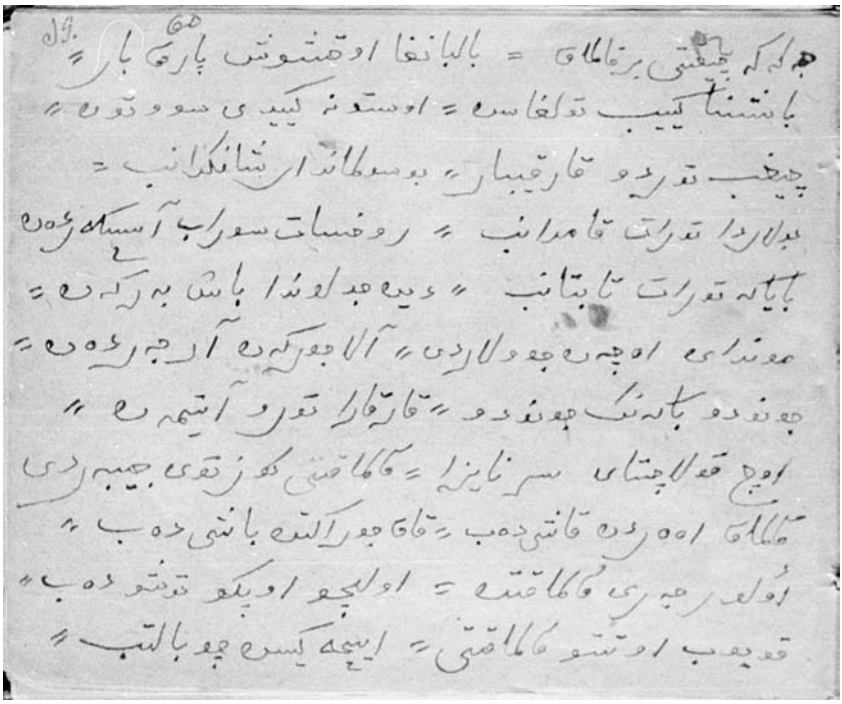
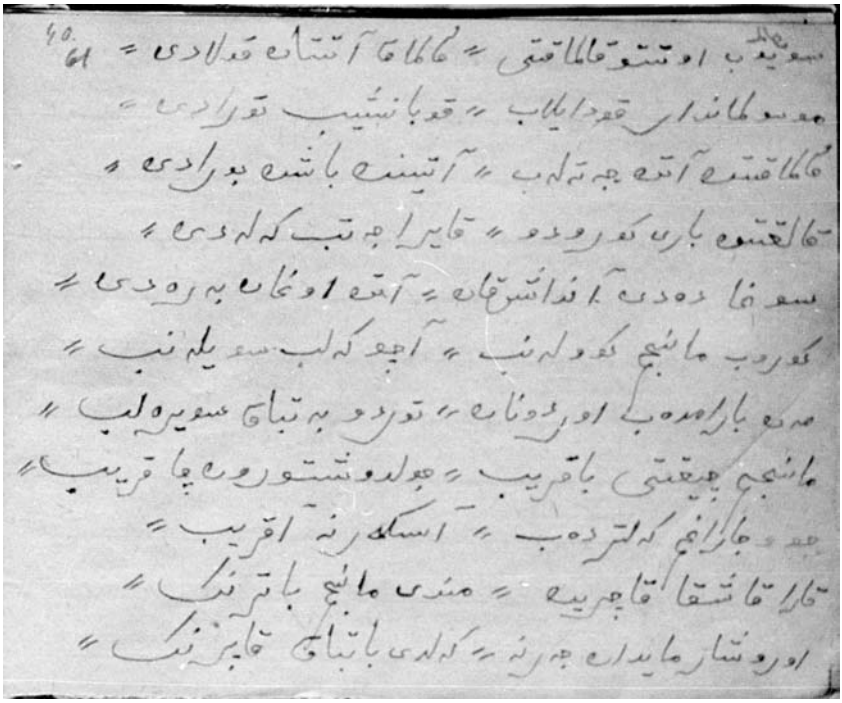


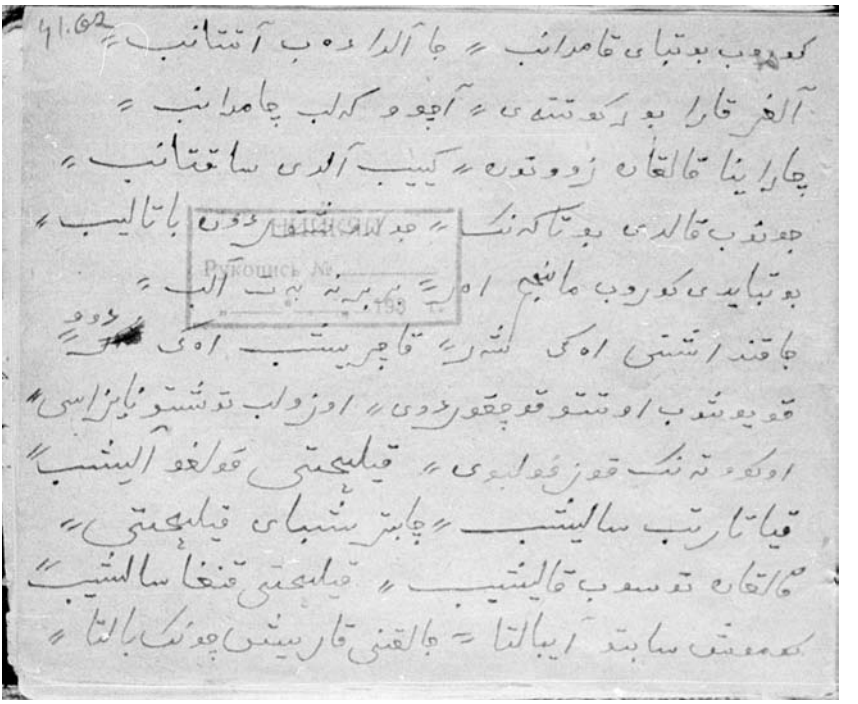




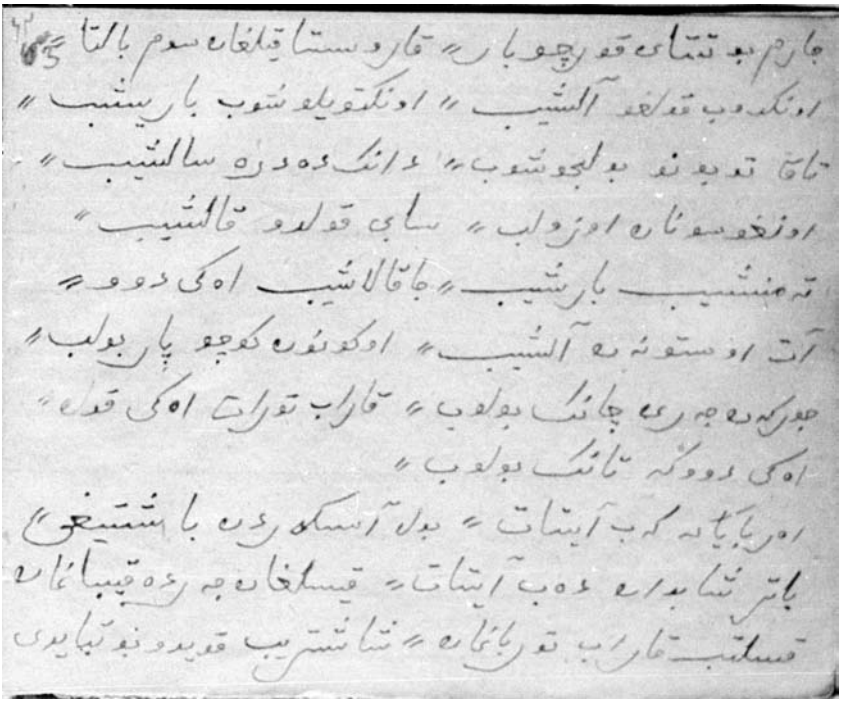
جه که چیقتی برقاملاق = بالبانغا اوقشوش پارقی بار ۱۱۹۷
باشنا کیب تعلغاسی = اوستنه کیدی سوو توی ۱۱۹۹
چیغب تورد قارچیبار = بوسوقاندار شانکرانب ۱۲۰۱
بولاردا تورات تامرانب = روضسات سوراب آسکه روده ۱۲۰۳
بایاقه تورات تابتانب = دیه جه لودا باش به رکه دی ۱۲۰۵
سوتدای اوچه جه ولاردی = آلاجوقه آرجه رده دی ۱۲۰۷
جه نده باقه تک جه نده = قارقارا تورد آشمه ی ۱۲۰۹
اوچ قه لاچتای سرنایزا = قاقاقتی کوزتی جیبه ردی ۱۲۱۱
قاقاق اوه ردی قاشتی ده ب = قاقاجوراکنده باشتی ده ب ۱۲۱۳
اوکل رجه ری قاقاقتی = اولیچو اوپکو توشتو ده ب ۱۲۱۵
قه چب اوتشو قاقاقتی = ایچه کسن چه بالتب ۱۲۱۷



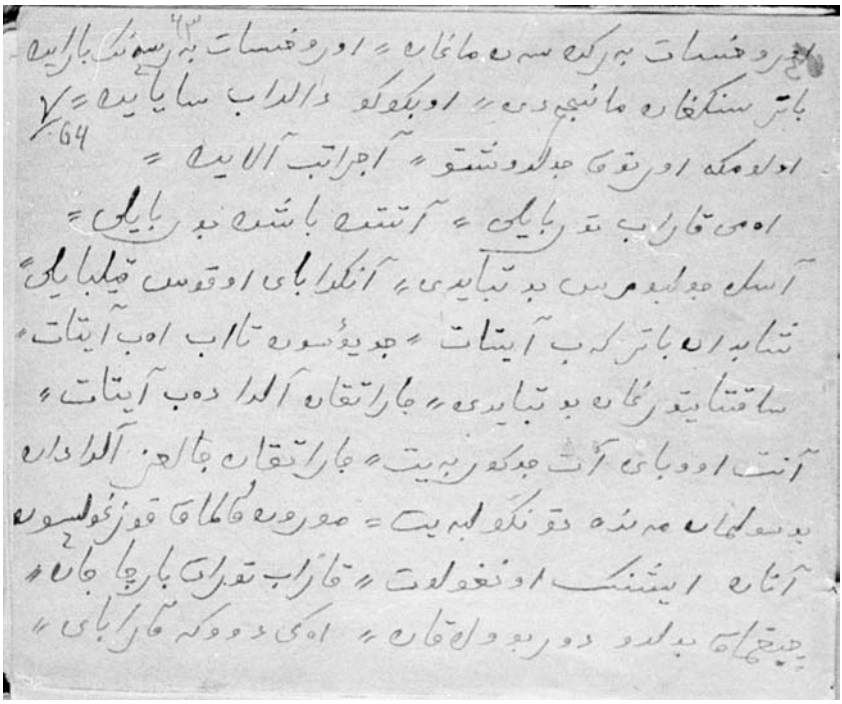
سوچه ب اوتشو قاقاقتی = قاقاقا آشتای قه لادی ۱۲۱۹
سوسوقاندار قه دایلاب = قه باشیب تورادی ۱۲۲۱
قاقاقتی آته جه تلب = آتینی باشنه بوراردی ۱۲۲۳
قاقاقتی بارین کوروده = قایرا جه تب که له دی ۱۲۲۵
سوقا ده دی آقداشقاق = آته اوغلان به رودی ۱۲۲۷
کوروب مانیچ کوله نب = آچه که لب سویله نب ۱۲۲۹
سه ن بارا مده ب اوردونا = تورده به تباق سویه لب ۱۲۳۱
مانیچ چیقتی باقریب = جه لده شتوروچا قریب ۱۲۳۳
جه ده جارانچ که لتر ده ب = آسکه رنه آقریب ۱۲۳۵
قارا قاشقا قاچریه = منی مانیچ باترنک ۱۲۳۷
اوروشار مایدان جه رنه = کله ی باتباق قاپرنک ۱۲۳۹



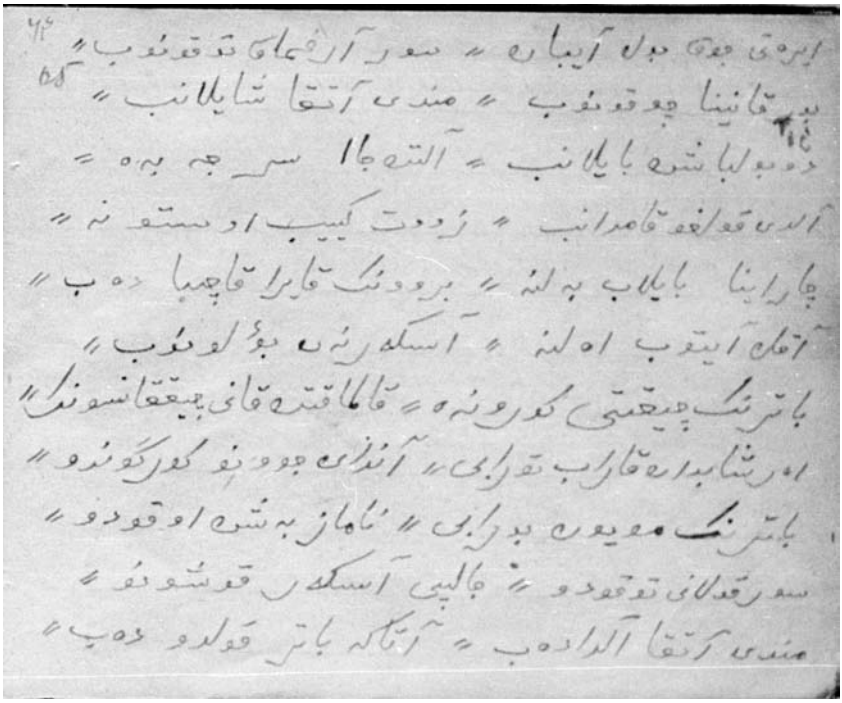
I.1242 کعبوب بوتبای قامدانب = جا آلدی ده ب آستانب = 41.62
1244 آلغر قارا بوز کوشتدی = آچدو کلب چامدانب =
1246 چاریا تا قالغان زدوتدی = کیب آلدی ساقتانب =
1248 جغتب قالدی بوتاکه نک = جدالدی شتدی دی باتالیب =
1250 بوتبایدی کوروب مانیم اوی = بوبرینه بوت آلب =
1252 جاقندا شتی اوکی کشی = قاچریشب اوکی دوه =
1254 قویوشب اوشتو قوچقوردی = اوزولب توشتو یاپراسی =
1256 اوکه تنک قوزغولبوی = قیلیحتی قولغه آلیشب =
1258 قیاتارتب سالیشب = چابتر شبای قیلیحتی =
1260 جاقان توسوب قالیشب = قیلیحتی قنغا سالیشب =
1262 کعمش سابتد آیبالتا = جالقنی قاریشتی چوتک بالتا =



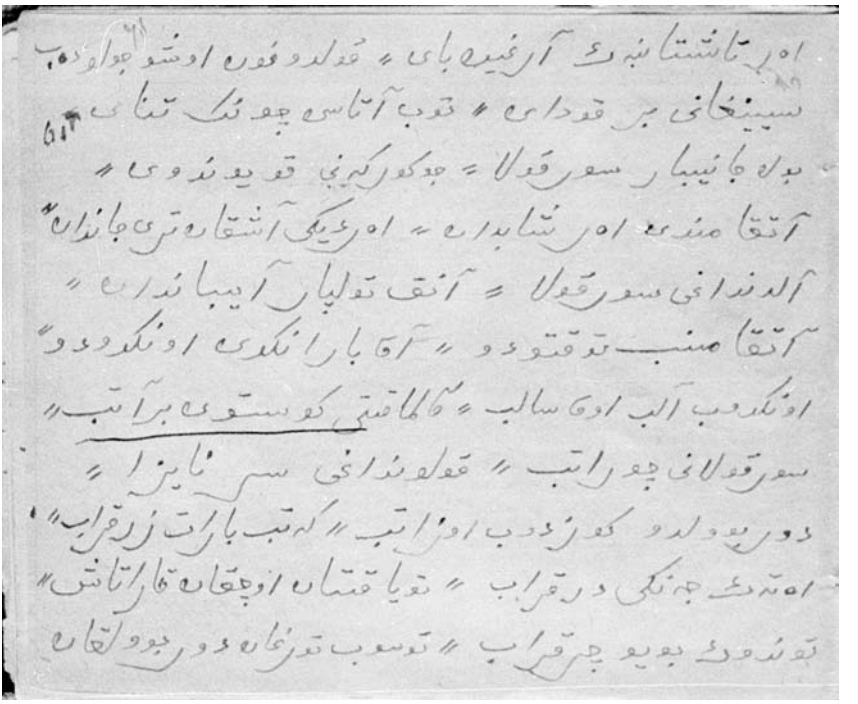
1264 جارم بوتنای قوزچوبار = قاردستا قیلغان سدم بالتا =
1266 اونکدوب قولغه آلشیب = اونکتویلوشوب باریشیب =
1268 تاقا تدیونه بولجوشوب = اوانک دوه دره سالشیب =
1270 اوزغوسوناه اوزولب = سابی قولدو قالشیب =
1272 تهنشیب باریشیب = جاقالاشیب اوکی دوه =
1274 آت اوستونه یه آلشیب = اوکوتوب کجو پاربولب =
1276 جورکه ده جوری چانک بولوب = قاراب تورات اوکی قدی =
1277 اوکی دوه کی تانک بولوب =
1279 اوریاپاده کوب آیتات = بدل آسکه ردی باشتیغی =
1281 باتر تنابدا ده ب آیتات = قیسلغان جه رده قیبالغان =
1283 قیسلتب قاراب توریاغان = شاشتریب قویدو نوتبایدی =



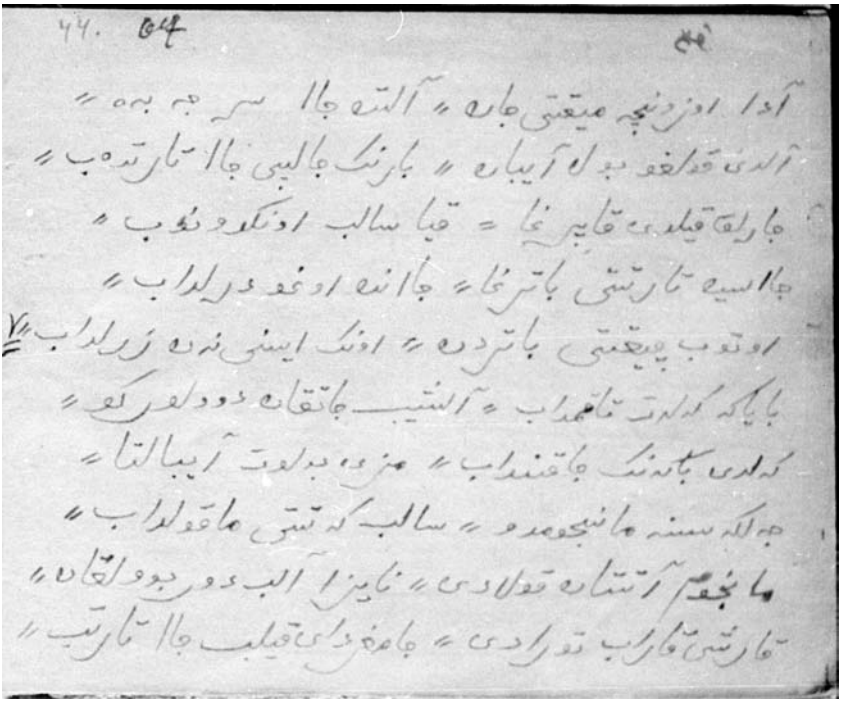
I.1284 اوغرو قیسمات بیرکه سه ن ماغان = اوزو قیسمات بیر سیه نگ بارایه
1286 باتر سنگغان مانجودی = اوبکه کو دالداب سایایه = 7/64
1288 اولدمکه اورتوق جلدوشتو = آجراتب آلایه =
1290 اومی قاراب تقربایلی = آتشه باشنه بوربایلی =
1292 آسکه جولبدمرس بوتبایدی = آنکدایای اوقوس قیلبایلی =
1294 تشایدان باترکه ب آیتات = جویوشوه تاب اوب آیتات =
1296 ساقتایتورغان بوتبایدی = جارآتقان آلدادوب آیتات =
1298 آنت اودبای آت جدکوربیت = جارآتقان جالمز آلدادان
1300 بوسلیمان مه نده تونکلبیت = معروه قاماق قوزغولیسوه
1302 آتاه ایشنک اونغولت = قاراب تقرلی بارچاجان =
1304 چیقماس بولدو دوربوولقان = اوی دووکه قارایای =



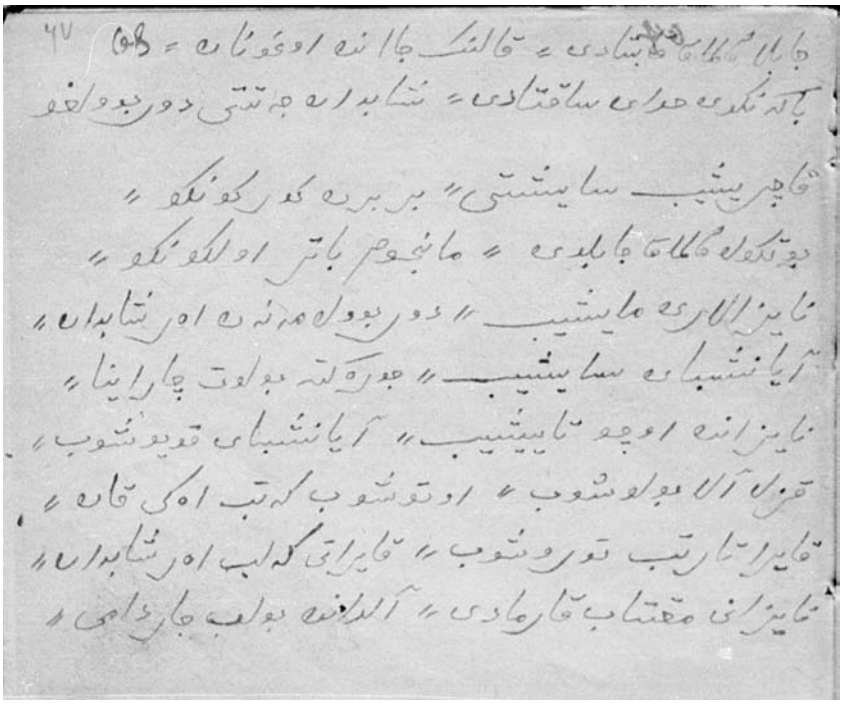
1306 ایروتی جقه جول آیباه = سوز آرغماق تقونوب =
1308 بوقانینا چوقونوب = مندی آنقا شایلانب =
1310 دوبولباشنه بایلانب = آلتنجا سرجه بوه =
1312 آلدی قولغه قامدانب = زودت کیب اوستنه =
1314 چارلینا بایلاب بوللنه = بروونک قایرا قاچمیا دوب =
1316 آقل آیتوب اوللنه = آسکه رنه بوللونوب =
1318 باترنک چیقتی کوروبنه = قاماقتنه قانی چیقتانسونک =
1320 اورشایداه قاراب تقرایی = آندای جووفو کورکوندو =
1322 باترنک معیوبی بوراپی = نامازبه شنه اوقودو =
1324 سوزقدانی توقودو = جالپی آسکه رقوشونو =
1326 مندی آنقا آلدادوب = آنکه باترقولدوروب =



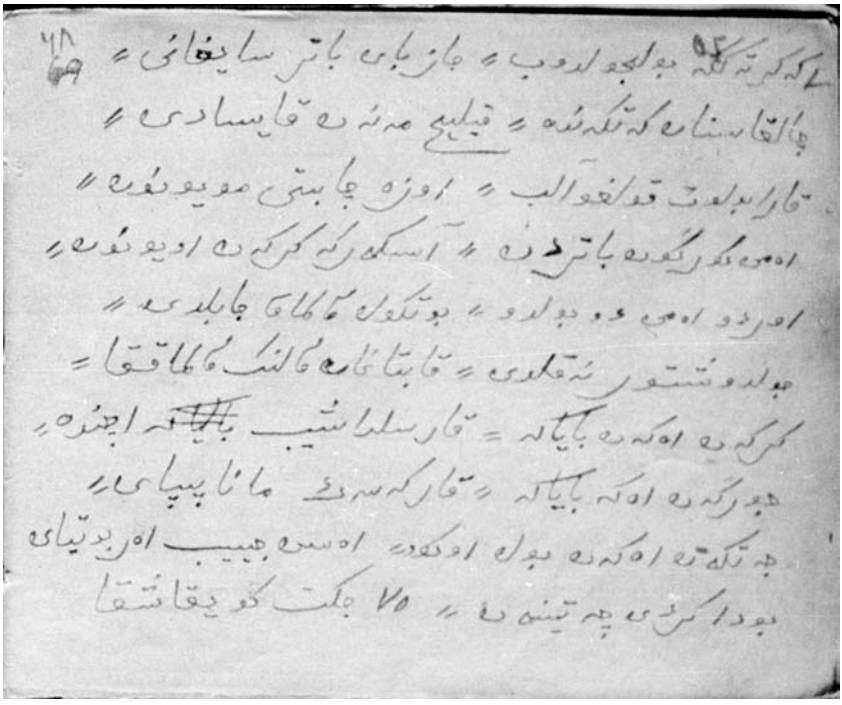
I.1329 اور تاشتانبه ک آرغیده بای ۷ قدلدو قوس اوشو جواو ۷ ب
1331 سینغانی بر قودای ۷ قوب آتاسی چوتک تنای
1333 بول جانیبار سور قولا ۷ جوکور کیپنی قویندوی ۷
1335 آتقامندی اور شابدار ۷ اوزیکی آشقاره تری جاندان ۷
1337 آلدندانی سور قولا ۷ آنف تولپار آیبانداز ۷
1339 آتقامنب تدقتودو ۷ آقابار انکدی اونکدودو ۷
1341 اونکدوب آلب اوی سالب ۷ قالماقتی کوستوی برآتب ۷
1343 سور قولانی چوراتب ۷ قولوندانی سر نایز ۷
1345 دور بولدو کوزدوب اوزاتب ۷ کوتب بارات زرقراب ۷
1347 اوتدک جونکی درقراب ۷ تویاقتنان اوچقان قارانانش ۷
1349 تودوک بویو چرقراب ۷ توسوب توزغاه دور بولتغاه



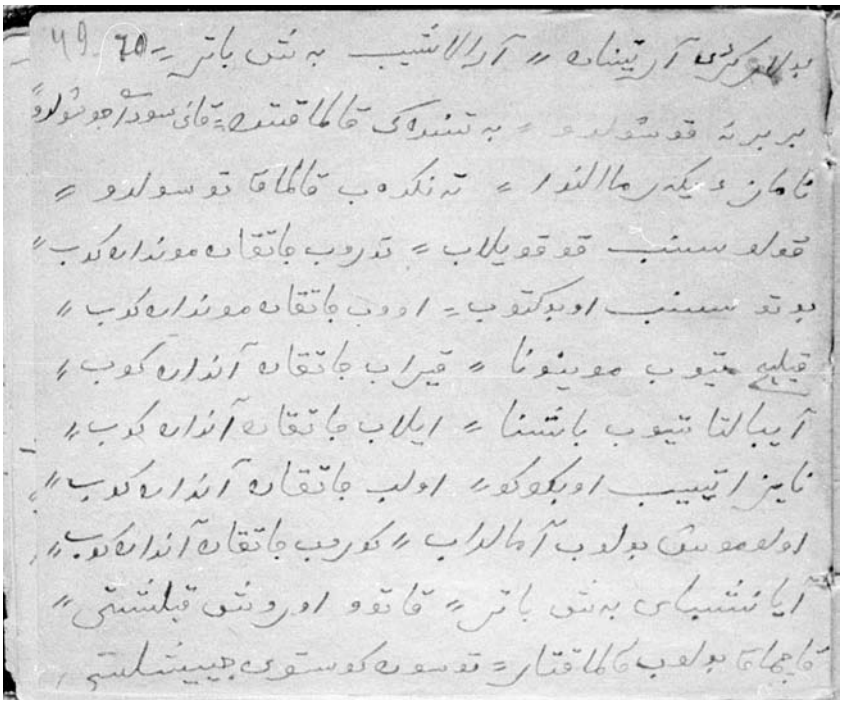
1351 آدا اوزدنیچه میتتی جاه ۷ آلتنه جالا سره جه بوه ۷
1353 آلدی قولغه بول آیبان ۷ بارنک جالیبی جالا تارتدوب ۷
1355 جاریلقیلدی قاپرغا ۷ قیاسالب اونکدو تونب ۷
1357 جالسیه تارتشی باترغا ۷ جانده اوغه دریلداب ۷
1359 اوتوب چیقتی باتردی ۷ اونک ایسنی ندی زریلداب ۷
1361 بایکه کلدت تاقمداب ۷ آلتیب جاتقان دودلوکو ۷
1363 کلدی بایه نک جاقتنداب ۷ مزه بدلوت آیبالتا ۷
1365 جه لکه بسنه مانجومده ۷ سالب کتشی ماقولداب ۷
1367 ماجمع آتشاره قولادی ۷ نایز آلب دور بولتغاه ۷
1369 تارتشی قارب تورادی ۷ جامغ دای قیلب جالا تارتب ۷



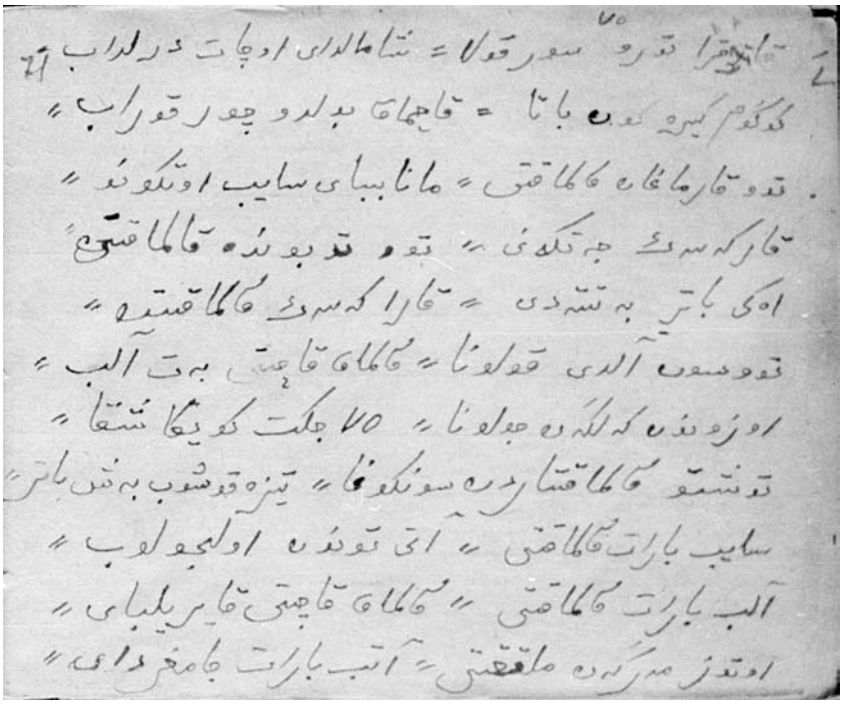
I.1370 جانان گماگاه شبادی = قالنگ جانه اوقوناده =
1372 باکه نگوی صدای ساقتادی = شابداده جه تتی دوربولغو
1374 قاچیر یشیب سایشتی " بر بری کوریکو نگو "
1376 بوتگوی گماگاه جابلدی " مانجوهر باتر اولگو نگو "
1378 نایز الاری مایشیب " دوربوول مه نه ی اوشابدای "
1380 آیانشبای سایشیب " جوره کته بولغت چاراینا "
1382 نایز انه اوچه تایشیب " آیانشبای قدیوشوب "
1384 قزل آلا بولوشوب " اوتوشوب که تب اوکی قاد "
1386 قایراتارتب توروشوب " قایراتی که لب اوشابدای "
1388 نایز انی مقتاب قارمادی " آلدانه بولب جاردای "



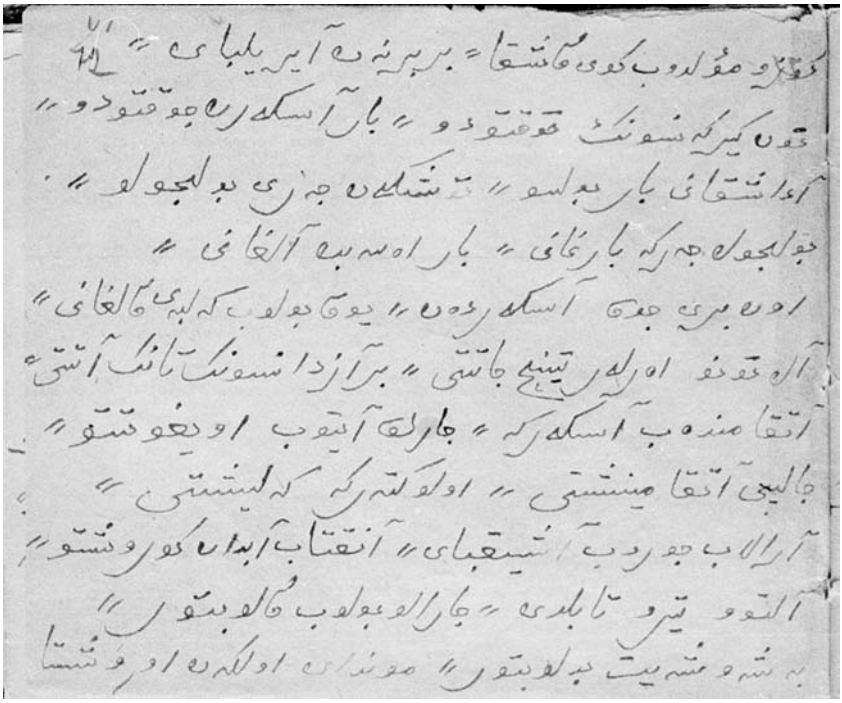
1390 ۷ که کرته کته بولجولدوب " جانیای باتر سایغانی "
1392 چاتاسناب که تکه نده " قبلیغ مه نه ی قایسادی "
1394 قارابولغت قولغوالب " اوزه چابتی مویوغوده "
1396 اوسی کوریگوده باتر دی " آسکه ری که کرکه ی اویوغوده "
1398 اوردو اوسی دو بولدو " بوتگوی گماگاه جابلدی "
1400 بولدوشتور نه قلدی " قابتاتای قالنگ گماقا =
1402 کرکه ی اوکه ی بایاکه = قارسلداشیب ~~بایاکه~~ اچنده "
1404 جورکه ی اوکه بایاکه " قارکه صدی مانا پیای "
1406 جه تکه ی اوکه ی بول اوکوی اوسی جبیب اوریتیای
1408 بولداکرتی جه تینه ی " ۷۵ جلگت کو یقاشقا



I.1411 بدلاکردی آرتینادە = آرالاشیب بەشن باتر = 69 70
1414 بربرنە قوشدلدو = بەتشدەکی قالماقتدە = قای سودا جوشولدو =
1416 قامازدیکەرمالللدا = تەنکدوب قالماقا قوسولدو =
1418 قعلەسشب قەقەویلاب = تدروب جاتقاە موندارەکدب =
1420 بوتەسشب اوبکتوب = اودوب جاتقاە موندارەکدب =
1422 قیلیچ تیوب موینوتا = قیراب جاتقاە آندارەکوب =
1424 آیبالتا تیوب باشتنا = ایلاب جاتقاە آندارەکدب =
1426 نایزاتیبب اوبکوکو = اولب جاتقاە آندارەکدب =
1428 اولەموشی بولوب آمالداب = کوروب جاتقاە آندارەکدب =
1430 ایاشتبای بەشن باتر = قاقوو اوروشن قبلشتی =
1432 قاجماق بولوب قالماقتار = قوسولوکوستوی جیبشتلشتی =



1434 قاجماقرا قدرو سوروقولا = شامالدای اوچاتدرلداب =
1436 کوکومکیرەکدب باتا = قاجماقا بولدو چوروقداب =
1438 قدوقارماقاە قالماقتی = مانابیبای سایبا وتکونە =
1440 قارکەسوی جەتکونی = قدو قدبوندە قالماقتی =
1442 اکی باتربەتشدی = قارا کەسوی قالماقتدە =
1444 قدوسولدی آلدی قعلوتا = قالماقا قاچتی بەت آلب =
1446 اوزوندن کەلکدە جعلوتا = 75 جلکت کویقا شتقا =
1448 قتشتو قالماقتاردە سونکوتا = تیزە قوشوب بەشن باتر =
1450 سایب بارات قالماقتی = آتی قوندن اولجولوب =
1452 آلب بارات قالماقتی = قالماقا قاچتی قاپریلبای =
1454 اوتوز مرگدن ملقتی = آتب بارات جامغرداب =



I.1455
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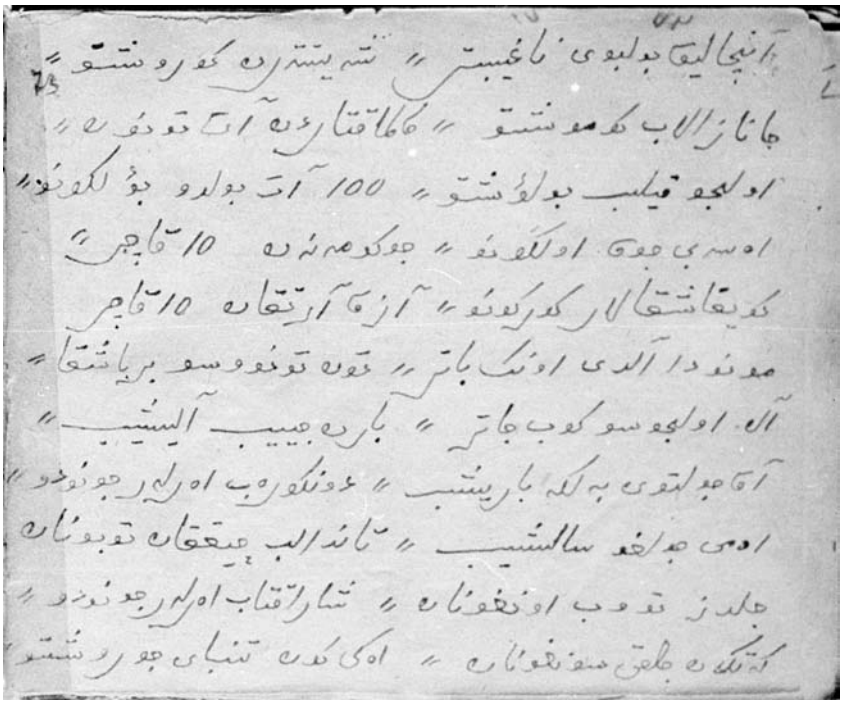

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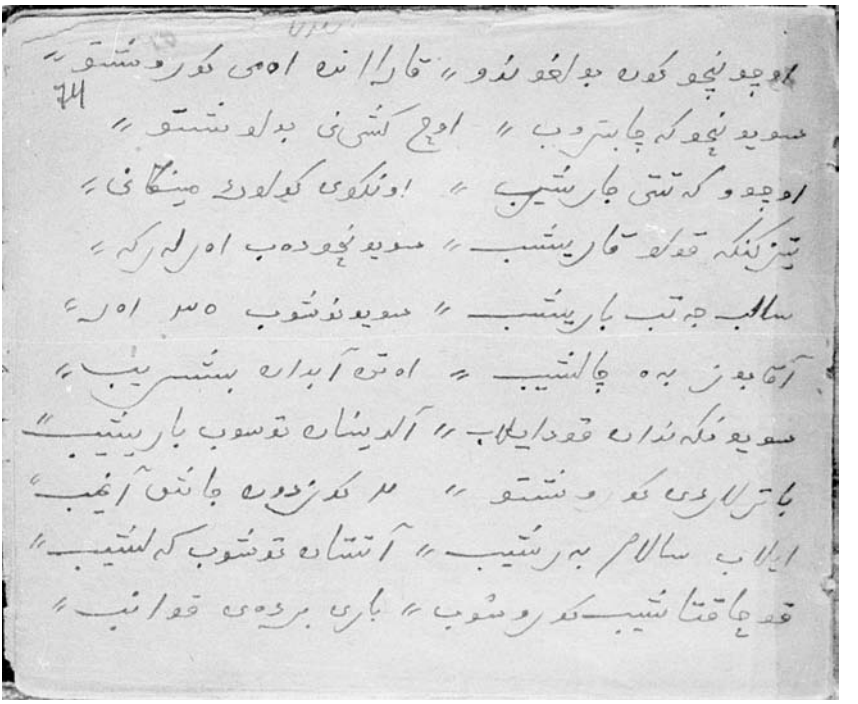
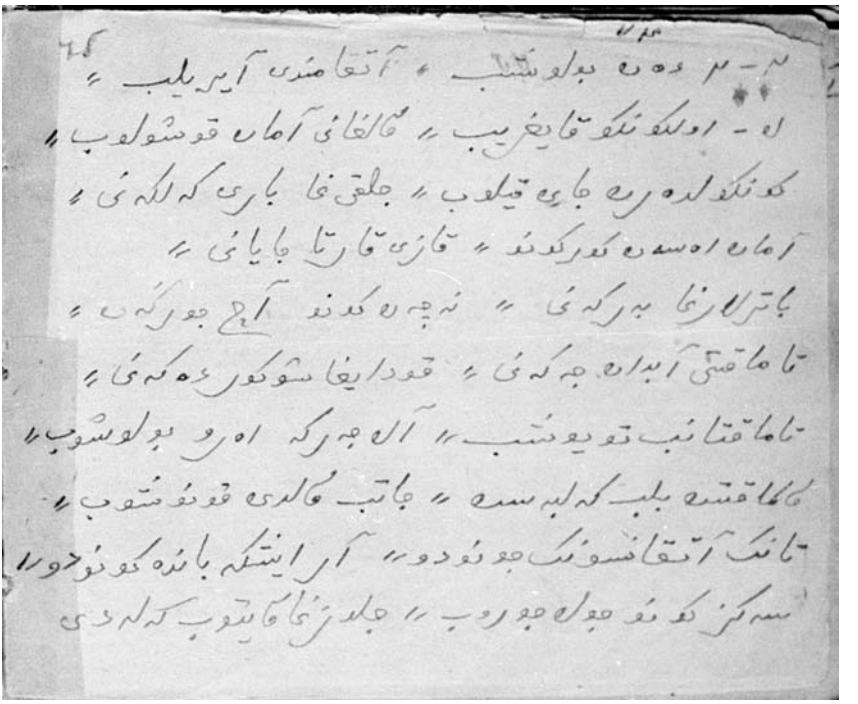
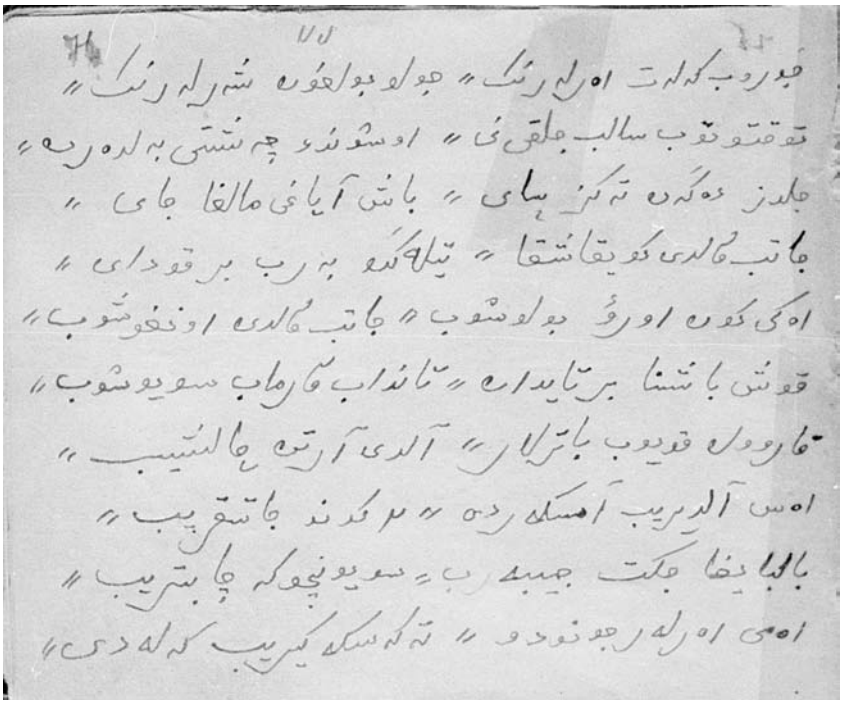


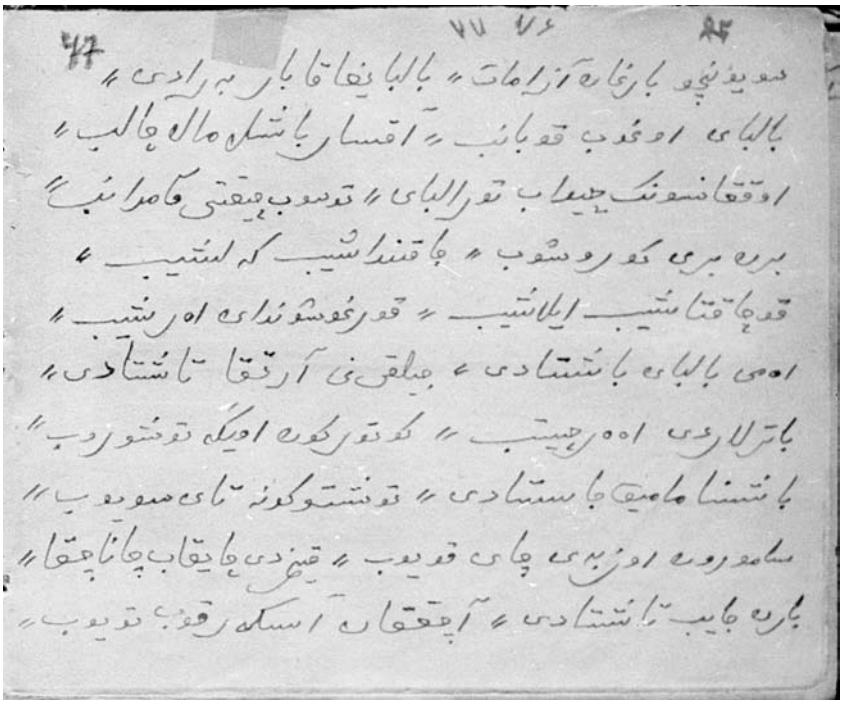
I.1500 او چو نچو کدن جولغو ندو ، قارا ائنه اه می کور وشتق ،
1502 سویه نچو که چابتروب ، اوچ کشی بولوشتق ،
1504 او چو و که تتی جارشیب ، اونکوی کیلدی مینگای ،
1506 تیز کلکه قوکو قاریشب ، سویه نچو ده ب اه له رکه ،
1508 سالاب جه تب باریشب ، سویه نوشوب ٥س اه له ،
1510 آقا بوز به چالشیب ، اه تو آبداه بشسریب ،
1512 سویه نکه نداه قودایلاب ، آلدیشاه توسوب باریشیب ،
1514 باترلاری کو وشتق ، ٢ کذدوه جانش آیغب ،
1516 ایلاب سالام به رشیب ، آتشاه توشوب که لشیب ،
1518 قو چاقتا شیب کو وشوب ، باری بره ی قوانب ،



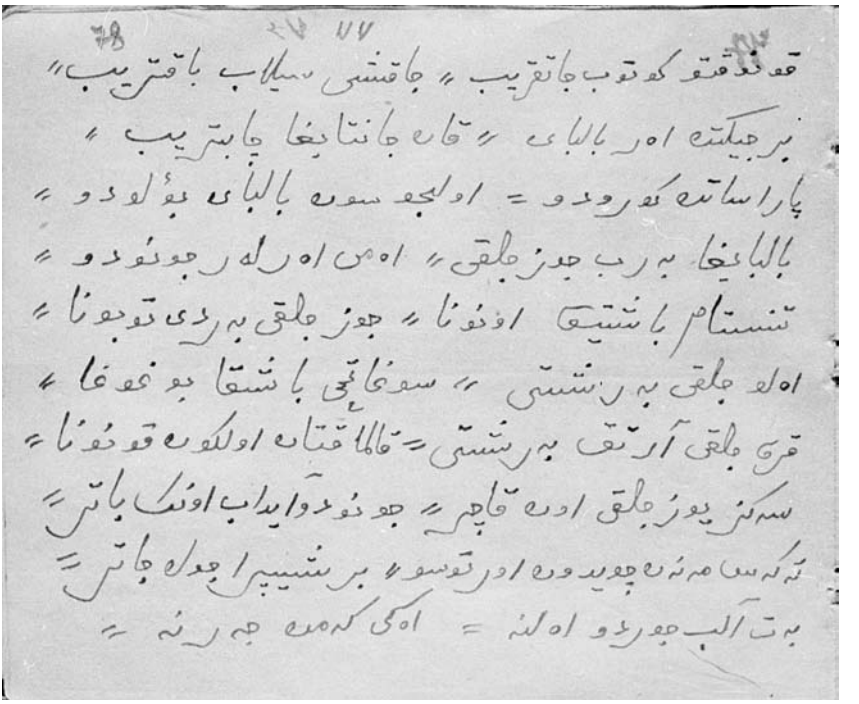
1520 ٢ - ٢ ده ن بولوشتب ، آتقامدی آیریلیب ،
1522 ١ - اولکه تکه قایغریب ، قالغانی آماه توشولوب ،
1524 کو تکه لده ره جای قیلوب ، جلقنا باری که لکه ی ،
1526 آماه اه سده ی کو رکدند ، قازی قارتا جایانی ،
1528 باترلارنا به رکه ی ، نه چه ره کدند آچ جو رکه ی ،
1530 تاماقتی آبداه جه که ی ، قودایغا شوکو ره که ی ،
1532 تاماقتانب قویوشتب ، آلا جه رکه اه ره بولوشوب ،
1534 کاقتده بلب که لبه سده ، جاتب کالدی قوتوشتوب ،
1536 تانک آتقانسو نک جو نو دو ، آر ایشکه باشده کو نو دو ،
1538 سه کز کو نو جول جو روب ، جلدز نا قایتوب که له دی



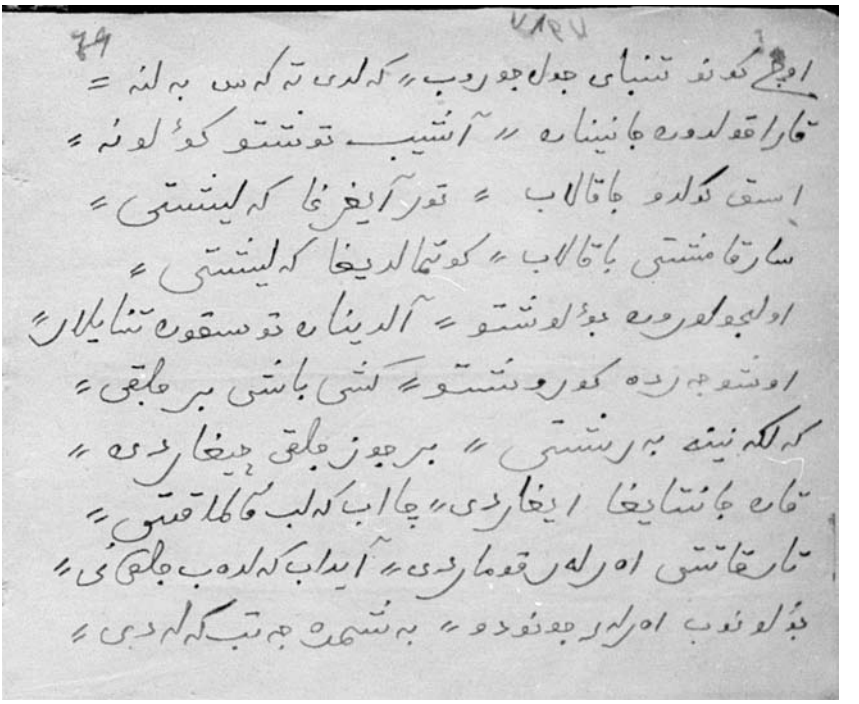
جوردوب کەلەت اەرلە رنگ « جولەبولغوب شەرلە رنگ «
قەقتوقوب سالب جلقی ئی « اوسقوندی چەشتی بەلدەرمە «
جلدز دەگەن تەکز پای « باش آیاغی مالغا جای «
جانب قالدی کویقاشقا « تیلاگە بەرب بر قودای «
اەکی کوز اورۇ جولەسقوب « جانب قالدی اوتغوشوب «
قوشن باشنا برتایدای « تانداب قارماب سویوشوب «
قارودن قویوب باترلار « آلدی آرتی چالشیب «
اەس آلدیریب آسکەردە « بر کدند جانقریب «
بالبانیغا جکت جیبەرب « سویونچوکە چابتریب «
اەمی اەرلەر جوتودو « تەکەسکە کیریب کەلەدی «



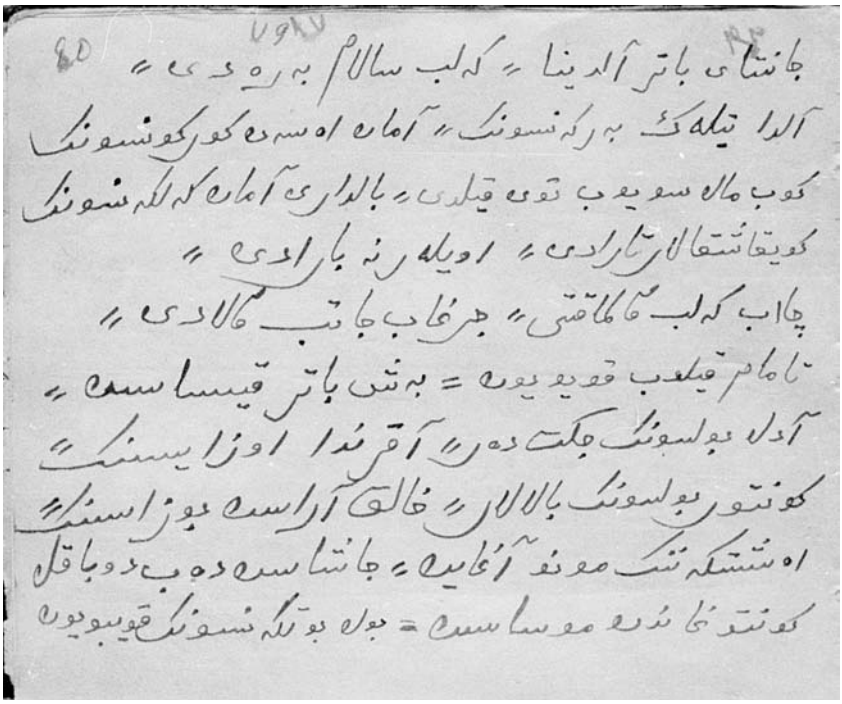
سویونچو بارغاە آزامات « بالبانیغا قابار بەرادی «
بالبای اوغوب قوبانب « آقسار باشلی مالی چالیب «
اوقتاقسونک چیباب تورالبای « قوسوب یقتی قامرانب «
بردە بری کەروسقوب « جاقندا شیب کەلشیب «
قوجاقتاشیب ایلاشیب « قورغوسقوندای اەرشیب «
اەمی بالبای باشتادی « جیلقی ئی آرتقا تاشتادی «
باترلاردی اەرجیتب « کوتورکوە اویکە توشوروب «
باشنا ماسیق جاستادی « توشتوکوزە تای سویوب «
سامەروە اوزبەی چای قویوب « قیزدی چایقاب چاناچقا «
بارە جایب تاشتادی « آچقاق آسکە رقوب قویوب «



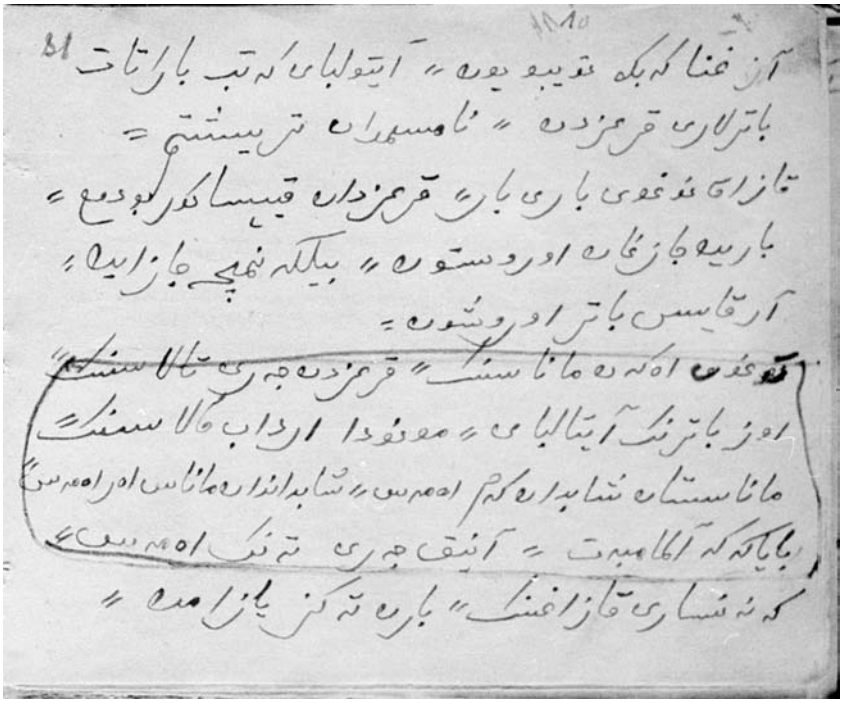
I.1580 قوندقتو کوتوب جاتقریب ، جاقشی سیلاب باقتریب ،
1582 بر جیکتی اوره بالبای ، قاره جانتایغا چابتریب ،
1584 پارا ساتوب کوروده = اولجه سوره بالبای بولدوده ،
1586 بالبایغا بیرب جوز جلقی ، اومی اوره جونودوده ،
1588 تنستام باشتیقا اوندونا ، جوز جلقی بیردی توجونا ،
1590 اوله جلقی بیرنشتی ، سوغاتی باشقا بونغا ،
1592 قرق جلقی آرتق بیرنشتی = قالمادی تاب اولکوره قوندونا ،
1594 سه کز یوز جلقی اوده قاچیر ، جونودوایداب اوتک باتیر ،
1596 تاکه سامانه چیقیدوده اورتوسو ، بیرنشیپر اجدله جاتیر ،
1598 بیت آلب جوردو اولنه = اوکی کیمده جیرنه ،



1600 اوچی کونو تنیای جدل جوردب ، کیدی تاکه سن بیلنه ،
1602 قارا قولدوده جانینده ، آشیب توشتو کولونه ،
1604 اسق کلدو جاقالاب ، تور آیغنا کیلیشتی ،
1606 سارقامشتی باقالاب ، کوتمالدیغا کیلیشتی ،
1608 اولجه کوروده بولوشتو = آلدیناده توسقوده تنایلان ،
1610 اوشوجه رده کوروشتو = کشی باشی بر جلقی ،
1612 کیلکه نیته بیرنشتی ، بر جوز جلق چیغاردی ،
1614 قاره جانتایغا ایغاردی ، جاب کیلب قالماقتی ،
1616 تارقاشتی اوره جومردی ، آیداب کیلدوب جلقی ،
1618 بولونوب اوره جونودوده ، بیشمه جه تب کیلدی ،



جانشای باتر آلدینا = که لب سالام به ره دی =
آلدا تیله ک به رکه نسونک = آمان اه سه دی کو رکو نسونک
کوب مالا سو یه ب تو ی قیلدی = بالداری آمان که لکه نسونک
کو یقاشقالای تارادی = اویله رنه بارادی =
چاب که لب ماکاقتی = جرقاب جانب مالادی =
نامامر قیلعب قو یه یوه = به تش باتر قیساسدی =
آدلا بولسونک جکت ده ی = آقرندا اوزا یسنک =
کو نتو بولسونک بالالای = خالق آراسد بوز اسنک =
اه شتشکه تنک معوف آغایه = جانشاسده دوب دوباقل
کو نتو خاندی موساسدی = جول بو تلکه نسونک قو یبو یوی



آز قنا که بکه قو یبو یوه = آیتولبای که تب بارتات
باترلاری قرمزدی = نامسمرای تر یشتی =
تازاق تو غوی باری بار = قرمزدای قیساکر کبو دع =
باریه جاز غاب اوردستوی = بیلکه نمچی جازایه =
آرقایس باتر اوروشوی =
معوف اه که ده مانا سنک = قرمزده جه ری مالا سنک =
اوز باترنک آیتالبای = معوفدا ارداب مالا سنک =
مانا ستای شابدای که جم اه مه س = شابدانداه مانا س اوراه مه س =
بایاکه که آکامبت = آنیق جه ری ته نک اه مه س =
که نه شاری قازاقسنک = باری ته کز یازامه =

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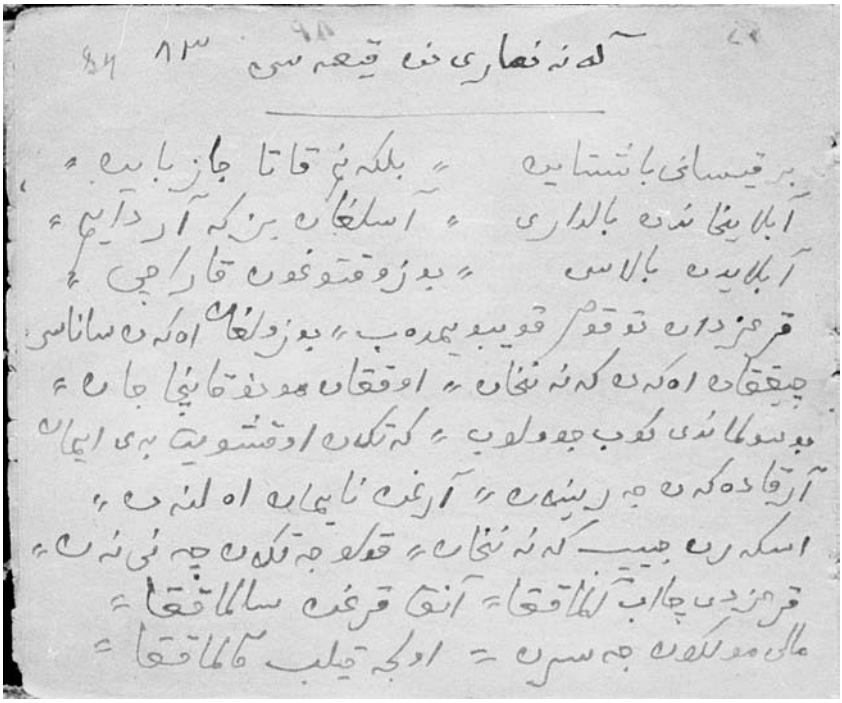
II.22 قاش اورمونی چونک قرسه ، مونو قاشتب تاشتایمون
24 به که ت مه نه ق قوبلاندی ، باره قازاق قولغه آلدی ،
26 قیسسا کیته ب قیلشیب ، قویغون اکه ن آرجاندی ،
28 قورو که لدی باتریم ، مونو دا اویلوب جاترمون
30 قدکونکدون اوکو که م اه مس ، کورو سونک مونو ن آقرن
32 سانبارا قشی سایغانی ، اورچونو دون قزل تو و ،
34 آنا که باتر باریغانی ، قابا نبایغا دوس بولوب ،
36 آق باش آتاه آلغانی ، آرغنبای مه نه ن تاشتانبه ن
38 آتو لبای مونو نک قالغانی ، ارچیلاری قرق دی ،
آقیل جق نادانی ، چار بالارغا جه ه که رو دی ،

41 چار بالارغا به ه که رو دی ، کوچمون اه لکه تو و که رو دی
43 اوز باتریم بولغه سونک ، باشتقا باتر نه که رو دی ،
45 اوزوم مولدو مو سامون ، قانات جازبای سز امون ،
47 مورو نقه بزدی ارچیلار ، آیتبا نا نغا ایز امون ،
49 آرلبایغا قوز اشتی ، بولا قیمه نی تنکد اسون ،
51 جابلتسن قرمن غا ، مانا ستای قیلب ارد اسون ،
53 سوت ایچه رون مولدو سونک ، آزر جاقشی جولدو سونک
55 باسما قیلب چیغار سانک ، اوکومه ت سه نی قولدو سون ،
57 باید الو بولسو جازایی ، ژیاندو بولسو قاجایی ،
59 آقوندو اوندر بولغو سونک ، جازبای قاشتب باسایی ،



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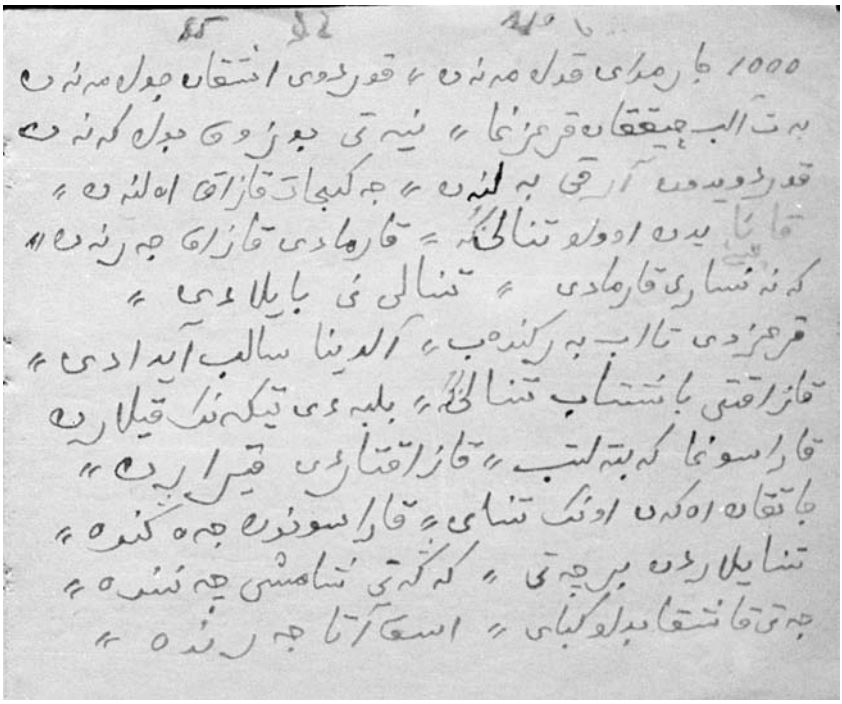

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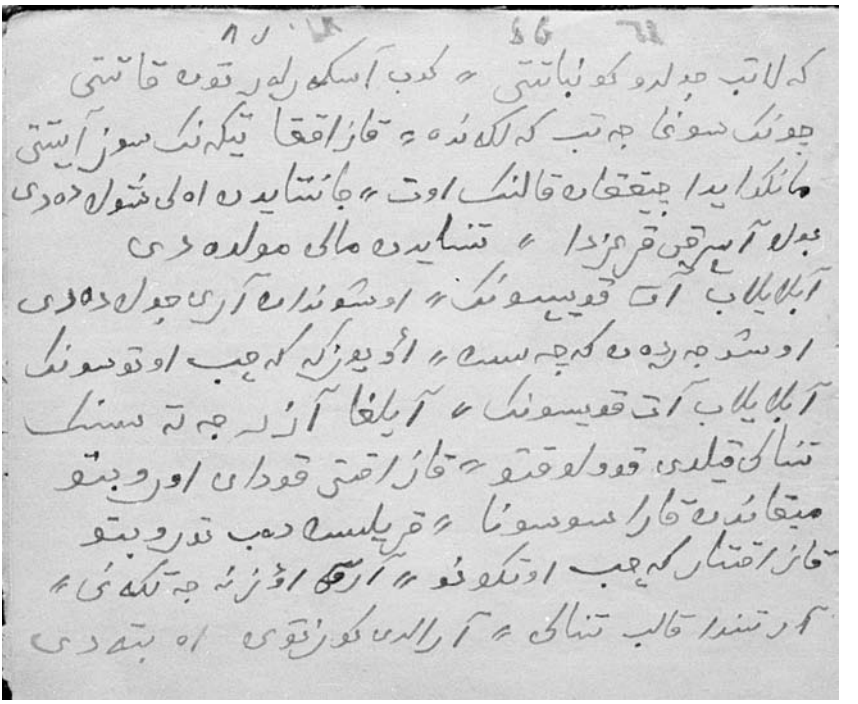
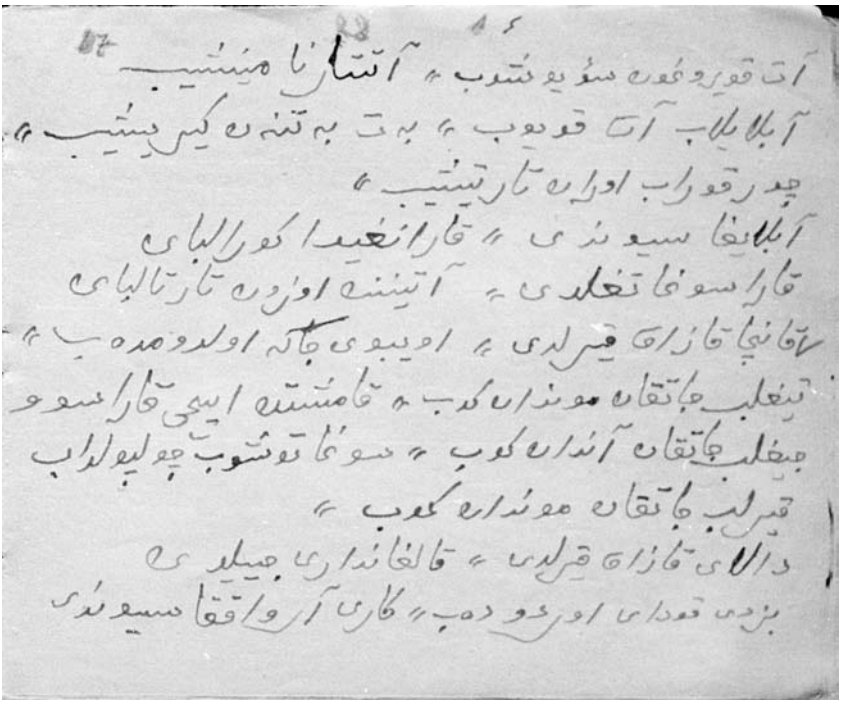
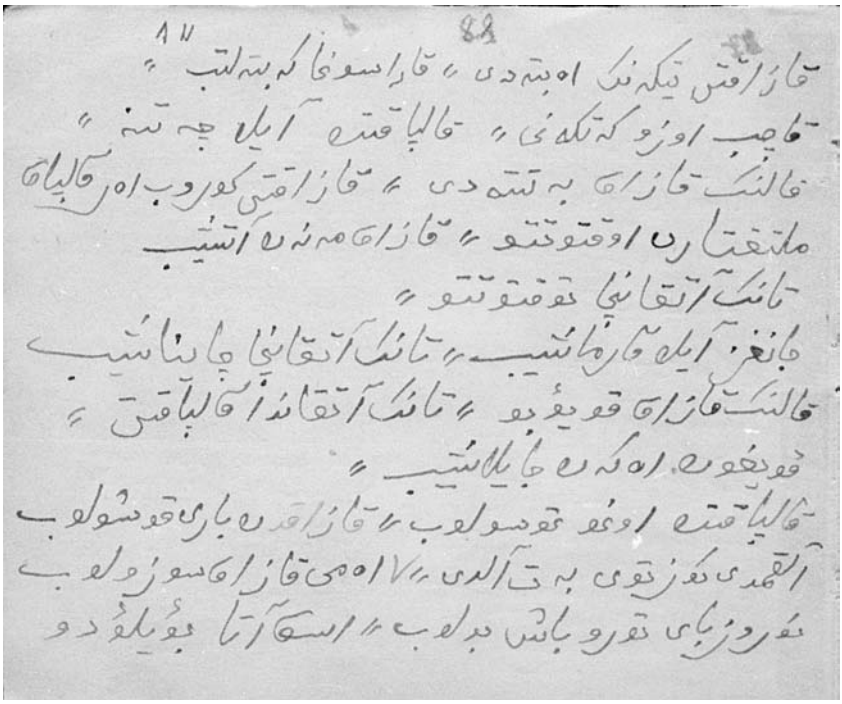


III.44 که لاتب جدلده کو لباشتی ، کدب آسکه له رقوه قاشتی
46 چوئک سوغا جه تب که لکه نده ، قاز اقفا تیکه نک سوز آیشتی
48 مانکدایدا چیقفاه قالنک اوت ، جانشایده اه ای شوله ده دی
50 جدل آیرقن قرمزدا ، تشایده مالی مولده دی
52 آبلایلاب آت قویسونک ، اوشوندا ده آری جدل ده دی
54 اوشد جه زده ده که جه سسد ، اوبوزکه که جب اوقوسونک
56 آبلایلاب آت قویسونک ، آیلغا آزله جه ته سسنک
58 تشالی قیلدی قوداله قتو ، قاز اقشتی قوداله اوردبتو
60 میقاندده قاز اسوسونا ، قریلسه دجب تدردبتو
62 قاز اقشتار که جب اوتکوتو ، آرقه اوزنه جه تکه نی ،
64 آرتشدا قالب تشالی ، آرالدن کوزتوی اه بتده دی



66 آت قویرقوه سوبشتب ، آتشانا میشیب
68 آبلایلاب آت قویوب ، بت به تنده کیر یشیب ،
چدرقوراب اوزه تار تیشیب ،
71 آبلایغا سیوندی ، قاز انغیدا کورالیای
73 قاراسوغا تغلدی ، آتینشه اوزدن تارتالیای
75 آقانیجا قازاه قیرلدی ، اویبوی جاکه اولدومده ب ،
77 تیغلب جاتقان موندا کدب ، قامشتده ایچی قاراسوه
79 جیغلب جاتقان آندا کوب ، سوغا توشوب چولیه لداب
قیرلب جاتقان موندا کوب ،
82 دالای قازاه قیرلدی ، قالغاندا جیلدی
84 بزدی قوداله اورخودمب ، قاری آرواقفا سیوندی



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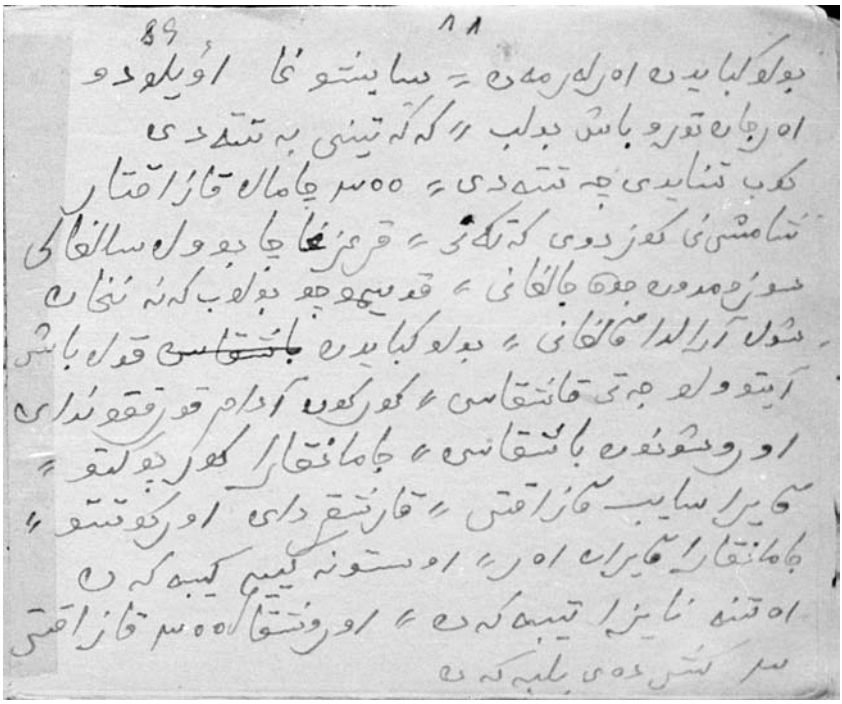

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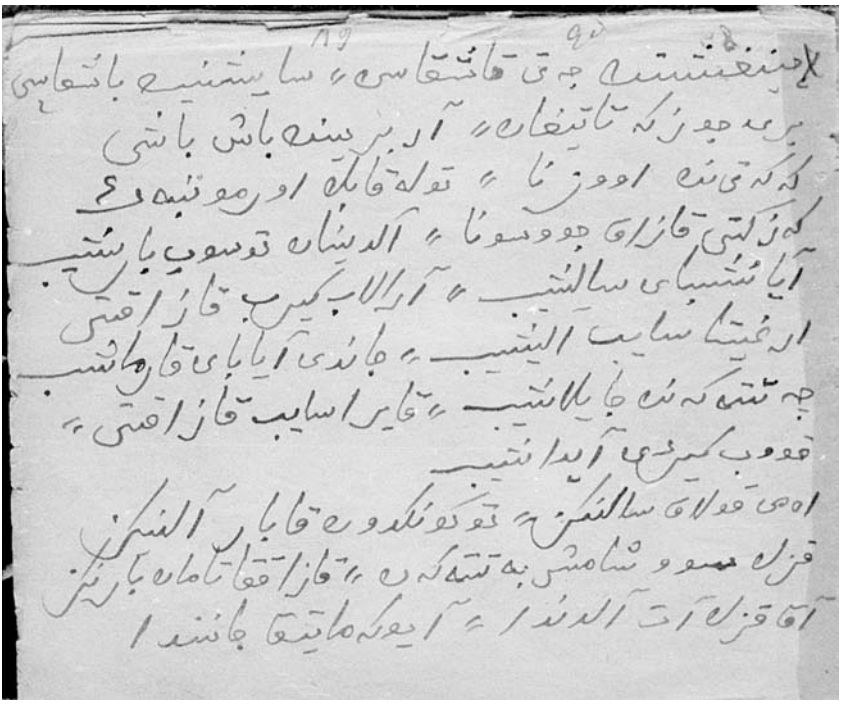

III.129 ✕ ینغشتنه چی قاشقاسی ، سایشنیه باشقایی
131 یرمه جوزکه تاتیغای ، آر بیرسنه باش باشی
133 که که تی تنه اوغوزنا ، توله قاتکه اورمه تنبه وغ
135 که ن کتی قازای جوقسونا ، آلدینای توسوب یاشیب
آیاشیبای سالشیب ، آرالاب کیرب قازاقتی
137 ارقیتنا سایب آلیشیب ، جاندی آیاپای قارماشیب
139 چه تشه که تن جایلاشیب ، قایرا سایب قازاقتی ،
141 قوروب کیرندی آیداشیب
اوی قولاق سالکنکز ، توکوتکدوی قابار آلنکز
144 قزل سعود شامشی به تشه که ن ، قازاقتاماه بارنکز
146 آق قزل آت آلدندا ، آیوکه ماتیقا جانندا
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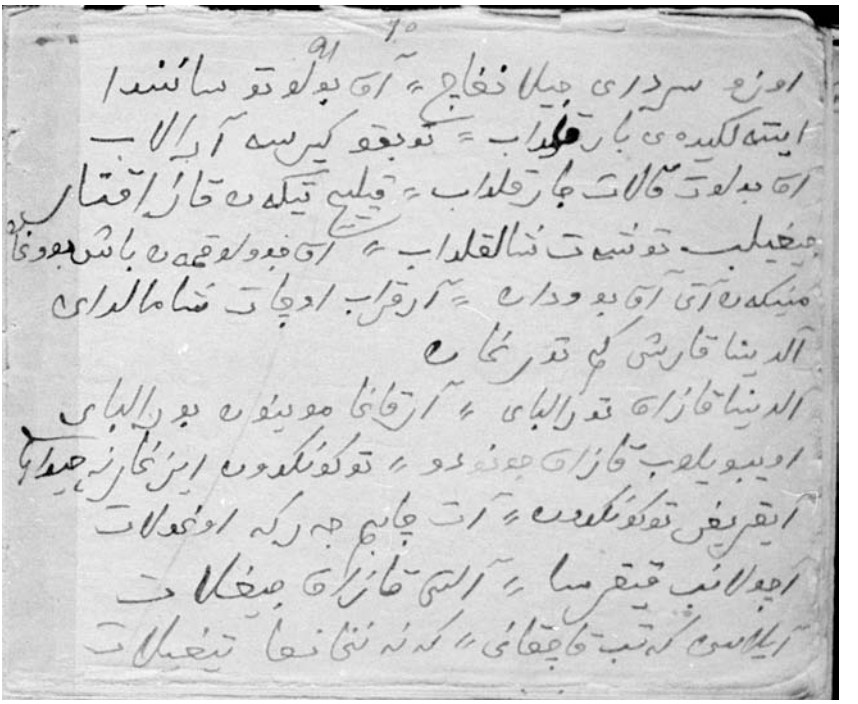

150 اوزه سردای جیلانغاج ، آق بوکوتو سانندا
152 ایشه لکیده ی بارقلداب ، توبوقو کیرسه آرالاب
154 آق بوکوت قولات جارقلداب ، قیلیچ تیکده قازاقتار
چیغیلیب توشت نالقلداب ، آق بوکوتوقچه ن باش بوغا
156 مینکه ن آتی آق بوداق ، آرقراب اوچات شاماندای
158 آلدینا قاریشی کوتورمات
آلدینا قازاق توراباری ، آرقانا موینوی بوراباری
161 اویبوبلوب قازاق چوندو ، توکوتکدوی ایزنکارنه چیدا
163 آیقریغن توکوتکدوی ، آت چابیم چه رکه اوغولات
165 آچولانب قیقرسا ، آلتی قازاق چیغلات
167 آیلاسی کتب قاچقای ، کرنه تنقا تیغلات
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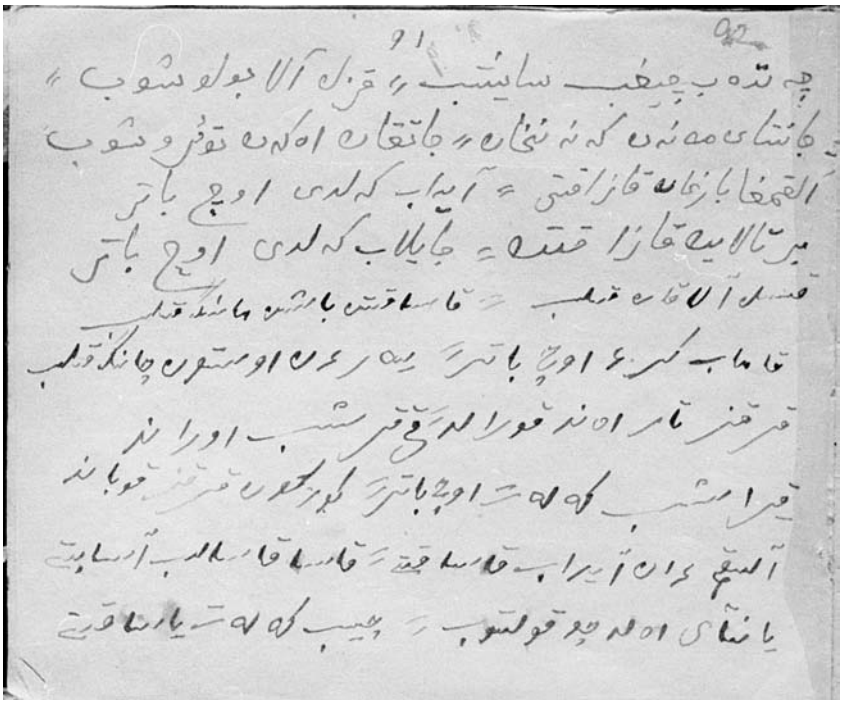

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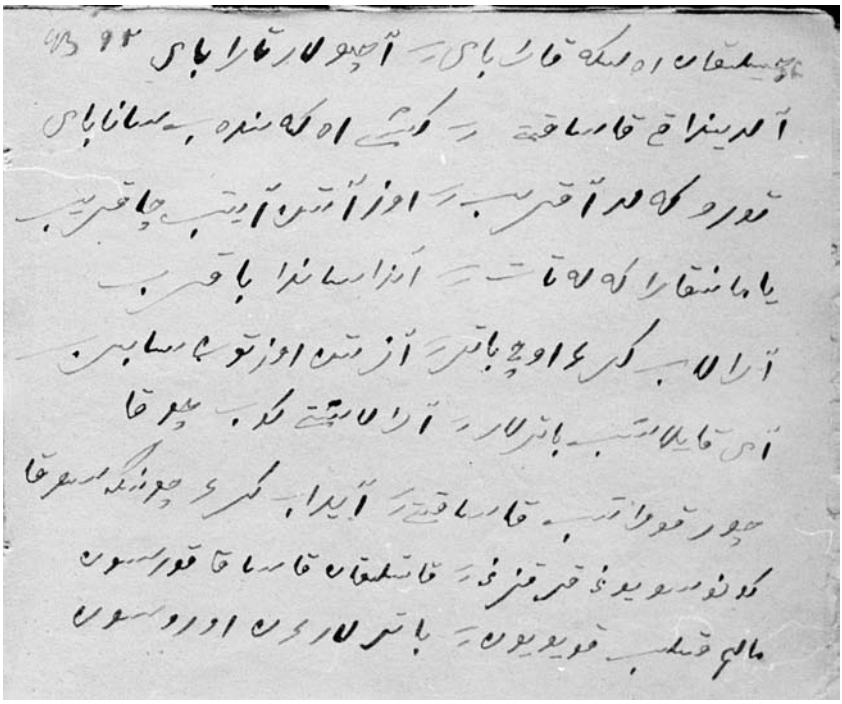

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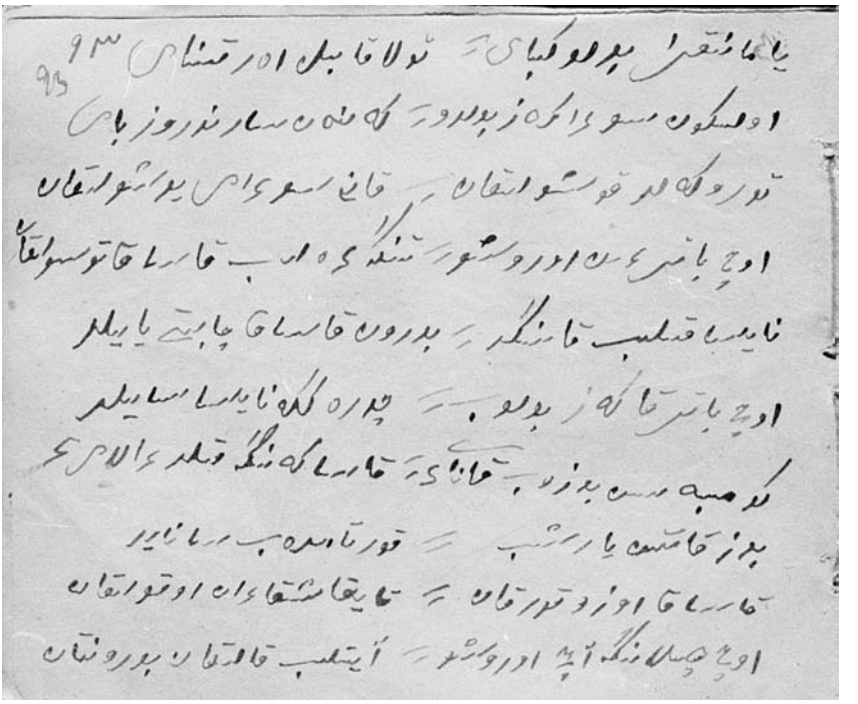
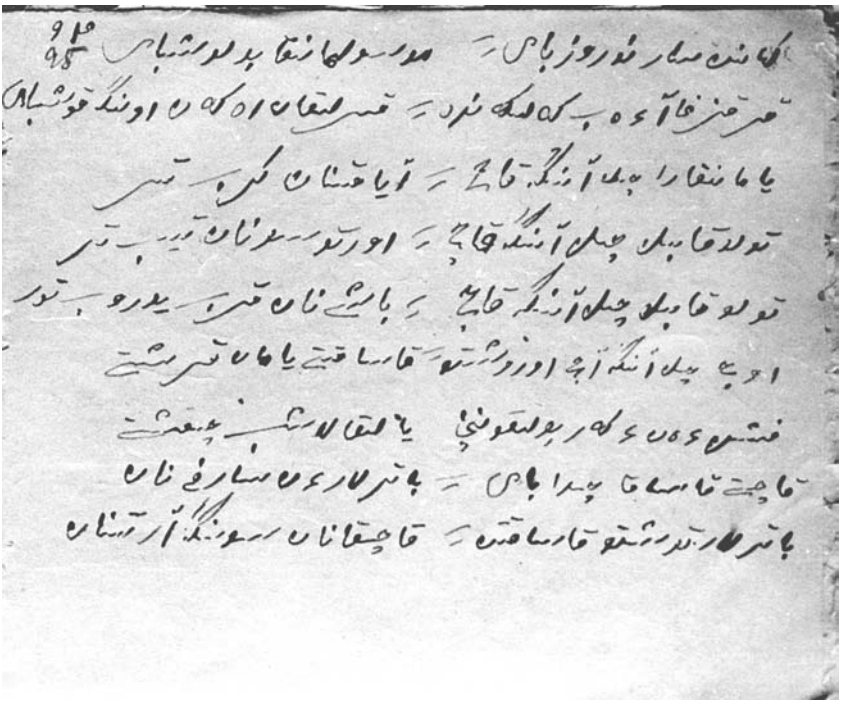
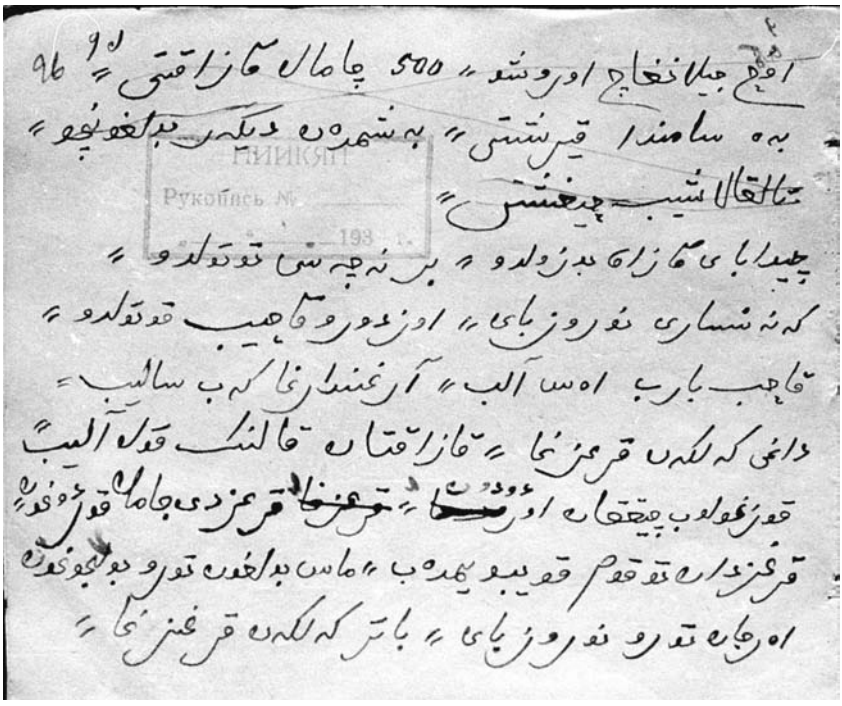


III.209 یا ما نقش بدلو کبای ~ تولا قابل اورمشای 93
211 او سکوت سوی اکه زبدلو ~ که ملک سار نذروز بای
213 تذرو که لو قوشتو اتقان ~ قانی سوی ای بدشو اتقان
215 اوچ باتس ع ن اورو شتو ~ تنگه ک ه ل ب قارسا قاتو سو اتقان
217 نایسا قتلب قارنگر ~ بدروس قارسای چاپتی یایلر
219 اوچ باتس قاکه ز بدلو ~ چدره کلک نایسا سایلر
221 کو صبه ست بذره ~ قانای ~ قارسا که تنگ قتلد ع الای ع
223 بذز قاتست یار شب ~ قور تاسده ب سانایر
225 قارسا قا اوز و تورقان ~ تا یقا شقا ع ان او تو اتقان
227 اوچ چیلا تنگه آپه اورو شتو ~ آیتلب قا اتقان بدرو تنان



229 کا نتف سار نذروز بای ~ مدر سو لما نقا بدلو شبای 94 95
231 قمر تنز فا آ ه ب که لک نذر ~ قسر اتقان اه که ن اونگ قوشبای
233 یا ما نقارا بدل آ نگه قاچ ~ آیا قتنان کن ~ قسر
235 تولو قا بل چیلا آ نگه قاچ ~ اورتد سو تنان قیب ب تر
237 تولو قا بل چیلا آ نگه قاچ ~ با تیتی نان قتر ~ یدرو ب تذر
239 او چ چیلا آ نگه آپه اورو شتو ~ قارسا قتیتی یا ما نقر یشتی
241 فشتو ع د ن ع که ر بولتقو نچی ~ یا تقالا شتب چ ع شتی
243 قاچتی قارسا قا چیدا بای ~ با تر لا ع د ن سار فی نان
245 با تر لا ر تذر شتو قارسا قتی ~ قاچقانان سو نگه آر تسنان



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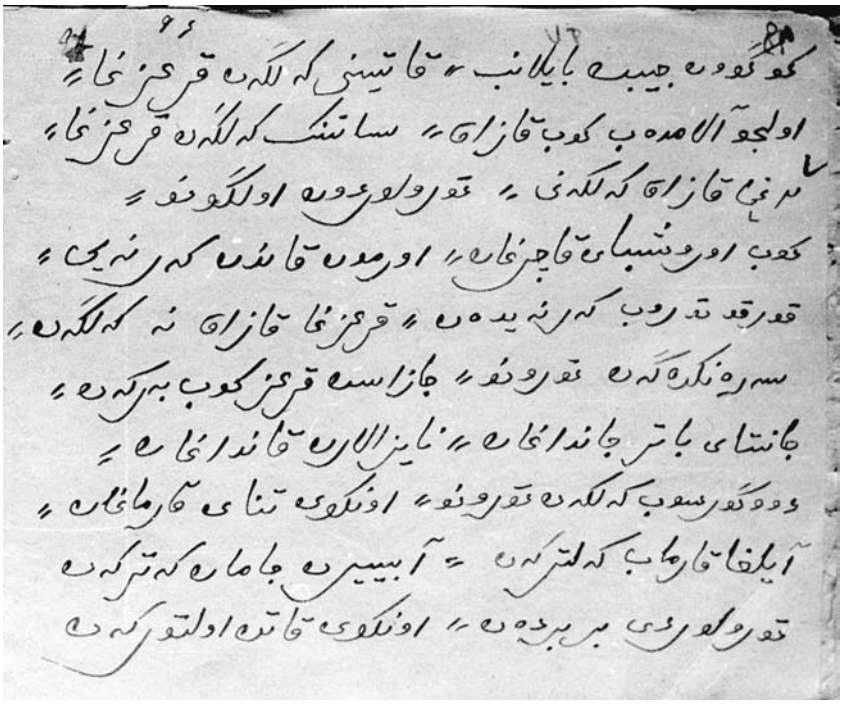

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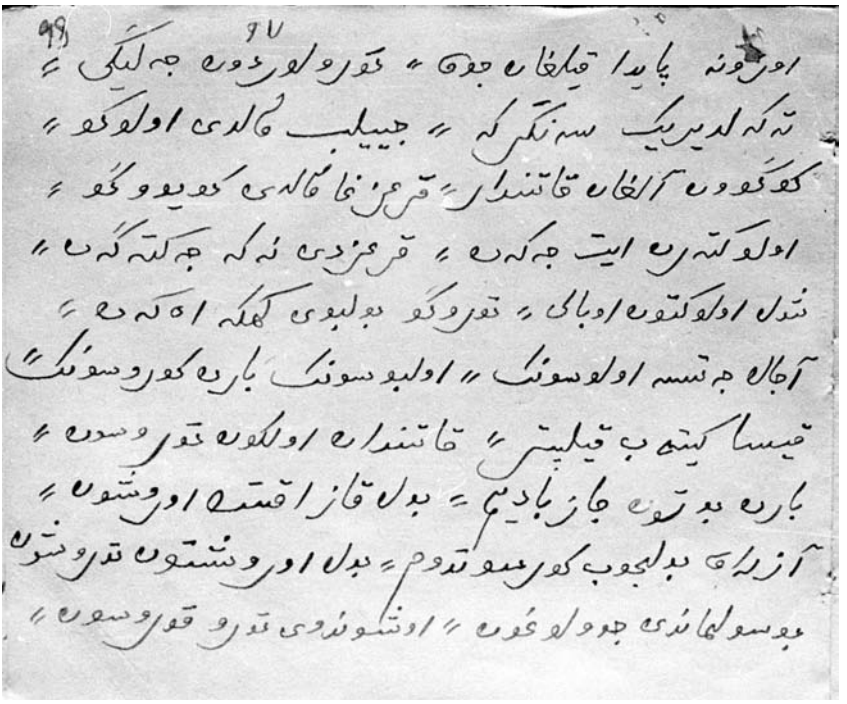
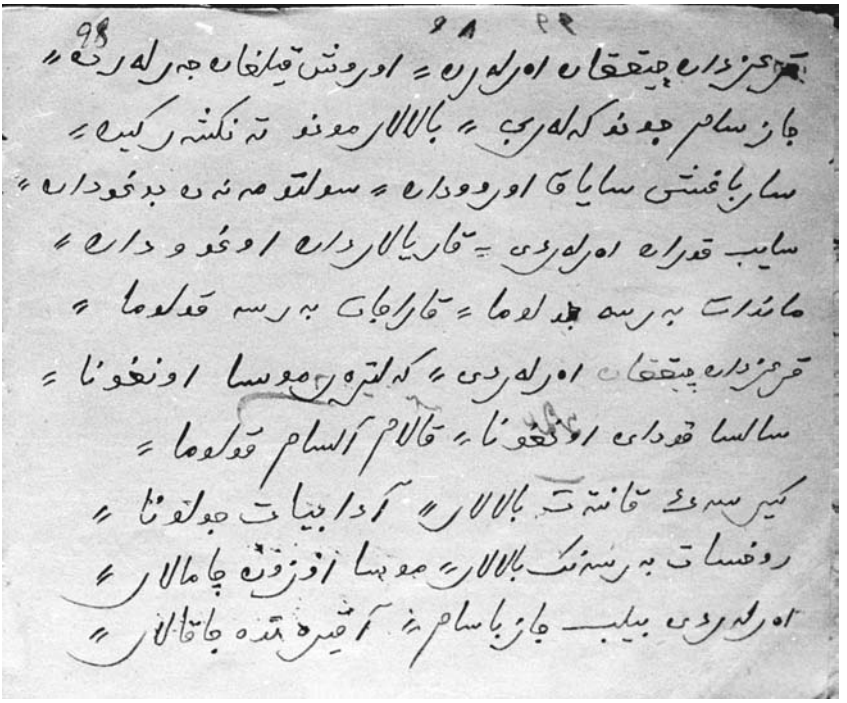
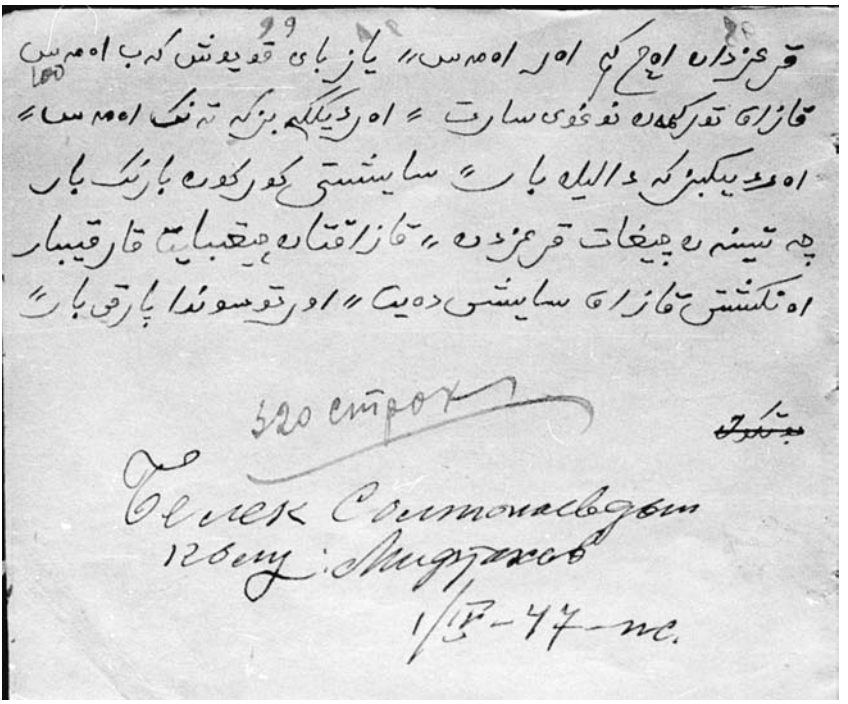


III.286 اوزونه پایدا قیلغان جوق ، قورولوزدوی جه لیکی ،
288 ته که لدیریک سه نگر که ، جیبلیب قالدی اولوکه ،
290 کوکوده آلغان قاتندار ، قرمزنی قالدی کوبیوکه ،
292 اولکتدی ایت جه که ، قرمزدی نه که جه کته که ،
294 تندل اولکتوی اوبالی ، قورکه بولبوی کهکه اه که ،
296 آجال جه تسه اولوسونک ، اولبوسونک باری کوروسونک ،
298 تیسا کیته ب قیلیتی ، قاتندار اولکوه قورومدی ،
300 باری بوتوی جازبادیم ، بول قاز اقتسه اوزشتوی ،
302 آزیراق بولجوب کوریسوتدوم ، بول اوزشتوی قورشتوی ،
304 بوسولهاندی جوولوغوی ، اوشتوندی قورو قورومدی ،



IV.2 قرمزدای چیقتقان اوزلدی ، اوزنش قیلغان جرلدی ،
4 جازساسم جوقدکه لدی ، بالالار موقو ته نکشر کیدی ،
6 سارباقشی سایاق اوزودای ، سولتوه مه نی بوغودای ،
8 سایب قورای اوزلدی ، قاریبالاردای اوغوزدای ،
10 مانداک بوسه جولوما ، قاریاجاق بوسه قولوما ،
12 قرمزدای چیقتقان اوزلدی ، کیتره موسا اونغونا ،
14 سالسا قودای اونغونا ، قالام آلسام قولوما ،
16 کیرسه دی قاتنه ت بالالار ، آدابیات جولونا ،
18 روفسات بوسه نک بالالار ، موسا اوزوق چامالار ،
20 اوزلدی بیلیب جازباسام ، آخیرنده جاقالار ،



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при Совете Министров
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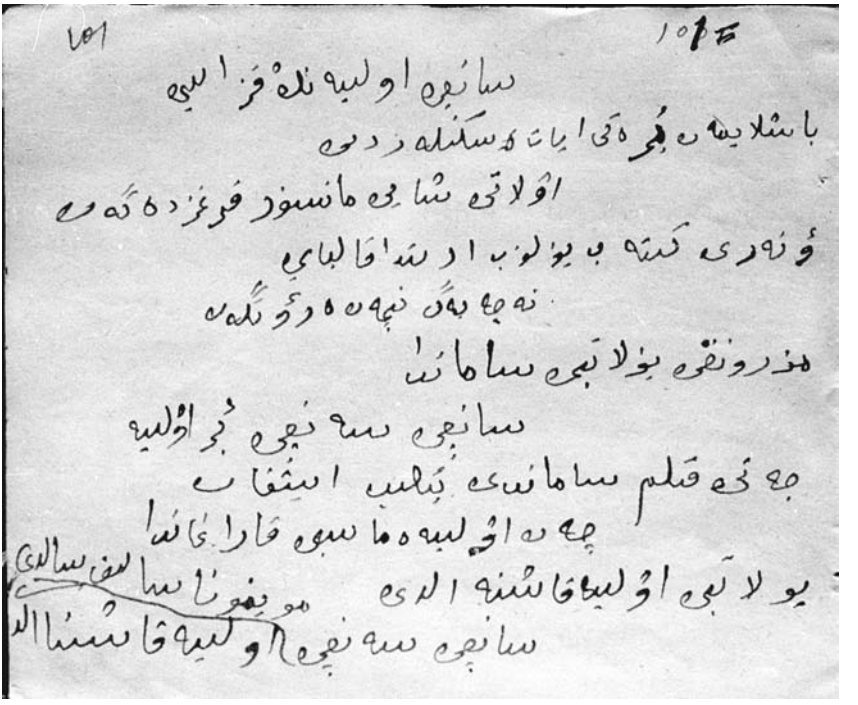

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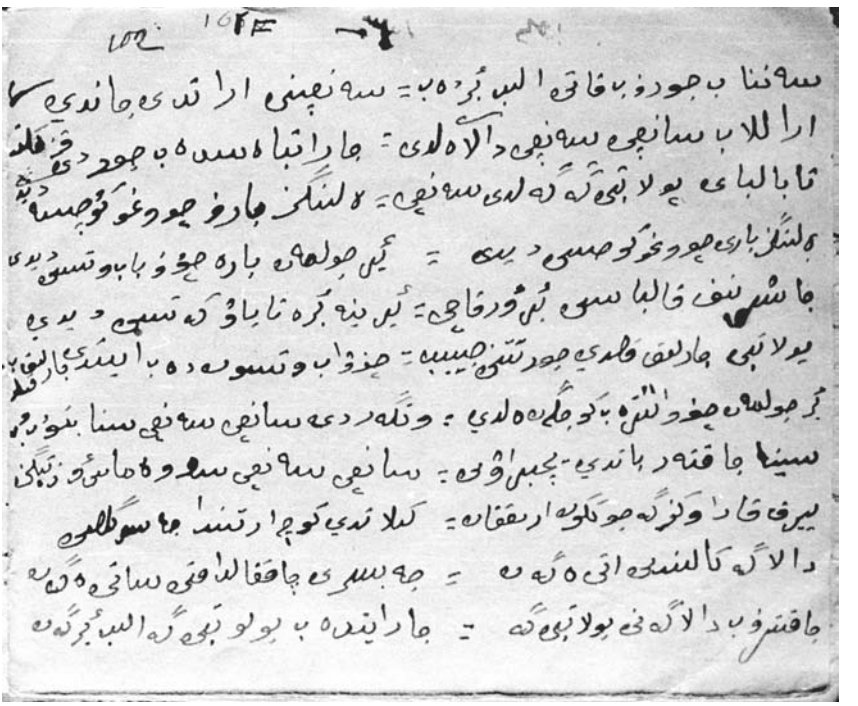

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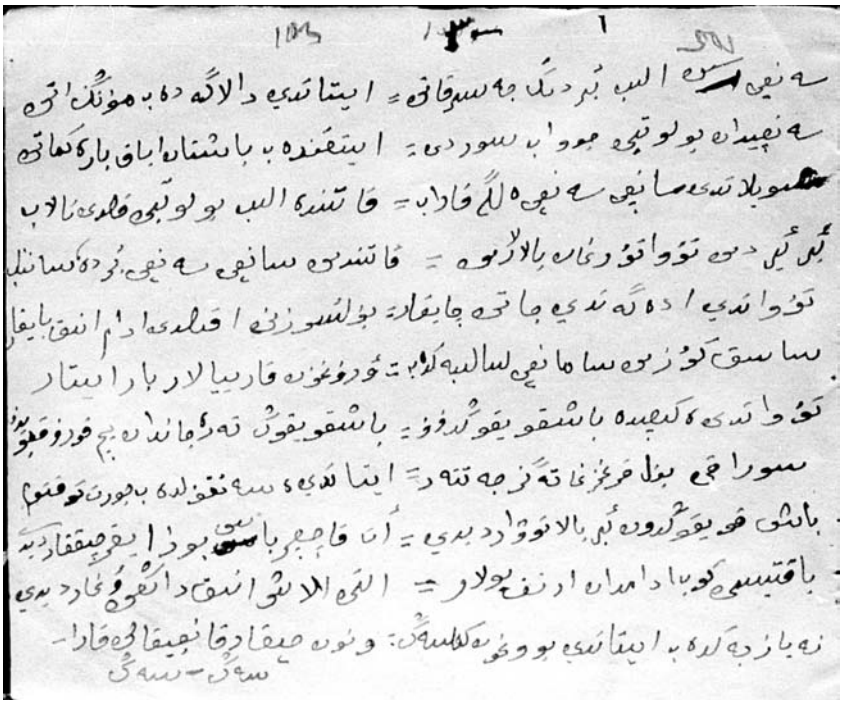

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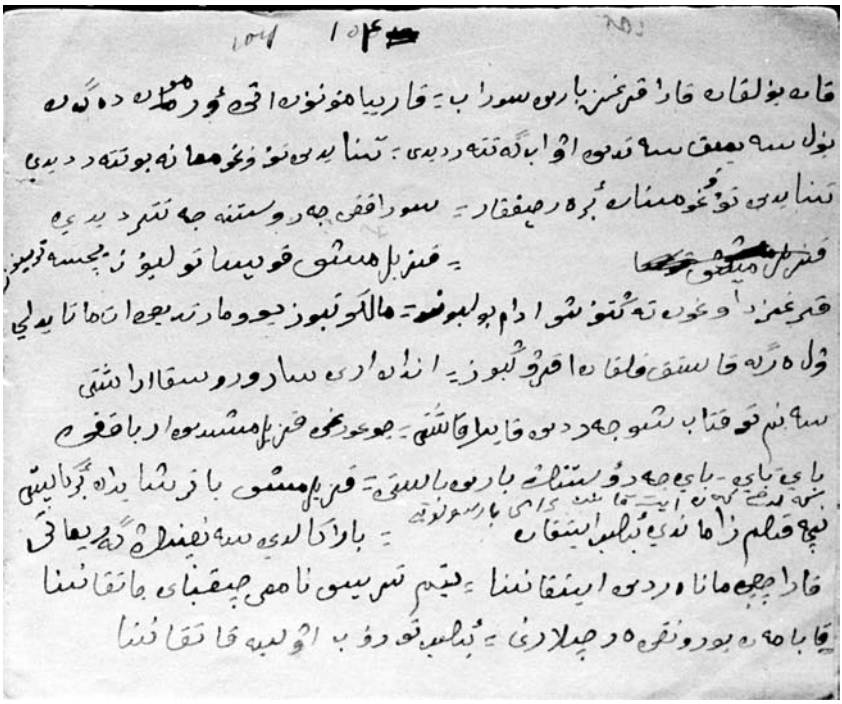

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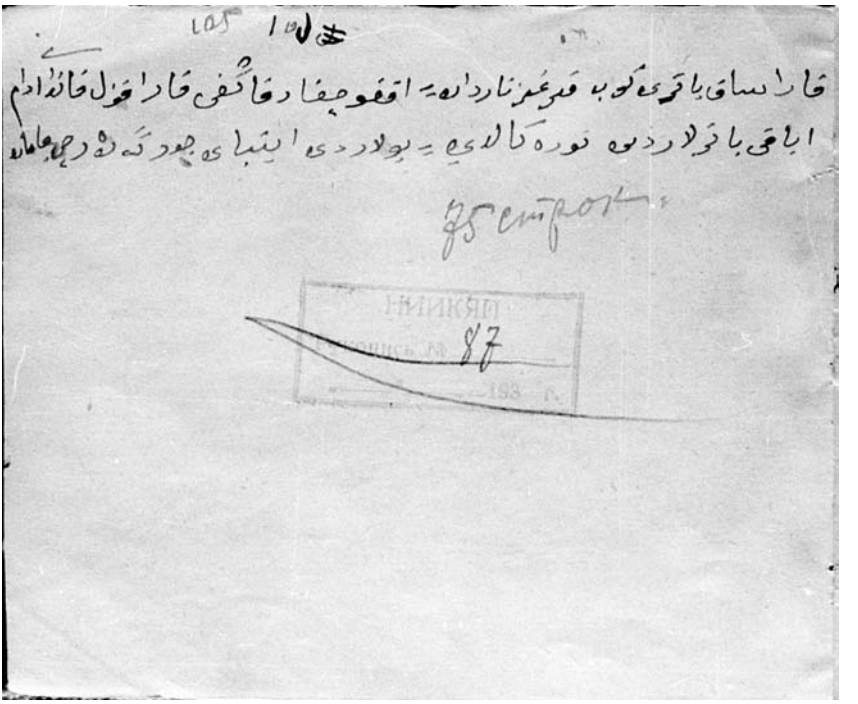

V.78 قارا ساق یاتی دی کوب قوغزنار دا ده - اققوچقاد قاشقی قارا قول قالدادم

80 اباقی یاتی لاردی نوره کالدی - بولاردی ایتباق چودکه ده دی عالمده

25 строк

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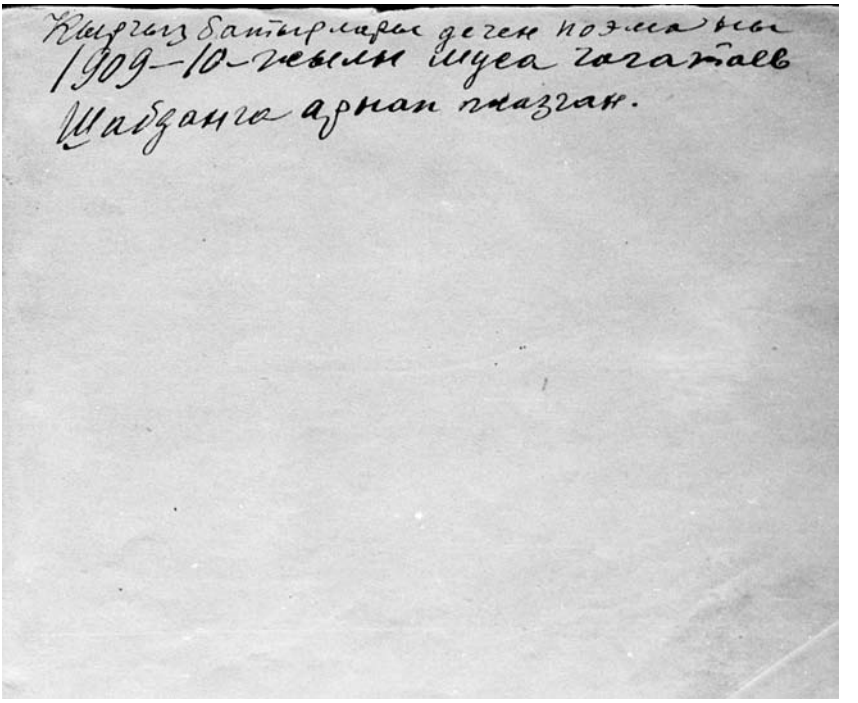

Кыргыз баатырларын деген поэмасын
1909–10-жылы ичке толтурдуп
Шайдаңа арнап жазган.